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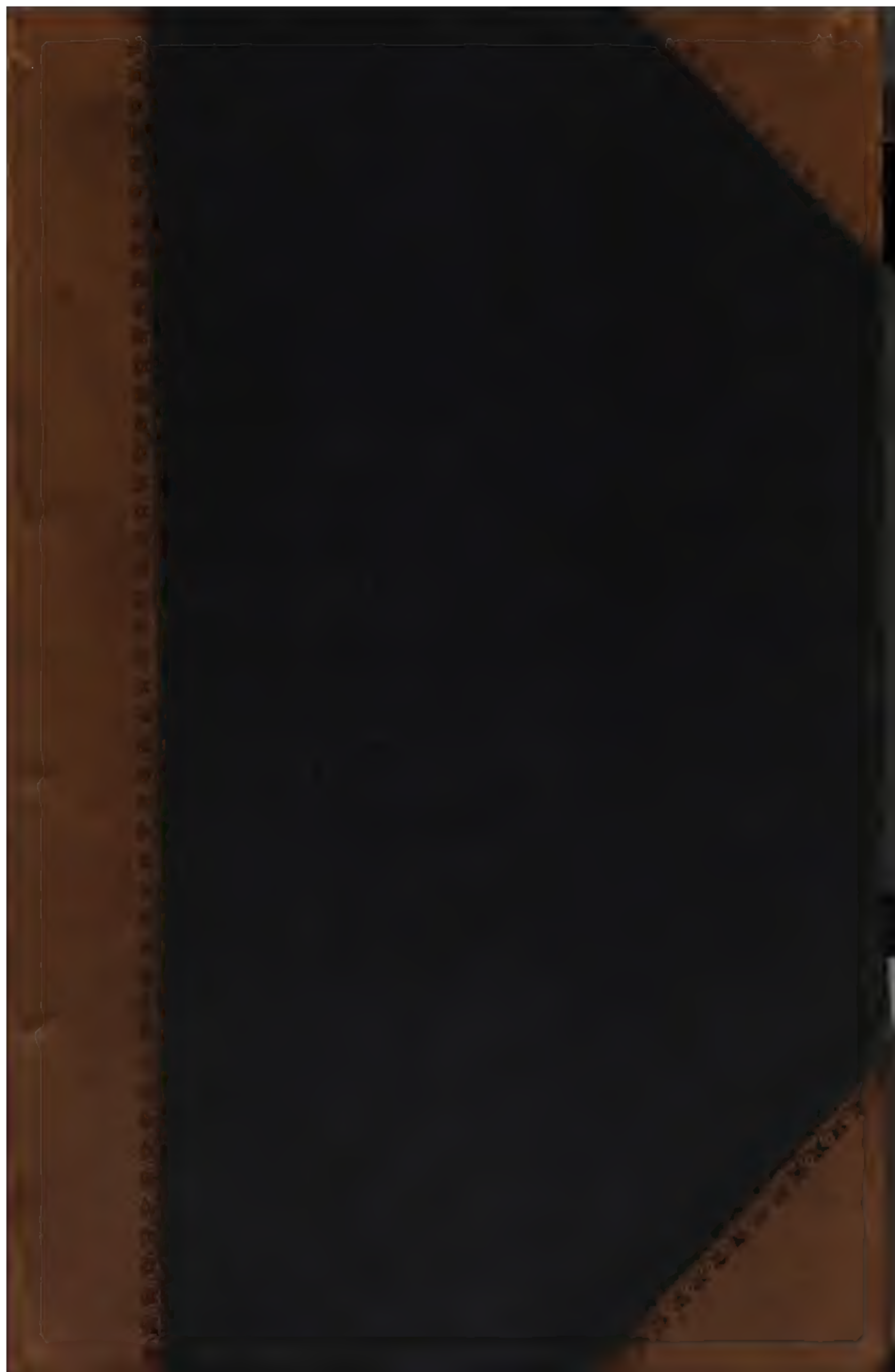
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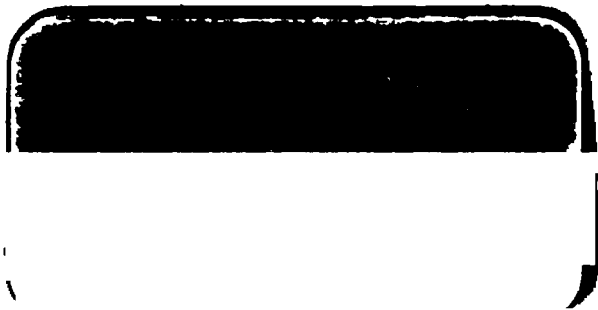
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THE
CHURCH OF ENGLAND
Quarterly Review.



Πύλαι ἄδου οὐ κατισχύσουσιν αὐτῆς.—*Matt. xvi. 18.*

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THE
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JULY, MDCCCXLI.

- ART. I.—*The History of England under the House of Stuart, including the Commonwealth* (A. D. 1603-1688). Part II.: Commonwealth, Charles II., James II., Under the superintendence of the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge. London: Baldwin and Co. 1840.
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FEW authors have been so truly fortunate as Dr. Vaughan, who, having seen one edition of a work comfortably placed on the booksellers' shelves without any prospect of removal, except at a price a little beyond that of *waste paper*, has been favoured to such an extent by a public society, that the book so uncere- moniously rejected by the public has been palmed upon the world in a new form, and under new auspices. We repeat, that such good fortune has fallen to the lot of but very few authors; nay, we do not believe that Dr. Vaughan has *any* associate. He stands "alone in his glory" in this matter; for until the present day no such society as that *for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge* existed, or, at any rate, no one that felt itself at liberty to expend its funds, collected as such sums are from the

public, on the republication of an unsold work of a disappointed author. What was the marvellous secret possessed by Dr. Vaughan over a public body, we cannot determine ; we deal only with the fact.

The present volume opens with the year 1649 : and we did not proceed far before we were confirmed in the opinion which we expressed concerning our author in reviewing the previous one, namely, that he is not the man to write a history for general use. Such a work should be free from any party bias ; but Dr. Vaughan, as might have been expected, is the partisan of Dissent, and therefore not competent for the task which he has undertaken. In allusion to the *high court of justice*, by which so many honest men were sacrificed, Dr. Vaughan speaks in the following terms :—

“If the extraordinary occasion for which that tribunal had been instituted was such as to justify its existence, it should have ceased to exist as soon as its one great object was accomplished. The claim of the accused to be tried by their peers was, in the present state of things, unreasonable ; but the demand to be tried by a jury was also resisted, their opponents having reason to suspect, that by such a form of proceeding some mitigated sentence only would be obtained, and the infant government be deprived of the protection which might be afforded by such examples.” (p. 475).

It will be seen that our author cannot justify the course pursued against Holland, Capel, and Hamilton. To have done so would have been impolitic, and Dr. Vaughan appears to be endowed with a considerable share of worldly prudence ; but still he does not condemn their proceedings in such terms as might have been expected from a Christian minister, and a man who is actually employed by a society, whose avowed object is to furnish a correct account of all matters that transpired during the period of which these volumes treat. What, for example, does our author mean by the *one great object* ? It was nothing less than the murder of King Charles I. Does he mean that he would have been content with the death of one victim ? The *Independents* of that day were not satisfied until the lives of *many* of the followers of the unfortunate monarch had also been taken. As far as we are able to ascertain our author's opinions, from the passage just quoted, we cannot discover any other difference between him and the men of 1649, who set up the pretended high court of justice.

The Presbyterians are treated by our author in no very courteous manner, except, indeed, on those occasions in which they act *against episcopacy*. As an Independent, Dr. Vaughan applauds his *own* sect ; but the Presbyterians are classed among

persecutors, papists, and prelatists. Thus he tells us what steps were adopted by the fragment of a Parliament to soothe the Presbyterian body, who were sufficiently numerous to be formidable to their Independent brethren :—

“In the hope of soothing these infallible theologians still further, it was resolved that the dean and chapter lands, excepting those of Christ Church, and of the great public schools, should be sold. Presbyterianism was allowed to remain as the established ecclesiastical polity; and the law relating to tithes was not to be disturbed until an equivalent, equally certain, should be provided in the place of them. Still the Sectaries were to be tolerated through the nation, in the universities, and, under certain restrictions, within the Establishment itself; and this grand delinquency in the bearers of the civil sword, allied as it was with preferences hostile to monarchy, was enough to keep a formidable number of the English Covenanters in a state of avowed disaffection. It followed, as a consequence, that ministers of the Independent persuasion were placed in greater prominence by the Government than they would otherwise have been; and the Presbyterians not only saw those hated Sectaries the possessors of livings in the Church, but, what was to them still more irritating, raised to the chief places of trust and honour in the universities.” (p. 488).

This is not very complimentary to the Presbyterians, who come in for some share of that abuse which is so lavishly bestowed upon the Anglican Church and her members. The author's predilections for independency are so apparent, that no one could fail to discover them, even if the fact were not known that he is actually an *Independent minister*. It is clear that he views the proceedings of the Commonwealth, with respect to religion, with extreme satisfaction; nor does he even attempt to conceal his sentiments. The Presbyterians are charged with pretending to infallibility—a charge which we are ready to admit; but it comes with no very good grace from our author, whose decisions are little less infallible in their tone. Our readers need not be informed, that, at this particular juncture, the Presbyterian body were anxious to restore Charles II.; consequently they meet with little favour from Dr. Vaughan. Love, one of their ministers, was executed for the part which he took in favour of the exiled prince. “But the blow (says Dr. Vaughan) which humbled this proud aristocracy the most, was the execution of Love, one of their most popular preachers.” The Presbyterians had been guilty in bringing Archbishop Laud to the block; but still no honest man can acquit the Independents of that day of cruelty and injustice in the death of Love.

“The moderation of the English *Parliament* (?) on matters of ecclesiastical conformity, was, during the period of the Commonwealth,

without precedent in the history of this country. It did not, indeed, extend to a toleration of the Catholic worship, nor to the open use of the Episcopal Liturgy. The doctrines of Socinus also were described as blasphemy, and their early advocates in this country, Fry and Biddle, were subject to prosecutions; the former being excluded from his place in Parliament, the latter imprisoned. Nor were the magistrates to forget, that on them it devolved to check and punish all sorts of immorality and profaneness. But, with these exceptions, no man was to be molested on account of his religion." (p. 489).

Glorious days, truly! A parallel may, however, be found in the present day, which must be highly satisfactory to Dr. Vaughan and his Dissenting brethren. The Socinians are at liberty to preach and to publish heresy, if not blasphemy; the Roman Catholics are emancipated; and the English Liturgy is not, indeed, proscribed, as was the case during the Commonwealth, but held up in Dissenting periodicals as a most *awful book*—a book which has been the ruin of immortal souls; and even the late Robert Hall, the greatest ornament of which Dissent could ever boast, is censured, in no measured terms, for the well-known eulogy pronounced many years ago on the Book of Common Prayer.

We may remind these gentlemen that the Liturgy was compiled by men who suffered in its defence—men who took it with them to the stake, making it the companion of the Bible in their solitary cells—men to whom Dissenters are indebted for their present privileges, and whose names they are not worthy to pronounce—men whose example would scarcely be imitated by those individuals who decry the Book of Common Prayer. After all their boasting, we do not believe that any of these gentlemen would, were they brought to the test, suffer for their principles what was endured by the martyrs in defence of the English Liturgy. But of course modern Dissenters are become much wiser than the Reformers, and the Reformation itself needs to be reformed!

In the year 1653, Cromwell assumed the supreme power, having put an end to the existence of what Dr. Vaughan designates the *English Parliament*. The usurper, however, was determined to convene what *he chose to call* a Parliament—an assembly well known in history by the designation of the *Little Parliament*, and *Barebones' Parliament*. Even this assembly is viewed with favour by our author; for he speaks with much seeming good will of their proceedings in commencing business without a chaplain. In this strange assembly some of the members themselves acted as chaplains; so that any individual was at liberty, not only to speak in the house, but to lead the

devotions of his brethren in an extempore prayer.* The army, too, was in the same condition; the chaplains were dismissed, and the task was undertaken by the officers.

Most of our readers are acquainted with “Morland’s Account of the Churches in Piedmont,” published by command of Cromwell. We allude to the question, not to censure Cromwell nor Dr. Vaughan, but simply in connection with a fact mentioned in this volume relative to the collections in the churches in England for the relief of the sufferers. Cromwell issued an order for a collection in every parish, and a considerable sum was thereby obtained. In several parish registers, which we have seen, there are records or entries of the order, and of the amount collected in the church; and in one rural parish we were particularly struck with the sum, which is much the same as is now collected in the same church, whenever a sermon is preached for a public object; and we infer, from certain facts stated in the parish register, that the population there has been stationary—it is now nearly what it was in 1653.

Though the measures of Cromwell are generally applauded by our author, he meets with his censure for refusing to tolerate the worship of the Roman Catholics:—

“It must be confessed, however, that the Protector knew not how to extend that liberty to Catholics which he so sternly demanded from them in favour of Protestants. He not only prohibited the exercise of their worship, but concurred in excluding them from all places of public trust, and in depriving them of their elective franchise. Even prelacy and the Liturgy were proscribed. The law, however, as it related to worship according to the Book of Common Prayer, was not strictly enforced.” (p. 534).

Dr. Vaughan appears to imagine that the refusal to tolerate Popish worship was a greater blot on the Protector’s character than the proscription of *prelacy and the Liturgy*. The author’s political bias pervades every page of his writings. When, however, he states that the law respecting the Liturgy was not strictly enforced, he omits the reason which prevented its enforcement—an omission which *we* shall supply. That the Liturgy was, in some cases, permitted to be read, was entirely owing to Cromwell himself, and not to the sect of the *Independents*, of which the Protector was the reputed head. It cannot be pretended that this party, though they were ready to tole-

* It was once wittily observed by an English prelate, that “extempore prayer was preaching to God Almighty.” Into the question itself we do not enter; but we believe that many extempore prayers in dissenting chapels differ little from preaching; and as they are addressed to God, we may admit that there is some truth in the above remark.

rate all sects, were disposed to allow the use of the Liturgy. On the contrary, their hostility to the book was of the most bitter kind; nor did they spare Cromwell himself, for his lenity in not suppressing its use altogether. It would seem that the *Independents* of that day hated the Book of Common Prayer just as much as the *Dissenters* of the present day, and for the same reason, namely, because it was viewed with affection by the great bulk of the people. Their hostility was even greater than that of the Presbyterians. Cromwell had no objection to the Liturgy itself: he probably cared as little for *forms* as for *religion*; but he was under the necessity of acting, on some occasions, against his own feelings. To Cromwell, therefore, and not to the *Independents*, were the Churchmen of that day indebted for the privilege of using the English Liturgy in private houses, and occasionally in churches. In the estimation of the *Independents* themselves, as in the opinion of the Eclectic Reviewers, it was an *awful book*.

The appointment of a mixed body, under the singular designation of *Triers*, a body entrusted with all ecclesiastical appointments, is approved of by Dr. Vaughan, who states, what was probably the fact, that Cromwell wished to wrest the power of appointing ministers from the hands of the Presbyterians. Our author, however, quotes the following words from the first ordinance on the subject, that the person "be approved for the grace of God in him, his holy and unblameable conversation, as also, for his knowledge and utterance, able and fit to preach the Gospel:" and adds, "The first instructions supplied scarcely any definite rule to guide these examiners, and afforded a dangerous latitude to passion and caprice." (p. 535). This is an important admission from such a quarter. Still he is inclined to view them with favour. In stating the results of their labours, he argues that much good was effected. He seems to lose sight of their treatment of Pococke, who, but for the interference of Owen, would have been rejected by this heterogeneous body. Their tyranny was of the very worst description. Ignorant themselves, they could not appreciate learning, and talent, and piety in others. There was in their proceedings a near approximation to the Popish maxim, that *ignorance is the mother of devotion*; for in many cases the candidates had nothing but their ignorance to recommend them. The *Triers* evidently imagined that God did not need human learning in his servants, forgetting that, as it was afterwards keenly said by South, *still less did he stand in need of human ignorance*. A singular scene was then presented to the view: the pulpits were occupied by soldiers, tradesmen, and labourers. Most of Crom-

well's troopers were also preachers, and not unfrequently the parish clergyman was thrust out on a Sunday morning to make way for one of these *militant* divines, who, perhaps, pursued the same course in another parish on the ensuing Sabbath. Curious cases of this kind are mentioned by Evelyn and others, whose *journals* have been published during the present century. These preachers, it may be remarked, were not agreed in their views of doctrine or practice. Every man framed his own creed, and promulgated it when he had an opportunity: and he was willing for his neighbour to enjoy the same liberty, provided he hated the Anglican Church; for hostility to the Church was the only bond of union, in those days, between the sects and parties into which the religious world was divided. And is it not the same now? Since the commencement of the present year a sly *hit* has been aimed at the Church, by a man who has usually been held up as a pattern of moderation, and on an occasion, too, when it might have been expected that no unkind allusions would have been indulged in. We allude to a sermon preached in Bath, by Mr. Jay, on occasion of the *fiftieth* anniversary of his ministry in that city. In reference to his early life, which appears to have been spent in a Dissenting academy or school, at Marlborough, he says, "I shall never forget with what eagerness and feeling these villagers received the words of life. The common people heard us gladly, and the poor had the Gospel preached unto them—not by the '*poor man's Church*,' but by those who *then* supplied their lack of service." (p. 24). Why such an allusion on such an occasion? It shows the *animus* of the man, and reveals the character of Dissent.

Dr. Vaughan's own account of this period is so curious, that we cannot refrain from extracting it:—

"It was the greater toleration of religious notions and usages during the ascendancy of Cromwell which contributed to make that period so memorable in the history of religious opinion. All those varieties of theological speculation and sentiment, which had been so often condemned in ecclesiastical history under the name of heresy, then seemed to spring up anew, like the sproutings from seed which had lain dormant in a wintry soil. The republics of Greece and Rome embraced no principle of government which was not broached, discussed, and propagated among us in that age; and there was hardly a sublimity or a weakness in those conceptions of our holy religion which had sprung from the diversified character and condition of the species in preceding centuries that did not then seem to break forth as with the vigour and freshness of novelty. It is a spurious philosophy which stumbles at these things, and which shows itself capable of pardoning the weakness of humanity on any matter rather than upon religion, where, assuredly, it is most of all entitled to our indulgence." (p. 536).

This description may very well suit for the state of religion at the present time. It was formerly said of Amsterdam, in allusion to the number of sects in that city, that if a man had lost his religion, he might find it there; and assuredly the same saying was applicable to England during the Commonwealth: nor can it be denied that it applies to the state of our country at the present moment. New sects spring up every year almost in rapid succession; in a few years they are forgotten, or become the subject of history: while others, still more extraordinary than their predecessors, come up in their room. That such a state of things can be viewed as satisfactory, or be regarded as a healthy state, by reflecting persons, is impossible. The great Apostle of the Gentiles cautioned those to whom he wrote against divisions: but in our day divisions are applauded and fostered, while all Dissenters concur in opinion that the sin of schism cannot be committed; thus, in effect, setting aside the authority of many passages of Holy Writ altogether.

But Dr. Vaughan has made certain discoveries which have escaped the researches of all his predecessors. Thus he says—

“Nevertheless, the people had grown prodigiously within the last twenty years (this was during the Protectorate of Richard Cromwell) in political knowledge; and having exercised the vigour of their intellect on all the great questions of social right during that period, they might have been regarded by any sober mind, even at that juncture, as prepared to assert their claim to a system of rational liberty, with moderation and effect, at no very distant day. It is to Pym and Hampden, and their coadjutors, much more than to the men who became conspicuous forty years later, that we owe the revolution of 1688.” (p. 562).

This is a singular passage, and not at all in keeping with the views of the generality of Dissenting historians, who usually attribute the revolution to other causes. We, however, suspect that Dr. Vaughan is fully aware, that the Dissenters did all they could to favour King James, in return for the liberty of conscience which he offered them, when he was so anxious to introduce Popery. Being aware of this fact, and knowing well that the revolution would not have taken place if matters had been left to the Dissenters, Dr. Vaughan is determined that the credit of producing that change shall be awarded, not to the men who actually took a part in the proceedings of the time, but to individuals who lived nearly half a century before. This is rather an ingenious expedient; and it is resorted to by our author for the purpose of throwing a shield over the Dissenters of 1688, who, with few exceptions, concurred in the measures of King James, concurring also, as is still the case with the body,

with the Papists against the Anglican Church, always the great bulwark of the Reformation in this country.

The following passage also contains a singular discovery :—

“Notwithstanding the frequent obscurity in the works of that period (the Commonwealth), and the weariness, in consequence, which is so often felt in reading them, they nearly all evince a singular degree of freedom from those pedantic allusions and studied conceits by which the literature of the age of Elizabeth and James had been so greatly disfigured.” (p. 566).

Is this a true statement? That there are pedantic writers in every age, no sensible man will deny; but to assert that the writers of the Commonwealth were more free from such allusions than those of the age of Elizabeth and James, argues either ignorance or wilful misrepresentation. Assuredly the reverse of the above statement is the fact. Never was there a period in our history when pedantic allusions were so common as during the Commonwealth. Scarcely a writer is free from them—except, indeed, those individuals, of whom there was no small number, who, having no learning to display, could not make any pretensions to it in their writings. It was an age when learning was despised by numbers; but it is equally true, that those who possessed merely a smattering were sure to bring it forward on all occasions, and especially in their books, which abound in curious instances of pedantry and affectation. Let Dr. Vaughan peruse many of the sermons published between the years 1640 and 1660, of which vast numbers are extant, and then let him decide whether the writings of that day are singularly free from pedantry. Let him read also many of the *treatises* of the time, and he will be constrained to come to a different conclusion, and to retract the above statement.

While on the one hand no single period can be fixed upon when so many pedantic allusions are to be found in the writings of the time, on the other hand it would be very difficult to mention any age so free from such *allusions* as that of Elizabeth and James I. That some writers indulged in them is admitted; but we deny that it was the characteristic of the age. To us it is evident that Dr. Vaughan is little versed in the works of the period; and we make this assertion because we are unwilling to believe that he intended to misrepresent them. Did he ever read Jewel? Do his writings abound in *pedantic allusions and conceits*? Can he name any writer who is less chargeable with such defects? Did he ever peruse the “Ecclesiastical Polity” of the immortal and the *judicious* Hooker? Can he discover much *pedantry* or many *conceits* in that great work? We men-

tion another great luminary of the same period, Field, whose work "Of the Church" is inferior only to the "Ecclesiastical Polity." It would be impossible to mention all the writers of this period in whose works no such *allusions* and *conceits* are to be found; and it is unnecessary to mention more, for any man of ordinary attainments is able to confute the silly assertion so ostentatiously put forth by Dr. Vaughan.

We have already had occasion to allude to our author's views on the death of Charles I.; but we did not think it possible for any man who sustains the office of a Christian minister to make such allusions as the following:—

"It could not be denied that the man who would destroy the freedom of a nation may be a much greater offender than the party who should compass the death of a sovereign; and that this destruction being brought about by the sovereign, while sworn, above all men, to act as the conservator of the good destroyed, was a circumstance only tending to impart the strongest possible aggravation to such delinquency." (p. 580).

This passage follows closely upon the author's summary of the views and arguments of the regicides. Here, however, he states that a certain position cannot be denied; and he insinuates, though he admits that the fact was denied by the Royalists, that Charles I. had destroyed the freedom of the nation, and deserved to suffer. Now Charles I. was less guilty than the Parliamentarians, by whom he was opposed; less guilty than the *Independents*, who put him to death, and who are lauded by Dr. Vaughan; less guilty than Cromwell, who usurped the royal office, though he declined the royal title; and less guilty than many of those fanatical preachers, by whom the Parliament were encouraged in their deeds of darkness.

Dr. Vaughan's hostility to the English Liturgy is so strong, that he would prefer that of Baxter, though he had much rather have public worship conducted in the extemporary way, after the fashion of the Independents. It is remarkable that the Presbyterians at the Savoy Conference, who had no objection to a liturgy provided they were permitted to compile it themselves, should not have used a prescribed form at a subsequent period. They expressed themselves satisfied with the principle; but when they had the opportunity of adopting one of their own, or that of Baxter, which was presented at the conference, they still persisted in the course which they had adopted during the Commonwealth, using extempore prayer only. Such, too, with few exceptions, has been the course with Dissenters from that time to the present. The exceptions at the present moment are, we believe, the Wesleyan Methodists, the members of

Lady Huntingdon's congregations, and the Socinians ; by all of whom, either the whole or portions of the English Liturgy are used. In the violence of contention men are sure to go to extremes. It is rarely that the moderation of our Reformers is copied, who, in compiling the Book of Common Prayer, did not reject those things in the mass-book which were in accordance with Scripture and primitive practice. The Puritans objected to some portions of the Liturgy simply because they were found in the Roman offices ; the Presbyterians rejected it altogether ; and by modern Dissenters, with the exceptions just mentioned, it is charged with Popery, though they themselves hesitate not to make common cause with Papists, for the purpose of opposing the Church of England. Such is the condition of human nature ! Dr. Vaughan says that six hundred alterations were made in the Liturgy by the Convocation of 1661 ; "but nearly every point objected to by the Nonconformists was left untouched." (p. 595). Such a statement is entitled to very little credit. The changes may easily be ascertained by a comparison of the books, of which many still remain, printed before the year 1640, with those published since the period of the Savoy Conference.

Though this author is far from being friendly either to the principles or the proceedings of the Presbyterian body, yet his indignation boils over in detailing their alleged sufferings under the operation of the Act of Uniformity. Speaking of that Act, and alluding to the Convention Parliament, by whom the king was restored, he remarks : "Since that period, some hundreds of the Presbyterian clergy had been expelled from their livings." (p. 545). Certainly many Presbyterians and many Independents were removed before the Act of Uniformity came into operation ; but why were they removed ? Simply because they were in possession of livings which had been possessed by men illegally ejected, and who were still living. Where is Dr. Vaughan's sympathy for the suffering Episcopalians ? Had the former a better claim to the livings in question than the latter ? This matter is always perverted by Dissenting writers, who never state the case fairly and honestly ; and therefore we may be excused in offering a few remarks on the subject. When Charles II. was restored, the ancient laws of the kingdom were immediately in force, never having been repealed by competent authority. Many clergymen had been ejected from their livings between the years 1640 and 1660, their places being filled by Presbyterians and Sectaries. On the restoration of the king all the surviving clergy were, as a matter of course, restored to their preferments : and can it be pleaded that there was any hardship in the illegal occupants giving place to the rightful

owners? We cannot conceive on what ground of reason or justice Dr. Vaughan, or any other person, can complain. Surely the episcopal survivors had a just claim upon the livings, though they had been long kept out of possession. We ask, therefore, how it is that these facts were not fairly stated by this gentleman? And how is it that the sanction of a society could be given to such important suppressions? These are the things of which we complain, of which the public have a right to complain: and, in our opinion indeed, they ought not to rest satisfied until these volumes are removed from the lists of the society, whose professed object is the diffusion of *useful knowledge*, but who are actually circulating erroneous statements, and palming them upon the world as undoubted verities.

“In some respects, the severity of these proceedings was without a parallel in the history of English Protestantism. On the accession of Elizabeth, many Catholic priests were deprived of their livings, but all were provided for by the Government, though known to be its enemies. The same was the case with the Episcopalian clergy during the late changes: a fifth of their former income was secured to them, even amidst the danger and license of such irregular times.” (p. 596).

When the author penned this passage he forgot the terms in which he had spoken of Elizabeth's conduct to the Popish priests in his former volumes: and, for the purpose of aiming a blow at the Church of England, he has paid a compliment to Elizabeth, in direct contravention of his former statements. Verily, a writer should have a good memory, or one portion of a work is sure to contradict another. But with respect to the case of the episcopal sufferers under the Presbyterians and the Commonwealth, the author has stated what is opposed to the facts. It is true, indeed, that there was an *ordinance* enforcing a *fifth* part of the proceeds of a living to the ejected incumbent; but it is also true that the majority of the poor sufferers not only never obtained a single fraction, except the illegal occupants chose to give it, but that they could obtain no redress by an appeal to a court of law. Instances are not wanting, in those sad times, of the wives and children begging for relief, at the doors of their own houses, of the men who were unjustly possessed of the property of their husbands and fathers, and begging in vain. In some cases they were even told to appeal to the law for the recovery of the *fifths*, the parties who refused the relief knowing well that the law was inoperative, and that the sufferers were not likely to obtain any advantage from such an appeal. That some of the illegal possessors paid the *fifths*, we do not deny; they might do so to satisfy their consciences while enjoying the property of others: but we affirm that very

few of the sufferers ever received a single farthing; while the pretence of an *ordinance* was nothing more than mockery, inasmuch as it was never enforced. For a proof of this assertion we appeal to the fact, that after the restoration some of the sufferers actually recovered the *fifths* which had been refused under the Commonwealth. One of the Presbyterian clergy actually wrote a treatise against the payment of the *fifths*, under this title—“*General Reasons, grounded on equity, piety, charity, and justice, against the Payment of a Fifth Part to the Sequestered Ministers’ Wives and Children.*” Neal, too, more accurate than Dr. Vaughan, though styled the *most* dishonest of historians, admits that the *fifths* were very badly paid. When, however, he was thus designated—we believe by Southey—Dr. Vaughan had not commenced his career as an author; at all events, not in this particular department.

The reader of these volumes will perceive, that there is a studied intention to magnify the sufferings of the Nonconformists under the operation of the Act of Uniformity, and to conceal those of the episcopal clergy during the rebellion. We attempt not to justify the proceedings of the reign of Charles II. against the Nonconformists; but we contend, that to estimate them impartially we must divest ourselves of the views so common and so firmly established in our own age, and place ourselves in the scenes and circumstances of the times in question. Our determination, to be just, must be founded on the views and sentiments which then prevailed. The principles of toleration were not understood by any party; nor can it be doubted that a general toleration at that time would have been fatal to the welfare of all parties except the Papists, who would have been thereby enabled to establish themselves in the country, amidst the divisions and the animosities of the various bodies of professing Protestants. From the very commencement of the disputes with the Puritans, all parties had been agreed that there must be only one form of divine worship in one country; and the only question between them related to the particular *form* to be adopted. Such being the view of all parties, every honest mind must perceive, that there was much more reason and justice, on the side of the Church of England, in not yielding to the scruples of others, than on the part of the Puritans and Nonconformists, in demanding so wide a departure from the views and practices which had been established in the Church by our wise Reformers. In the time of King Edward some few persons of eminence and station in the Church entertained scruples respecting some of the ceremonies; but no evil consequences ensued, because the individuals in question considered it their duty to

Dr. Vaughan and Jeremy Collier.

yield rather than to break the peace of the Church for the sake of trifles—for the ceremonies were on all sides allowed to be things indifferent. In the time of King Edward, and even from that period down to the reign of Charles II., none but a few visionaries deemed it to be lawful to separate from an Established Church—a Church that had nothing sinful in her practice, or corrupt in her doctrine. Schism was viewed, almost by all, with abhorrence. The Puritans at the Hampton Court Conference, and the Nonconformists at the Savoy Conference, were averse to a separation from an Established Church, and to a general toleration of all sects. In both these instances the parties laboured to produce such modifications in the ceremonies and practices of the Church as should enable them to comply; and it was not till some years after the Savoy Conference that the lawfulness of complete separation was admitted by the great body of Nonconformists. When, therefore, we consider that such were the views of all parties respecting *schism, toleration, and the necessity of an Established Church*, we cannot but arrive at the conclusion, that on the principles of the age, principles disputed only by a small body, the defence of the Church of England, during the reigns of Elizabeth, James I., Charles I., and Charles II., is much more easy than that of the Puritans and Nonconformists, inasmuch as the latter parties did not seek for toleration for themselves, but for a complete change in the worship and government of the Church as settled by the Reformers, many of whom had yielded up their lives in defence of the principles and practices which, after the most mature deliberation, they had deemed it necessary to adopt.

These considerations ought ever to be taken into the account in contemplating the events of the period to which we allude. We would also remind Dr. Vaughan that the Reformation in England was effected by men who maintained the very same views, as to doctrine and discipline, as are now held by the Anglican Church. There were no Dissenters in the first stages of the Reformation: the work was accomplished by the Church; and all the martyrs—the men who have rendered the short reign of Queen Mary so memorable in English history—were her sons, her supporters, and most vigorous defenders. Had the principles of modern Dissent been acted upon in the time of King Edward VI., no reformation could have taken place. Such principles may be carried out into practice in such times as the present, and under the fostering wing of a tolerant Church; but what could they have done against Popery at the period of the Reformation? Dr. Vaughan must be well aware that neither the Puritans nor the Presbyterians in 1662, nor, indeed,

any parties, with the exception of the Independents and Sectaries, the offspring of the excesses of the Commonwealth, entertained the same views with himself on the important points of schism, toleration, and establishments.

Whatever may have been the views of some of the statesmen of the time respecting the Act of Uniformity, there can be little doubt that Charles himself contemplated the setting it aside, by the exercise of the prerogative, in the form of a royal indulgence.

It is, indeed, certain, that the ministers who quitted their livings under the Act were induced to believe that their end would be more easily accomplished if a large body should refuse to conform, as, in such a case, his majesty would interpose in their favour, which he could not do should their numbers be insignificant. This fact will account for the number being so large; and in reply to the objection, that they would have conformed at a subsequent period if this position had been correct, we need only remark, that it is not easy for men to depart from a course when once it has been deliberately taken. Besides, the Nonconformists were buoyed up with the same expectations during the whole of this reign, so that they were not able to think of retracing their steps. Some of those who relinquished their livings under the operation of the Act conformed at a subsequent period; and undoubtedly many others would have followed their example had they not been committed to a party. It was the policy of a section of Charles's cabinet to persuade the Nonconformists to continue firm in their resolution not to conform. The party in question were anxious for his majesty to exercise that *dispensing power*, respecting which there was so much discussion during this and the succeeding reign. They hoped that the Romanists, as well as the Nonconformists, would reap the benefit; while they were well aware that there would be no hope for the former in the event of the great mass of the silenced ministers conforming to the Church of England.

With respect to the views entertained by the Nonconformists of the king's intentions to protect them from the operation of the Act of Uniformity, our opinions are in accordance with the remarks of Dr. Vaughan. If, indeed, the king and the bishops had been equally attached to the Church, and no underhand practices had been resorted to by some of the royal advisers, the numbers of the Bartholomew sufferers would have fallen very short of the numbers actually removed. Expecting that the shield of the royal favour would be thrown over them, many quitted their livings in the hope of being restored at a future day. Nor did the king and some of the cabinet relax in their

exertions to procure a toleration or indulgence ; which, however, was to embrace the Romanists as well as the Nonconformists. At that time the sovereign claimed the power of suspending the operation of the penal laws ; and the end in view was to be accomplished by what was termed a *Declaration of Indulgence*. It appears that the king actually intimated to the Nonconformist leaders, even before the day fixed for the enforcement of the Act of Uniformity, that its operation should be suspended. In this scheme, however, his majesty was disappointed by the Parliament and the judges, who concurred in stating that the suspension of the statutes of the realm was contrary to law. After such an expression of the feelings of the great council of the nation, some years elapsed before any direct attempt was made to suspend the operation of the penal laws ; but in the year 1672 his majesty ventured on that bold step, issuing the *Declaration*, by which the Nonconformists and the Romanists were permitted to use separate places of worship. Dr. Vaughan remarks of the *Declaration* :—

“It owed its existence to a dispensing power assumed by the crown, and which, of course, supplied a very dangerous precedent. It was hardly a secret, moreover, that the benefit intended by it was designed ultimately for the Catholic, much more than the Protestant.” (p. 659).

By the Parliament and the majority of the nation the measure was viewed with feelings of alarm. Dr. Vaughan admits that the “*Declaration* was censured generally and vehemently.” The Parliament, however, were not averse to the toleration of the Nonconformists ; but, perceiving that it was the intention of his majesty to screen especially his Roman Catholic subjects, they were alarmed lest the measure should tend to the increase of Popery. From the year 1662 the Parliament had declared against the dispensing power assumed, or attempted to be assumed, by the crown ; and before the close of the year 1673, when the *Declaration* had been for a considerable time in operation, they solemnly protested against its exercise. On a division, 168 members of the Lower House declared against 116, who voted in the minority, that the laws of the land could not be suspended, except by an Act of Parliament. The king, therefore, though very reluctantly, consented to recall the *Declaration*. At this time the majority in the House of Commons would have concurred in a bill for the relief of the Nonconformists, leaving the laws against the Romanists in operation ; but it was not the policy of the court to proceed by Act of Parliament, since, in that case, there would have been no hope of relaxing the law against the members of the Church of

Rome—the Dissenters being freed from the operation of the penal statutes. The court deemed it a wiser course to prevent the alteration of the law, and to attempt to relieve the Romanists, as well as the Nonconformists, by the exercise of a dispensing power. During the whole of this reign a constant struggle was carried on between the court and the Parliament on this subject.

Dr. Vaughan asserts that the revolution was owing to the proceedings of such men as Hampden and Pym, rather than to any individuals who lived at the time; and his object undoubtedly was to throw a shield over the failings of the Dissenters, in concurring as they did with the measures of the court. In alluding to this subject, the author evidently is aware that he is treading a very difficult path, and we might expect that he would proceed with much caution. It is, however, clear that he is somewhat ashamed of the conduct of the Nonconformists at this juncture, though he is too good a Dissenter to censure them. Thus we find him remarking, adopting the words of another writer:—

“It has been justly observed, that the Nonconformists were acted upon by powerful inducements and dissuasives. The preservation of civil liberty, the interest of the Protestant religion, the secure enjoyment of freedom in their own worship, were irresistible reasons against compliance. Gratitude for present relief, remembrance of recent wrongs, and a strong sense of the obligation to prefer the exercise of religion to every other consideration, were very strong temptations to a different conduct. The result of these conflicting motives seems to have been, that the far greater part of all denominations of Dissenters availed themselves of the Declaration so far as to resume their public worship; that the most distinguished of their clergy, and the majority of the Presbyterians, resisted the solicitations of the court to sanction the dispensing power by addresses of thanks for this exertion of it; that all the Quakers, the greater part of the Baptists, and perhaps also of the Independents, did not scruple to give this perilous token of their misguided gratitude, though many of them confined themselves to thanks for toleration, and solemn assurances that they would not abuse it. About one hundred and eighty of these addresses were presented in ten months, of which there were only seventy-seven exclusively and avowedly from Nonconformists.” (pp. 889, 890).

The author does not state from whom this passage is taken; but he adds, in a note, that only seven addresses were presented by the bishops and clergy. In this way does the author pass over the conduct of the Dissenters on this occasion, scarcely giving an opinion of his own, but, to avoid the charge of not noticing the question at all, giving the words of another, and then proceeding to other matters. We, however, cannot per-

mit the subject to be passed over so lightly, feeling that historic truth demands that our author's omissions should be exposed.

Alluding to the silence of the Dissenters relative to the Popish controversy during the reign of James II., Mr. Hallam remarks: "The Dissenters have been a little ashamed of their compliance with the Declaration, and of their silence in the Popish controversy during this reign."* Mr. Hallam, indeed, endeavours to find an excuse in their previous sufferings; but, more candid than Dr. Vaughan, he honestly states the fact. This is all we can desire. Dr. Vaughan was bound by the principle of common honesty to do the same: and then he might have mentioned any palliating circumstances which struck him as fair and reasonable. Then, with respect to the addresses presented to his majesty on the Declaration, Mr. Hallam says—

"These addresses, which, to the number of some hundreds, were sent up from every description of persons, the clergy, the nonconformists of all denominations, the grand juries, the justices of the peace, the corporations, the inhabitants of towns, in consequence of the Declaration, afford a singular contrast to what we know of the prevailing dispositions of the people in that year. Those from the clergy, indeed, disclose their ill-humour at the unconstitutional indulgence, limiting their thanks to some promises of favour the king had used towards the Established Church."†

There is some discrepancy between Mr. Hallam's numbers and Dr. Vaughan's; but the latter admits that *seven* addresses only proceeded from the bishops and clergy, and their character is stated by the former.

But Dissenting authorities are constrained to admit that their brethren, in 1688, acted very improperly. One leading man amongst them, Mr. Alsop, penned an address to his majesty, in which he wished him "*success in his great councils and affairs*;" and this address was signed by a large body. His majesty's intentions are now well known, and could not have been unknown to the Nonconformists of the period. Calamy alludes with sorrow to their conduct. He attempts, indeed, to palliate, not to justify it; but he adds, that "he would gladly throw a veil over" Mr. Alsop's conduct.‡ We allude to these matters for the purpose of pointing out the inconsistency of the Dissenters of our own times, in charging the Church of England and her clergy with leaning towards Popery, when the fact, that Popery must have prevailed in 1688, if the schemes of the court had

* Hallam's Const. Hist., iii. 101.

† Hallam. iii. 100.

‡ Calamy's Abridgment, ii. 488.

been supported by the Church as they *were* supported by the Dissenters, is incontestible, and an undisputed historical matter. Burnet, who cannot be accused of hostility to the Dissenters, has some severe remarks on their conduct at this period :—

“ It seems very strange to us, that some, who, if they are to be believed, are strict to the severest forms and subdivisions of the reformed religion, and who some years ago were jealous of the smallest steps the court made, when the danger was more remote, and who cried out *Papery* and *persecution*, when the design was so masked that some well-meaning men could not miss being deceived by the promises that were made, and the disguises that were put on ; that, I say, these persons who were formerly so distrustful, should now, when the mask is laid aside and the design is avowed, of a sudden grow to be so believing, as to throw off all disgust, and be so gulled as to betray all.”*

But we have said enough on this subject to prove that Dr. Vaughan and *the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge* are guilty of most unwarrantable suppressions in the account, which the former has written, and which the latter have sanctioned, of this important period of our national history.

The “ Ecclesiastical History ” of Collier, which stands at the head of this article, presents, in many of its pages, a most striking contrast to the volumes of Dr. Vaughan. Collier had his prejudices, and they were prejudices of a most powerful order. Our readers are aware that he was a *nonjuror*, that he refused to take the oaths to William and Mary ; and not only so, but that he was one of the chief leaders of the non-juring schism. He was one of the men who advocated the adoption of *new services*, framed after the model of the first book of King Edward VI. It is therefore certain that he had a strong bias towards Charles II., and the proceedings adopted by the court during that reign. But notwithstanding these leanings, Collier was a very honest historian. He states facts as they occurred ; he does not suppress them. He does not express his approval, for that would have been dishonest ; but he unhesitatingly records the events of the period of which he treats, whether they are agreeable to himself or otherwise. A Whig, or a Dissenter, in reading the pages of Collier, will meet with many things which he may not approve ; but he will not complain that his author has not fairly stated the circumstances which, as a historian, necessarily came under his notice. Such a meed of praise must be awarded to Collier by all who are able to form a judgment on the subject ; and such praise for an author is a case of no common occurrence.

* Burnet's Eighteen Papers, p. 84.

We have spoken of Collier as a historian ; but it remains that we should say something of this edition of his great work. Mr. Straker, the publisher, has laid the public under deep obligations, by his recent edition of the works of the learned Bingham ; and, in the present republication, he has conferred another favour on the literary and theological world of no ordinary character. These two works are standard works in the literature of our country ; and the man who could venture to republish them deserves all the encouragement which the public can give. We hope that the sale of both works will be equal to the publisher's expectations ; nor have we any doubt that such will be really the case.

With regard to the merits of this new edition of Collier, we may remark, that the editor, in our opinion, appears to have added greatly to the value of the original work, by a body of notes and illustrations, which could only have been supplied after diligent research. At the same time, we are constrained to add, that he goes further than we can accompany him in his approval of Collier's peculiar views on theology—views which led to a schism in the Anglican Church. Barring, however, this one point, we are free to acknowledge that the editor has executed his task with much ability, evincing the greatest desire to render the work useful to general readers. We have for many years been familiar with the pages of Collier ; and we cannot but rejoice that his history should be reprinted, and that the work should have been entrusted to an editor who reverences the memory of his author.

Before we close this article we have to allude to some remarks of Dr. Vaughan's on the former article. That gentleman has addressed a letter to us complaining of misrepresentations, to which charge, after another examination of the work, we must plead *not guilty* ! We certainly would not, knowingly, misrepresent any one ; and were we conscious of having done so, in any case, we should gladly make a retractation. We are convinced, however, that the charge cannot be substantiated ; and, to enable our readers to judge for themselves, we submit some portion of the author's letter to their notice, with such comments of our own as may enable them to arrive at a just conclusion.

Two points are selected by Dr. Vaughan for the foundation of his charge of misrepresentation : the *first* relates to the ejection of the episcopal clergy ; the *second*, to Archbishop Laud. We had stated in our previous notice that "he justifies the removal of clergymen whose only crime was conformity accord-

ing to law." Dr. Vaughan states, that in one of the paragraphs on which a comment is made, there is the following passage. We give it at length :—

"Part of the price to be paid by the Parliament for the assistance of the Scots, was the adoption of the covenant. The oath required by that instrument, which was meant to bind its partisans to a relentless hostility against the late ecclesiastical hierarchy, was taken, with some reservations, by both houses, and was exacted frequently, though by no means universally, from the clergy. Many of the Episcopalian clergy were deprived of their livings on the charge of their being scandalous ministers, and not unjustly. But men whose *only* delinquency consisted in refusing to become parties to this covenant were called 'malignants;' and on account of the malignancy said to be thus manifested, with respect both to the Gospel and the Parliament, *persons of this description were sometimes expelled*, to make room for others more conformable to the new standard of orthodoxy. *Such sufferers deserve a place among the confessors of the seventeenth century no less than the Puritans*, whose religious scruples, though of a different complexion, had exposed them to the same evils. Fuller, while *justly sympathizing* with those who were sequestered only for their loyalty, speaks of others as chargeable with offences that would not bear repeating." (p. 413).

We are of opinion still that the charge is fully borne out by the passage upon which it was grounded. He tells us that—

"A committee was formed to prevent the recurrence of them (evils), and to proceed against such of the clergy as disgraced their profession by their vices. These persons were known, in the language of the time, under the name of 'scandalous ministers;' and as they had generally distinguished themselves by their opposition to the Puritans, and by their support of the late unconstitutional policy of the Government, they failed not to give out, and their friends failed not to echo the assertion, that it was not so much their scandalous vices as their conscientious principles that had called forth the displeasure of their enemies. But if *this charge against the committee was at any time well founded*, there is good reason to believe that it was not so until a later period, when the passions of all parties had become more inflamed by the long continuance of the conflict, and the still distant prospect of a settlement. At this time some were merely reprimanded, others were bound to conduct themselves differently in future; the men suspended or deprived of their cures being generally such as had been 'countenanced to affront the Puritans,' and who, besides their private vices, had manifested their zeal in the cause of the new ceremonies in religion, and of the lawless power assumed by the crown. Upon the whole, this committee rendered important service to the cause of religion and civil liberty, although its authority was not strictly regular, and some of its acts partook of inconsiderateness and severity." (p. 318).

It was to this passage that we referred; and we ask whether

the author does not distinctly state, that the charge of removing men, except for scandalous living, did not apply to the committee until a later period?—in other words, men whose only crime was conformity according to law? This was our charge, and we repeat it, grounding it on the above passage. We deny that the men who were ejected at this time were guilty of *private vices*, as he insinuates, or of unlawful innovations. Their only crime was conformity according to the laws of the land. We are aware that Dr. Vaughan censures the proceeding of the committee at a later period—the period of the covenant—which, of course, was as distasteful to the Independents as to the Episcopalians; but this is not the question. The question is simply this, does Dr. Vaughan prove that the men of whom he speaks in the above extract were guilty of immoralities? We deny that he does; nay, we can prove the contrary, even from the pages of the notorious White, whose infamous “*Centurie*” is now on our table; yet our author justifies their removal. Is not the conclusion undeniable, namely, that he justifies the ejection of men whose only crime was conformity according to law? He cannot escape from the consequences involved in the preceding extract, by referring to another passage condemnatory of the proceedings of the committee at a subsequent period. He distinctly says, that the charge of ejecting men for their principles only did not apply at the time to which the extract refers. We, however, can prove that the committee acted quite as unjustly at that time as at a subsequent period. Our charge, therefore, is just. Their only crime was conformity.

The other point relates to Archbishop Laud. Here, too, Dr. Vaughan refers to one passage, while our charge is grounded upon another. We formerly quoted a passage from page 329, in which our author, after some observations on the nature of treason, adds:—

“Whether an attempt to destroy the fundamental laws of the kingdom be treason or not, is a question which we shall have occasion presently to consider; but that the conduct of such ministers as the Archbishop of Canterbury made them justly liable to impeachment is certain.”

On this passage we ground our charge, that our author has justified the death of the archbishop; and we add, in the former article, “if this be not a justification of his death we are mistaken.”

Now we must repeat that our opinion remains unaltered. Dr. Vaughan, in his letter, refers to a passage at page 414, in which he condemns the Long Parliament for putting Laud to death. In the passage to which we have alluded, and on which

our charge was grounded, Dr. Vaughan asserts that such ministers as Laud were justly liable to impeachment; and from this statement we naturally infer that the author justified the impeachment; and how any man could justify such a proceeding without at the same time approving of his execution, which was only the consequence of his impeachment, we are at a loss to determine. The passage in question involves a justification of Laud's death, inasmuch as it expresses an approval of an act that led to his death. To condemn the proceedings of the Long Parliament in one place is not sufficient; to have been consistent, Dr. Vaughan should not have penned the passage in question. Our author states in his letter, that all he had written on the trial and execution of Laud occurs at pages 414, 415. Had he forgotten page 329? He does not, indeed, actually use the words, *trial* and *execution* of the archbishop, in the passage on which our charge is rested; but he alludes to the question of treason, and to the impeachment of that eminent and greatly maligned, though, we are quite free to admit, in many respects mistaken man. To us, therefore, it appears somewhat startling that Dr. Vaughan should allege, that all he has said on the subject of the trial and execution is to be found in the pages which he has specified, when the proceedings, from which the death of the archbishop resulted, are not only spoken of in another passage, but even justified. We cannot but repeat again, that we merely put a fair construction on a particular passage, and that no writer is at liberty to escape from the consequences involved in one part of his work, by referring us to another, in which an opposite statement may be contained. It is not our business to reconcile contradictions, nor to account for inconsistencies.

Dr. Vaughan complains that we have made him say the opposite of what he really said. Had such been the case, we would most gladly have acknowledged the error. We cannot, however, admit that we have done anything of the kind; and our readers will decide whether our construction of the passage at page 329 is not fully justified by the passage itself. That we should be influenced by any hostile feeling towards Dr. Vaughan is impossible, for he is totally unknown to us, except as an author. And even as an author we are altogether unacquainted with him, with the exception of his two works on "The Stuarts." In reviewing his work, we of course felt it to be our duty to point out the tendency of certain passages, which might not have been obvious to ordinary readers; and our most decided conviction is, that we have not exceeded the bounds of fair and legitimate criticism.

ART. II.—*Lectures on Modern History.* By WILLIAM SMYTH, Professor of Modern History in the University of Cambridge. 2 vols. London: Pickering. 1841.

2. *The Natural History of Society.* By W. C. TAYLOR, LL.D. 2 vols. London: How and Parsons. 1841.

POPE, in his “Temple of Fame,” places at each gate the “sage historians,” clothed in white garments:—

“Graved o’er their seats the form of Time was found,
His scythe reversed, and both his pinions bound!”

But the historians stand at the gate to very little purpose, if they do not distinguish between the different claimants for admission. History has been too frequently only a graver form of panegyric. If the glories of history be radiant to persuade, the terrors of history should also be mighty to alarm. If it has the laurel to crown, it should also possess the scourge to punish. If its Paradise be full of music, and light, and joy; its darker region of suffering should have its horrors of blackness and of shame. History ought to contain two temples—one of glory, the other of contempt. Decorate the portal of the first with all the luxury of fancy; but over the gates of the second, write the terrible inscription of Dante. Let the blood-thirsty warrior, the abandoned courtier, the hypocritical statesman, learn that they are to *leave all hope behind them*, when they enter into the solemn precincts of history. There the judge waits to question and to sentence them:—

“Quæsitur Minos urnam movet; ille silentum
Consiliumque vocat, vitasque et crimina discit.”

But History has not performed her full office, though she may have bound the garland on the brow of valour and patriotism, or lashed the blood out of the writhing favourites of vice. She has still one more duty to discharge. To her belongs the peculiar privilege of leading into public notice the silent train of suffering virtue; to wipe away the tears of persecuted innocence; and to scatter the sweetest flowers of her garden upon the graves of the unfortunate and the good. These are histories which she may record, with a glow of happiness upon her cheek. History should preach to the world from the sepulchre of virtue; for who cannot exclaim, in the touching lines of Rogers—

“When by a good man’s grave I muse alone,
Methinks an angel sits upon the stone;
Like those of old, on that thrice hallow’d night,
Who sat and watch’d in raiment heavenly bright,

And with a voice, inspiring joy, not fear,
Say, pointing upward, 'Know! he is not here!'

The views entertained by Professor Smyth, both of the objects and the treatment of history, are developed with great precision, and with much elegance and animation, in his introductory lecture. In sitting down to prepare himself for the discharge of his important and honourable duties, three successive schemes for lectures on modern history appear to have presented themselves to him. The first was very splendid and imposing. Perceiving that detail was obviously impossible in it, he resolved upon the exclusion of all "more particular and local history;" delineations of character, pictures of remarkable events, outlines of surprising revolutions, were to be left out of the plan, except so far as they related to the *general* interests of mankind. Nations were to be contemplated only in their struggles and intercourse with other countries; the mouldering desolation of one city was to be gazed upon only, as it were, by the rising glory of another; and the student was to pass through the tumult and savage exultation of barbarism, into the beauty, the lustre, and the refinement of civilization. "A summary, an estimate of human nature as it had shown itself since the fall of the Roman empire, on the great theatre of the civilized part of the world, was, if possible, to be given." Maturer deliberation displayed the difficulties and the perils of this undertaking. The eye of the historic traveller might well grow weary and dim with gazing upon that vast and distant horizon. However patient he might be of thirst, however courageous in combating the perils and toils of the journey, nature would at length faint and yield. A dreary wilderness is to be traversed before the historian can reach the green and fertile country, or refresh his tired spirit with the cultivated scenery of civilized life. Professor Smyth started back at the magnificence of his own outline. He had, indeed, an illustrious example before him of one great and mighty genius, who, urged forward by an inexhaustible spirit of enterprize, and lighted along the dark paths of enquiry by the torch of a most radiant wisdom, yet ventured not to undertake so vast and mysterious a voyage of discovery. The great Lord Bacon, is the observation of Smyth, "did not find himself unworthily employed, when he was considering the existing situation, and contemplating the future advancement of human learning; but to look back upon the world, and to consider the different movements of different nations, whether retrograde or in advance, and to state the progress of the whole, from time to time, as resulting from the combined

effect and failures of all the parts : to attempt this, is to attempt more than was effected even by the enterprising mind of Bacon ; for it is to appreciate the facts, as well as to exhibit the theory of human society—to weigh in the balance the conduct as well as the intelligence of mankind—and to extend to the religion, legislation, and policy of states, and to the infinitely diversified subject of their political happiness, the same enquiry, criticism, and speculation, which the wisest and brightest of mankind had been content to extend only to the more particular theme of human knowledge.” The Professor acted wisely in thus withdrawing from his proposed enterprize. Diligence and accuracy were considered by Gibbon to be the only merits which an historical writer may ascribe to himself. But a critic of history would require more expansive powers, a keener vision, and a hardier frame.

This scheme, therefore, having been relinquished by the Professor, the next that occurred to him was to select particular periods of history, and to present a review and an estimate of them in a connected series of discourses. The dark ages, the revival of learning, the Reformation, the religious wars, the victories of Louis XIV., are all striking texts for such historical disquisitions. The advantages of the scheme were not concealed from the Professor : he perceived that these epochs of gloom, of terror, of glory, or of ambition, could not be spoken of without reference to “the general meaning and importance of modern history.” In describing particular and isolated periods, it would be difficult to avoid an occasional deviation into events which are either nearly or remotely associated with them. In walking through these paths of history, with the lamp in our hands, it is impossible but that some rays should lighten the mist on our right hand and on our left. Thus, while pursuing only one track, we might insensibly become acquainted with the characteristic features of the country. This plan was adopted by Vertot in his “Revolutions,” and by Voltaire in his “Age of Louis XIV. ;” and though Warburton and Hurd pronounced it wrong and absurd, it has been employed by Schlegel, and carried out in political and literary history with remarkable fluency and power.

After some deliberation, the Professor deemed it prudent to reject the second scheme also ; chiefly, as he informs us, because to attempt it would be rather to attempt to write a book than to give lectures. His third and final scheme was simpler, and certainly more practicable ; it consisted in the honest endeavour to assist his *hearers in reading history for themselves*. We think that Professor Smyth’s determination was a wise and conscien-

tious one. It showed that the moral and intellectual benefit and improvement of his youthful audience had engaged his anxiety and interest. For it ought to be remembered, that while he narrowed the *site* of that structure which he proposed to erect, he also deprived himself of many opportunities of displaying his imagination, his wit, and his eloquence. Instead of writing his own inscriptions upon the temple of history, he seeks to explain the writing of *others*; instead of enshrining his own statues of silver and gold within those embellished walls, he conducts the student to the statues which are already placed there. He is content to be a *guide*, when he might have been an *architect*. But to return. Having chosen his plan, the Professor proceeds to give some brief directions with a view to its successful application and reception; and the following caution is so ingenious, so important, and so happily illustrated, that we shall quote it in the writer's own words:—

“The first advice, then, which I shall take upon me to give, as the result of my experience, is this—not to read general histories, and abridgments of history, as a more summary method of acquiring historical knowledge. There is *no* summary method of acquiring knowledge. Abridgments of history have their use, but this is not their use, nor can be. When the detail is tolerably known, the summary can then be understood, but not before. Summaries may always serve, most usefully, to revive the knowledge that has been before acquired; may throw it into proper shapes and proportions, and leave it in this state upon the memory to supply the materials of subsequent reflection. But general histories, if they are read first, and before the particular history is known, are a sort of chain of which the links seem not connected; certain representations and statements, which cannot be understood, and therefore cannot be remembered, and exhibit to the mind a succession of objects and images, each of which appears and retires too rapidly to be surveyed; and when the whole vision has passed by, as soon it does, a trace of it is scarcely found to remain. Were I to look from an eminence over a country which I had never before seen, I should discover only the principal objects—the villa, the stream, the lawn, or the wood. But if the land before me had been the scene of my childhood, or lately of my residence, every object would bring along with it all its attendant associations, and the picture that was presented to the eye would be the least part of the impression that was received by the mind. Such is the difference between reading general histories before or after the particular histories to which they refer.” (t. i. p. 6.)

From the necessity of reading history, the Professor turns to the pleasures and benefits of reading it. In a passage of history he discovers some of the machinery of fictitious story: it has incidents, adventures, heroes, and catastrophes; and it has

these qualities of romance in a very vivid manner. That truth is stranger than fiction, has become a proverb. Has not the narrative of Herodotus all the charms of a novel? And yet the records of every traveller continue day by day to attest and confirm his relations. The beautiful page of Livy is coloured by fable; yet in that exquisite mirror of elegant diction, the features of truth are indistinctly reflected; and this partial shadow of her image is, perhaps, all that we may hope to obtain. The remark of Sir Robert Walpole, in his retirement, is sufficiently famous: "Do not read history to me, for that, I know, must be false." Upon this saying, Professor Smyth observes, "that history, if written at the time, cannot be depended upon in every particular; and that the lapse of some years is necessary in order to contemplate any event with serenity and justice." But the meaning of Walpole might have been this—that the history which professed to unfold the actions of a statesman must be false, since the motives of those actions were concealed from public observation. The advocate of the poor may have a heart of stone; the most generous exploit may be only the calculation of avarice. When history professes to expose the *inner man*, she cannot escape a deviation into falsehood.

But the most interesting aspect under which the study of history presents itself to our eyes, is as the *school of experience*. We wish to unravel the intricacies of Greek or of Latin policy; to dig down into the ancient soil for those fibres of fertile vigour and life, which gradually rose unto such beauty and strength, and covered the world with the immensity of their shade. We long to behold the merchant vessels crowding into the port of Tyre; to accompany the Roman armies through their resplendent victories in the east; to follow the Barbarians over the trampled harvests of the south, in their irruptions of carnage and terror.

" ——— The sage historic muse
Should next conduct us through the deeps of time;
Show us how empire grew, declined, and fell:
In scattered states what makes the nations smile,
Improves their soil, and gives them double suns,
And why they pine beneath the brightest skies,
In richest lap."—*The Seasons—Winter.*

The view, which Thompson takes, is not only poetical, but just—it ought to be the text of every history. If biography is history, teaching by the example of *one*; history is also biography, teaching by the example of *many*.

The triumph and the utility of all lectures, Professor Smyth very properly makes to consist in exciting the hearer to become

afterwards *a lecturer to himself*. No traveller is transported over a desert, or over a river, by merely looking idly on a guide, or leaning listlessly over a bridge. There must be some exertion on his own part; some effort, well or ill-directed. It is so in literature, in science, in art. The intellectual muscles must be brought into play: the mind must try little excursions for itself; it must learn to walk alone. "A hearer is not to sit passive, and to expect to see performed for him those tasks which he can only perform for himself. They who listen to lectures must be content to become wise, as men can only become wise—by the exercise, the discipline, the warfare, and the fatigue of their own faculties, amid labours to be endured and difficulties to be surmounted. The temple of wisdom, like that of virtue, must be placed on an eminence." Chaucer builds his temple of fame upon a rock of ice; and Pope, in carrying out the description, given by the father of our poetry, tells us—

"Steep its ascent, and slipp'ry was the way."

If we would reach the summit, we cut our steps as we climb.

We shall run hastily over some of the chief contents of these elegant volumes. The first lecture is on the Barbarians and Romans; a most affecting and almost solemn subject. It is, indeed, a spectacle of melancholy grandeur to behold this battle between savageness and civilization, and to watch this struggle of light and darkness for the empire of the world. Such a scene might well produce that pause in our historical researches which the Professor desires. The eye of Gibbon ranged in all its brilliancy and power over this field of enquiry. The three opening chapters, together with the ninth, of his great work, will introduce the reader into the central action of the age; while, for a picture of the invasion of the Huns, we must turn to the twenty-sixth, thirty-fourth, and thirty-fifth chapters of the same book. The fall of the western empire of Rome resounds, if we may speak so, through the storm and gloom of centuries. The boldest spirit might have trembled, as it watched the gathering and the explosion of that awful tempest. There is something very thrilling in those famous epochs of history, which we might class under the names of Columbus, Luther, and Buonaparte; but they sink and glimmer away before the terrific awfulness of this irruption of barbarism. The sun of fancy set in the dark ages, and the few gleams that streak that dreary horizon only throw the desolation of night into a more horrible relief. The authors recommended by Professor Smyth to guide the student along these dim and perilous ways,

are Butler, Gibbon, Hénault, or Millot and Robertson. But in order to prevent his hearers from being bewildered by the continual *intersection* of historic paths, the Professor selects, from the general history of the dark ages, a few subjects of primary importance. These may be briefly enumerated. The foundation of the French monarchy, and the Merovingian or the first race of kings; the Pepins and Charles Martel, and the second or Carolingian race; Charlemagne; the birth of the French and German empires; the origin of the temporal power of the Papacy; the feudal system and chivalry; the Hanseatic league; the Crusades; and the laws of the barbarians. Such is a faint outline of the picture which the Professor attempts to fill up; and if we had time or space to follow him, we should often be called upon to admire the vivacity of his pencil and the richness of his colouring. That agreeable task cannot be ours. To analyze the lectures of these volumes, would be to write two lectures upon them. We can only venture to follow his footsteps afar off, and join him when he moralizes over the fate of a kingdom, or lingers before the portrait of some illustrious chieftain, statesman, or orator. Without assuming that high-sounding appellation, the lectures abound in what is called the philosophy of history; observations are sprinkled over the page, full of wisdom and moderation; nor are they scattered with a parsimonious hand. In the lecture on Mahomet, a very excellent distinction is drawn between evils and their remedies:—

“Now it often happens, in human affairs, that the evil and the remedy grow up at the same time: the remedy unnoticed, and at a distance scarce visible, perhaps, above the earth: while the evil may shoot rapidly into strength, and alone catch the eye of the observer by the immensity of its shadow and the fulness of its luxuriance. The eternal law, however, which imposes change upon all things, insensibly produces its effect, and a subsequent age may be enabled to mark how the one declined, and the other advanced; how the life and the vigour were gradually transferred; and how returning spring seemed no longer to renew the honours of the one, while it summoned into progress and maturity the promise and perfection of the other.”

The influence of the crusades upon the progress of society has been expanded by Robertson and contracted by Gibbon. Adam Smith considered them to have promoted civilization in some parts of Italy, and to have retarded it in the rest of Europe. Gibbon closes his observations upon the crusades by saying, that the conflagration, which destroyed the tall and barren trees of the forest, gave air and room to the nutritive plants of the soil; a metaphor which Professor Smyth interprets by the

overthrow of the feudal lords, and the elevation of the lower and middle classes—an explanation which, if it be just, as it seems to be, refutes the theory of Gibbon. “I look upon chivalry,” was the eloquent remark of Bishop Hurd, “as some mighty river, which the fablings of the poets have made immortal. It may have sprung up amidst rude rocks and blind deserts ; but the noise and rapidity of its course, the extent of country it adorns, and the towns and palaces it ennobles, may lead a traveller out of his way, and invite him to take a view of those dark caverns,

Unde superni
Plurimus Eridani per sylvam volvitur amnis.”

When the fire of chivalry had died out, romance broke forth in flame, and has continued to burn through the pages of Ariosto, of Tasso, and of Spenser. The youthful eyes of Milton were dazzled by that illumination. In the crusades, Hume beheld only an everlasting monument of human folly. But in that heart, so cold and sceptical, what flame of generous ardour could ever be kindled ? Without doubt we owe to the crusades many of those gleams of Arabian light that paint the early horizon of our poetry. It may be true, as Gibbon asserts, that the ardour of studious curiosity was awakened in Europe by different causes and more recent events ; it may be true that each pilgrim was anxious to return with his sacred spoils ; yet the same historian is not unwilling to admit that a captive or a pilgrim “might sometimes observe the superior refinements of Cairo and Constantinople.” Mr. Mills says, that although the stream of knowledge flowed through Europe during the time of the crusades, still no evidence remains to show that “new sources of literature were opened, or that mind received any scientific stimulus by the expeditions into Palestine.” This observation is not true in its full extent. Without any particular love of philosophy or of poetry, the traveller often brought back some flower-seeds, which, scattered carelessly over British ground, grew up into colour and perfume.

Professor Smyth introduces some very pleasing remarks upon the feelings of the crusaders:—

“The crusaders, indeed, were inflamed by the images of the Holy Land ; for they saw, and were overpowered with indignation when they saw, the sacred earth, which had been blessed by the footsteps of our Saviour, profaned by the tread of barbarians, who rejected his faith and outraged his pious unoffending followers : but in this the crusaders submitted only to the associations of their nature. The same power of association is still the great salutary law by which we, too, are animated or subdued ; by which we, too, are hurried into action or moulded into habit : and it is as impossible for us now, as it was to the crusaders of

the middle ages, to behold without affection and reverence, whatever has been once connected with objects that are dear and venerable in our eyes. It is thus that things, in themselves the most inanimate, are every day seen to assume almost the nature of life and existence. Is there at Runnymede (for instance) to be found nothing more than the beauty of the scene? Do we walk without emotion amid the ruins of ancient Rome? Is Palestine a land, and Jerusalem a city, like a common land and a common city? Far different is the answer which nature has unalterably given to appeals of this kind, in every climate, and in every heart. And if, indeed, the sepulchre in which our Saviour was inurned; if, indeed, the cross on which he expired could be presented to our eyes; if we could, indeed, believe that such were in truth the objects actually exhibited to our view, assuredly we should sink in reverence, as did our forefathers, before such affecting images of the past; assuredly, with the sufferer himself, we should identify these visible instruments of his sufferings: and the sacrifice of our hearts would not be the idolatry of blindness, but the natural effusion of irresistible devotion and awe. It is not the sentiments by which these heroes were impelled that we can bear to censure; it is the excess to which they were carried; it is the direction which they took; it is piety preposterously exercised; it is courage unlawfully employed; the extravagances to which virtue and religion may be made subservient, not virtue and religion. So natural, indeed, are such sacred principles—so attractive, so respectable, even in their excesses, that we willingly allow to our imagination the facility which it loves of moulding into visions of sublimity and beauty the forms and the scenes which time has now removed within its softened twilight, and in some respects secured from the intrusions of our colder reason. Who is there that can entirely escape from the charm of pilgrims grey, and red-cross knights, the fights of Ascalon and the siege of Acre, the prowess and renown of our lion-hearted Richard?—*The Dark Ages*, lect. iv.

In the progress of society, and amid that glimmering uncertainty of knowledge, which marks the early dawn of literature, the lineaments of superstition begin to attract our attention; ghastly, gigantic, and mysterious.

“Ignorance and superstition (says Professor Smyth in his third lecture) are naturally allied; their cause is common; their friends and enemies the same. The opposers of a barbarous philosophy are soon entangled in the misapprehensions and corruptions of an abused religion; the spirit of enquiry which struggles with the one, is immediately suspected of a secret hostility to the other. The student, as he proceeds in his historical course, will soon be called on to observe the Albigenses, the Lollards, and the Hussites, with other earlier sages and philosophers, exhibiting, amid the chains and dungeons of the inquisition or of the civil power, the melancholy grandeur of persecuted truth and insulted genius. These first but unfortunate luminaries of Europe were, however, not lost to the world; the Reformation and the revival of learning at last took place; the pillar of light continued

to march before mankind in their journey through the darkness of the desert, and it was in vain that the oppressor would have prevented their escape from their houses of bondage, or denied them the possession of the promised land of religion, liberty, and knowledge."

This is very eloquent and spirited writing; but we may observe very briefly upon it, that Professor Smyth incurs the hazard of rushing into frigid indifference in matters of religion and philosophy, from the very terror which he entertains of superstition and bigotry. This fear may be too much indulged. We join in hearty and sincere execration of that spirit of presumptuous ignorance, which would dash the telescope from the hand of Galileo, or the pen from the fingers of Mariana; but we would be just even in our indignation. Swift called superstition the spleen of the soul; nor is the definition an unhappy one. We must not, however, confound with superstition that lofty and burning enthusiasm in the cause of religion or of learning, which carried Latimer in exultation to the stake, and brightened the sleep of Columbus with the landscapes of a new world; which supported the Florentine astronomer in all his dangers, and comforted the blind Homer of England in all his hours of melancholy and desertion; which is the foundation of a dignified character; which, when kindled at the pure altar of sacred truth, becomes both holy and inextinguishable, and is at once the glory and the comfort of our lives.

The fifth and sixth lectures are devoted to the history of England, from the expulsion of the Romans to the time of Henry VIII.; the subject is divided into two principal divisions—the fate and fortunes of our kings, barons, and famous men; and the fate and fortunes of our constitution. Hume, Rapin, and Millar, who for a long period were the only guides through this interesting period of our history, are now almost superseded by Hallam—a writer from whom we sometimes differ in opinion, but whose calm consciousness of strength and unassuming dignity of demeanour, we cannot refuse to admire. It is obviously impossible, nor would it be desirable, if it *were* possible, to pursue the stream of English constitutional history from its mysterious and lowly *rising*, into the broad and majestic brightness of its full maturity and depth; when the magnificent structures of political grandeur are mirrored upon its bosom. But the reader will be employed very beneficially, both for himself and for the world, if, in following the Professor through his pleasing inquiries, he shall learn to regard the Constitution of his country with a more reverent eye and a more affectionate heart, nor presume to lay his hand rashly or sacrilegiously

“ Upon the ark
Of her magnificent and awful cause.”

The seventh lecture is on France, particularly upon her constitutional history. The Abbé de Mably, an author whom we have studied with great delight and advantage, is the chief authority. But Robertson's introduction to his *History of Charles V.* will give the English reader considerable information in a very agreeable and alluring manner. Professor Smyth draws a striking portrait of Louis XI., a monarch who is well known to every reader of the graphic Philip de Commines. It is impossible to contemplate without a shudder the closing scene of his daring and wicked life. Professor Smyth has sketched him with the pencil of Rembrandt:—

“By clothes more rich and magnificent than before; by passing his time in subjecting those around him to every variety of fortune, to the changes of his smile and of his frown; by filling distant countries with his agents, to purchase for him rarities, which, when brought to him, he heeded not; by every strange and ridiculous expedient which his uneasy fancy could devise; by all this idle bustle and parade of royalty and power, did this helpless, wretched man, endeavour to conceal from the world and himself the horrible characters of death which were visible on his frame; the fearful handwriting which had told him that his kingdom was departing from him. In vain did he send for the holy man of Calabria, and on his approach, fall down, says the historian, on his knees before him, and beg him to prolong his life. ‘In vain was the holy viol brought from Rheims; the vest of St. Peter sent him by the Pope.’ ‘Whatever was thought conducive to his health (says Philip de Commines,) was sent to him from all corners of the world. His subjects trembled at his nod, and whatever he commanded was executed, but it was in vain. He could, indeed, command the beggar's knee, but not the health of it; and suspicious of every one, of his son-in-law, his daughter, and his own son, having turned his palace into a prison for himself—into a cage, not unlike those which in his hours of cruelty he had made for others; insulted by his physician, and considered by his faithful minister as expiating by his torments in this world the crimes, which, as he says, would otherwise have brought down upon him the punishments of the Almighty in the next; this poor king, for such we are reduced at last to call him, expired in his castle—a memorable example, that whatever be the station or success, nothing can compensate for the want of innocence; and that amid the intrigues of cunning and the projects of ambition, the first policy which is to be learned, is the policy of virtue.’” (Lect. vii.)

This is, indeed, a beautiful, though a weakened amplification of our great poet's description of a tyrant:

He had liv'd long enough, his way of life
Had fallen into the sear, the yellow leaf;
And that which should accompany old age,
As honour, love, obedience, troops of friends,

He could not look to have, but in their stead,
Curses, not loud, but deep—mouth honour, breath,
Which the poor heart would fain deny, and dare not.

Passing over the eighth lecture upon Spain, Germany, Italy, and Switzerland, we come to the Reformation ; and upon the threshold of this most important period, the student is stopped for a moment, by the remembrance of those four remarkable inventions which cannot fail to be recognised as the mysterious agents of Providence, in his wonderful scheme—we speak it reverently—of universal civilization, the manufacture of paper, the art of printing, the composition and application of gunpowder, and the still more surprising discovery of the properties of the magnetic needle. To describe these inventions and discoveries is the office of the historian ; and it will be well if, in performing that office, he submit this intricate chain of cause and effect to the illuminating rays of God's sacred word. Professor Smyth conceives them all to be strongly illustrative of the human mind, “ creeping on from hint to hint, like the Portuguese mariner from cape to cape ; owing something to good fortune, but far more, and even that good fortune itself, to enterprize and perseverance.” We do not like this mode of expression ; we think that there was no *good fortune* in the matter—no accident—no chance, but each slight circumstance, gradually linked and associated into one chain under the eye of the Divine Architect of the heaven and of the earth, led the philosopher and the scholar into the homes of wisdom and science. We echo the lines of Cowper :—

“ Nature is but a name for an effect,
Whose cause is God. He feeds the secret fire
By which the mighty process is maintained ;
Who sleeps not, is not weary ; in whose sight
Slow circling ages are as transient days,
Whose work is without labour, whose designs
No flaw deforms, no difficulty thwarts.”—*Task*, b. vi.

The revival of letters has been treated with great elegance and erudition, since the delivery of Professor Smyth's lecture, by more than one writer of fame and learning. He refers to Robertson, to Mosheim, to Gibbon—fifty-third and sixty-sixth chapters—and to Roscoe. These authors are only hand-books for the road. The subject must be studied in the original writers ; much, however, has been recently accomplished by Hallam, in his *Introduction to the Literary History of the Fifteenth, Sixteenth, and Seventeenth Centuries*. The work is very copious and elaborate, and must long remain a monument of indefatigable

industry, and of no common vigour of understanding. The introduction embraces the entire literature of Europe during those remarkable centuries. It has suffered from the extent of the view. Particular branches of knowledge are passed over slightly, or treated imperfectly; and a certain tone of cold sobriety, produced by a fear of enthusiastic admiration, imparts to the volumes a benumbing influence. In philosophical analysis Mr. Hallam is most successful. He fails in his criticisms of poetry and romance. With English poetry, excepting two or three of its greater names, we deem him to be very superficially acquainted. Nor will the student of our old theology be satisfied with his treatment of that interesting department of English literature.

The Reformation—that wonderful edifice of strength—that bulwark against the incursions of superstition—is discoursed of by Professor Smyth with calm moderation and impartiality. The *spirit* of his commentary is undoubtedly just and catholic; and with his remarks on bigotry and intolerance we do most earnestly coincide. We shall certainly never number a confession upon the rack with the evidences of Christianity; we shall certainly never deny that one page, at least, in the life of Calvin is to be perused by the blazing pile of Servetus; we shall certainly never refuse to admit the intolerance of the human mind, its cruelty, its rapine, or its revenge. Those *dyes* of iniquity *may* be washed out; but they do assuredly exist, deeply ingrained upon the soul of man. Papist or Protestant, Arian or Anabaptist—to us, in this argument, the designation matters little—in each, and in all, history proclaims, in mournful but solemn accents, that those deadly passions have flourished with a fatal ripeness. Repressed by the grace and the mercy of God, they nevertheless flourish still; many a lip is still blasted by their fruit of ashes. But our lot has fallen to us in pleasant places; the iron crown, the crushing wheel, and all the apparatus upon which cruelty has falsely inscribed the name of religion, are now broken into pieces, and Piety, with the meekness of Gospel light upon her face, walks in beauty and gentleness through our villages.

“As in the solitude (to borrow the eloquent words of Professor Smyth) of the prophet Elijah the Lord passed by, and a great and strong wind rent the mountains—but he was not in the wind; and after the wind an earthquake—but the Lord was not in the earthquake; and after the earthquake a fire—but the Lord was not in the fire; and after the fire a still small voice—and the Lord was in that voice: so in the solitude of the human mind, from the moment that the spirit of religious enquiry had reached it, and the Lord had passed by, the

visitations of intolerance have succeeded; and there has been the dispute of the polemic, and the embattled field of the warrior, and the stake of the persecutor; the wind, and the earthquake, and the fire, and the Lord was not in these; and at last the mild and benevolent precepts of the Gospel, the still small voice, have been slowly heard, and it is perceived that the Lord is in that voice. Blessed be the God of mercy, that thus far an advancement in religion, a new reformation has been at length accomplished! It is no longer supposed that to persecute is to please God; the rights of conscience are acknowledged at least, and there is here some hope and some victory over the powers of darkness." (Lect. xi.)

Yet, as we have already said, the flame of intolerance is only hidden, not extinguished; deep in the recesses of the mind, it burns and smoulders with a raging heat; the first convulsion that rends asunder the smooth surface of external life, may give it a passage; the smallest rent in the ground will be sufficient for its escape. The pile of mountains could not press down the heaving limbs of the classic giant. Superstition, in its hateful garb of Papistical fraud, or Indian cruelty, may be a terrible object; but we will not fly to Plutarch, and embrace Atheism, as if its features were lovelier than those of superstition. The way to vanquish intolerance is to *educate the people*.

The eleventh lecture describes the civil and religious wars of France; it is deserving of great attention, and should be carefully read. Some of its propositions are, however, very objectionable, from the unlimited terms of their enunciation. Professor Smyth expresses his opinion, that men will always be found to increase in bigotry in exact proportion to the influence of their spiritual directors. A spiritual director, he says, abuses the power which he possesses; and the abuse expands with the power. Braminism in the East — Calvinism in Scotland — Romanism in Spain, are, he thinks, harmonious and illustrative examples. We consider the argument to be one of extreme danger, and one which ought to have been more carefully examined and *moralized*. In Scotland the minister possesses scarcely any power over his congregation, either in spiritual direction or otherwise, and among dissenters, as here, frequently receives a dismissal from his congregation, on account of his manner or of his doctrine. Romanism, being essentially unchristian and worldly in its character, we willingly surrender, having too painful an evidence before our eyes of its poisonous properties as displayed in Ireland, by a corrupt and ignorant priesthood. We give up a zeal which has been stimulated into persecution by the arts of spiritual despotism; which could not only produce the massacre of St. Bartholomew, but defend it. Professor Smyth cannot

entertain a deeper abhorrence than ourselves of that and every other black and blood-stained day in the annals of history. We would exclaim, with the eloquent De Thou—

“Excidat ille dies ævo, ne postera credant
Secula, nos certe taceamus et obruta multâ
Nocte tegi propriæ patiamur crimina gentis.”

In concluding his account of these melancholy civil and religious wars—episodes written by crime in the moral history of man—the Professor offers one word of caution. He tells the student—

“That the theatre of the world is not the place where we are to look for religion; her more natural province must ever be the scenes of domestic and social life. Too elevated to take the lead in cabinets or camps, to appear in the bustle and ostentation of a court, or the tumults of a popular assembly, amid the struggles of political intrigue, or the vulgar pursuits of avarice and ambition, Religion must not be judged of by the pictures which appear of her in history. The form that is there seen is an earthly and counterfeit resemblance, which we must not mistake for the divine original.”

If this be true, as we fear it must be acknowledged to be, statesmen have no reason to rejoice. It has been already said by Paley—the judicious, the temperate, the persuasive—that religion dwells with the manufacturer at his loom, and with the husbandman in his fields. But is religion *only* the companion of poverty and of labour? Is it necessary to leave every political building unconsecrated by her presence? Will Troy be taken on account of the want, or *the possession*, of the Palladium? Must the government of a nation be in a state of antagonism with its faith? Are courts to hear no accents but those of pleasure; to kneel at no shrine but that of Fashion?

“All other gladness with the thought is barr’d;
Hope hath her end, and Faith hath her reward.”

Are these words to fall cold and lifeless upon the heart that beats under a star? We should like to receive an answer to each of these enquiries.

The twelfth lecture on Henry IV., and the low countries, is interesting; so is the thirteenth, though in an inferior degree, upon the Thirty Years’ War. But the English reader will turn with livelier pleasure to lecture XIV., in which the Professor takes up again the thread of English History. The reigns of Henry VIII., Elizabeth, James, and Charles I., are full of the deepest instruction. Professor Smyth has treated them with diligence and eloquence. He acutely notices the happy address

with which Elizabeth discovered the state of the public mind, and appreciated the temper of the age; and he places the singular merit of this famous princess in that *control of her own nature*, which, with the one exception of her partiality to Liecester, enabled her to study the wishes and the prejudices of her subjects. The contentions of Charles I. with his parliament, and the slight circumstances that all combined to produce the dreadful civil war, are well described and analyzed. The faint and distant murmurs of the storm are heard, as they gradually swell and deepen upon the ear, and

“Roll their awful burden on the wind.”—*Thompson.*

The Professor holds the golden scales with a steady hand; and while he censures the errors of the monarch, he bestows a glowing panegyric on his virtues and his bravery.

“Unmoved, superior still in every state.”—*Pope.*

“It is turning history to no adequate purpose (says Professor Smyth), if we do not accept the instruction which it offers. The lives and actions of men have been in vain exhibited to our view, if we make not our moral criticisms, even when to make them is a task painful and repulsive to our nature. The early part of the reign of Charles must be remembered, as well as the close; the obscure as well as the brighter parts of his imperfect character. His faults should be studied, that there never may again be a necessity for the display of his virtues.” (Lect. xvi.)

Our limits, which prevent an examination of particular passages, preclude us from pursuing even the outline of Professor Smyth through his second volume. It opens with a review of the times of Charles II.; that eventful period, when the nation, by some ungovernable impulse, seemed to stagger from the gloom of Puritanism into the fever of intemperance. Pleasure presided over the banquet; and License, without her zone, revelled through the palaces of the land. Dryden wove his garlands for her shrine. Pope said that—

“Pride, malice, folly, against Dryden rose,
In various shapes of parsons, critics, beaux:”

but it had been better for him and his peace, if no louder voice had ever risen against him; if Conscience had never waved her torch over the rich architecture which he had reared for Vice; and if the Angel of Death had met him even at a later hour of the evening. Professor Smyth touches slightly, but powerfully, upon the genius of this eminent poet. He sees him—

“The advocate of any and of every cause, whose affluent and pregnant mind was never without an argument and an image, whatever might be

the topic either of his poetry or his prose ; worthy to be the assertor of the best interests of mankind, and sometimes asserting them with the most enviable spirit and success ; the master of a lyre whose song can never die, whose numbers are always easy, airy, and melodious ; often breaking away into passages of the most striking vigour, and sometimes kindling into flashes of the most genuine sublimity ; yet a poet, it must at the same time be confessed, whose compositions are often debased by coarseness and disfigured by extravagance, and who was ready, when occasion required, to give plausibility and force to the most wretched commonplaces of servility or licentiousness, of bigotry or superstition. He who reads his great poetical pamphlet, the *Absalom and Achitophel*, after having previously acquainted himself with the history and character of the time, will perceive, that however he may have admired it before, he may still be said never before to have read it ; and he will neither wonder at the great name which the poet has transmitted to posterity, nor deny him the highest prerogative of genius—the power of stamping on his works the impression of immortality, and of giving a value that shall never cease to productions which originally served the fleeting purposes of the day.” (Lect. xix.)

The twentieth lecture takes a view of the Revolution, of which the historical student is now capable of forming a very fair and accurate judgment. The Stuart papers have confirmed and illustrated the previous conclusions of criticism. The reigns of James and William form one of those halting-places, where the student lingers for a season to survey the country over which he has travelled, and that through which he has to pass. Our civil and religious liberties endured the fire and were strengthened by it. Hume recommended the study of the reign of Elizabeth to those who desire to comprehend the nature of the English constitution ; and Professor Smyth makes a similar remark upon the reign of William III. The Civil List, the Place Bill, the Triennial Bill, the Treason Bill, the liberty of the press, standing armies, the responsibility of Ministers—all these subjects, affecting intimately not only the happiness, but the welfare of a nation, are crowded into the short space of *thirteen years*. Nor are these all the topics that press upon our attention during the reign of William : we may remember the proposal of an union with Scotland ; the dependence of Ireland upon our own legislature ; the affairs of the East India Company ; the erection of a great commercial establishment in the Bank of England. “Societies for the suppression of vice were formed ; the employment of the poor was mentioned in royal speeches ; the coinage was adjusted ; experiments on finance and paper securities attempted ; and, above all, a funded debt was created.”

These interesting circumstances in our history are related in

a plain but pleasing style, becoming the subject. Mackintosh happened to be in some company where the style of Buffon was mentioned. "Il est bien froid," said one. "Non pas froid," answered a lady, "mais *calme*." The distinction was admirable.

The twenty-third, twenty-fourth, and twenty-fifth lectures are devoted to the reign of Anne, which the Professor regards as a continuation of the reign of William. The leading characteristics are the same—jealousy of France, hostility to Louis, the rivalry of Whig and Tory, the settlement of the constitution, and the success of the Revolution. The reign opens with the terrible war of the succession, which is explained by Professor Smyth with clearness and brevity. We refer our readers to his pages. Nor is it our intention to make any allusion to the virulence of political partisanship by which the court of Anne was distinguished. The correspondence of Swift and the memoirs of Bolingbroke should be carefully studied. The history of party is the history of pride, masked under patriotism; the melancholy narrative of the madness of the many, for the gain of a few. Upon this thorny ground it will neither benefit us nor our readers to linger. It would be far more pleasing, if we had the space and the leisure, to glance over the golden promise of our literature in that Augustan age—an age which Hallam has not embraced in his Introduction, and which still awaits the embalming skill of the historian.

"Rise! Muses, rise! add all your tuneful breath;
These must not sleep in darkness and in death."

The twenty-sixth lecture, on Sir Robert Walpole, is one of the most powerful in the volumes now before us. To Walpole belongs the merit—can it be esteemed too highly?—of having completed the Revolution of 1688; he established the House of Hanover upon the throne of Great Britain. If Hurd had fulfilled his intention of composing a series of literary parallels, the names of Walpole and Bolingbroke would have furnished him with one admirable chapter. In genius, in eloquence, and all the nobler faculties of the mind, Walpole was excelled by his antagonist and rival. Burke has drawn a portrait of Walpole, and to the faintest sketch by that pencil who will presume to add a stroke? He was not, he says, a genius of the first class, but he was an intelligent, a prudent, and a safe minister. Our commercial prospects were brightened by his care, and our financial system was managed with discretion and wisdom. His character has descended to posterity, mangled and bleeding from the swords of Bolingbroke, Pulteney, and Wyndham. We ought to remember these encounters of political hatred. Hume

describes him as being good-natured without possessing virtue, and as exercising the generosity of the friend, without being embittered by the malevolence of the enemy. He had the art of attaching men to his service by the ties of affection; and one of the most illustrious of his contemporaries tells us in his harmonious lines—

“Seen him I have, but in his happier hour
Of social converse ill exchanged for power;
Seen him uncumbered by the venal tribe,
Smile without art, and win without a bribe.”

The remarks of Professor Smyth upon the close of Walpole's life are equally admirable for their Christian temper and for their dignified expression. They cannot be read too often, or remembered too long. The retirement of Sir Robert was a season of misery and gloom. In a literal sense, his occupation was *gone*. He had no fountain within; he had no garden of beauty in his heart. The music of nature was feeble to his ear, for so many years familiar with the roar of faction.

“If, indeed, as appears to have been the case, his residence seemed to him a solitude; if, indeed, he had little taste for literary occupations, and expressed himself to this effect to a brother statesman who was reading in his library; if he wished for a resource that would have alleviated, as he said, many tedious hours of his retirement; if, indeed, it was found (as we are told by Mr. Coxe) that to him, who had directed the helm of Government in England, all speculative opinions appeared dull; if to him, who had drawn all his knowledge from practice, all theory appeared trifling; if to him, who had long been the dispenser of wealth and honours, a wide difference appeared between the expressions of those who approached him from motives of personal kindness, and the homage which had formerly been paid him by those who had courted him from motives of self-interest; if this difference mortified and stung him; if everything, as it is said, seemed uninteresting to a man who, from the twenty-third year of his age, had been uniformly engaged in scenes of political exertion; if such be indeed the portrait of this fallen statesman, as presented by his biographer, *well* may it become those of you who hear me, those who are gifted with faculties according to the ordinary measure, and those of you who are intrusted with the yet higher privileges of superior talents, alike to consider how inestimable are those habits of literary occupation and of rational curiosity, which are not only competent, under every change of fortune, to administer, even to men of common minds, the blessings of dignified activity and contented cheerfulness; but, when they are found united to the possession of great natural endowments, can accompany men in their fall, from the highest offices of the state to the obscurest depths of their retirement, and transfer a man like Bacon, though ruined and disgraced, from the cabinet of a prince to that high eminence and vantage-ground of philo-

sophy and truth, where kings from their humbler thrones might gaze upon him with reverence.

“I must even venture to urge reflections of this nature still further; and, without meaning for a moment to intrude upon the more sacred privacies of the character of Sir Robert Walpole, I cannot but take occasion from the facts, as they appear, to request you to consider how constantly exposed to concussions and to overthrow will assuredly be the happiness of every man who directs his thoughts *too exclusively* to the objects of ambition; who, amid the business of mankind, may have habituated himself too much to disregard that still more important concern which yet awaits him, and, amid the interests and anxieties of those who crowd around him for his patronage, has suffered himself to be hurried away and occupied till he becomes but too insensible of that yet more important connexion which he is permitted to hold, not only with his fellow-creatures in this world, but with the Creator of the universe himself; and which, when those crowds retire and his power is no more; when the more noisy and impetuous calls of duty are hushed; when the claims of mankind seem to part away from him on every side; will open at once to him an object of never-ceasing and even far superior anxiety and care, and leave him to the more exclusive and undisturbed enjoyment of that silent piety which should never have been banished from the meditations of his heart, and which, whether in health or in sickness, in his elevation or in his fall, will best explain to him the merits of his active life, and the meaning of his earthly grandeur.”

We hasten to a conclusion. The Mississippi scheme, and the South Sea bubble, have no charm for us. Even the Rebellion of 1745, with all its romance of history, and all its pathos and richness of poetic description, must be passed over. The twenty-ninth lecture—Prussia and Maria Theresa—offers some very pleasing relations to the student. The beautiful Queen of Austria fighting for her crown with the friend of Voltaire, is a spectacle that might call the tears into the stoic's eyes. Her appeal to the Hungarian Diet might have inspired the pencil of Raphael. We can see the swords leaping out of their scabbards at that brief but startling apostrophe: “*Agitur de rebus Hungari; de personâ nostrâ, prolibus nostris et coronâ; ab omnibus derelicti, unicè ad inclytorum statuum fidelitatem, arma et Hungarorum priscam virtutem, confugimus.*” It is not always, as the Professor truly observes, that in the study of history our moral feelings are gratified as we advance; but it is so in the present case. Beauty and virtue did not kneel in vain at the feet of valour. Croats, Pandours, and Slavonians crowded to her standard, and the legions of Frederic receded before the war-cry, “For Austria and Maria Theresa!” The history of this princess is to be sought in the pages of Coxe. We shall content ourselves with quoting the commentary of Professor Smyth,

upon the moral character of the King of Prussia, both on account of its own excellence, and also because it contains a valuable estimate of some popular French literature.

“Frederic will be seen, in the common course of these historical narratives, living a life of activity and duty, at least of exertion and usefulness, as he believed, to his people, and dying at a very advanced age tranquil and unmoved; not, indeed, with the hope and humble confidence, and pious anticipations, but certainly with all the composure of a religious man. In all this there is nothing to edify; there is much to mislead the mind. The airy gaiety and carelessness of scepticism is never without its attraction to the light-heartedness of youth. Fearlessness, and courage, and tranquillity, in scenes the most appalling, the field of battle, or the bed of death, extort from us our involuntary respect, whatever be the person or the cause. The example of Frederic may therefore be well fitted to have its influence, and that influence one of a very unfortunate and melancholy kind; it may appear to recommend to our choice the fascinations and privileges of scepticism.

“But scepticism, it must be remembered, is one of those spirits that change their guise as we advance along in their company. This is the fiend ‘that expects his evening prey.’ Extraordinary men like Frederic, long conspicuous in the eyes of mankind, and knowing themselves to be so, long habituated to the exercise of self-command in seasons of the most imminent danger, may be consistent to the last, and never lose that composure and fortitude which have so uniformly through life elevated them above the level of their fellow-creatures. Their reward is of this world, and they obtain it. But what is this to the rest of mankind? What is it to us common mortals? What is to us the example of Frederic? His example is nothing, and his opinions are nothing, and his death-bed is nothing.

“Placed as we are, not on thrones, and at the head of armies, and to be gazed at by mankind, now and in future ages, but in the midst of our own unnoticed rounds of amusements and of business, of pleasures and of pains; amid temptations and duties of an ordinary nature; growing to maturity for one short season; flourishing for another; fading, decaying, visibly dying away, for a third; while, in the mean time, we at least are well aware that somewhere or other resides some stupendous Intelligence, in whose presence we thus revolve through the appointed vicissitudes of our being, and whose almighty will is then once more to be exercised upon our fate, in some unknown manner, in some new situation, that is as yet impenetrably removed, beyond what is therefore to us the afflicting, the anxious, the awful moment of our dissolution. What is to us the example of Frederic? His example is nothing, and his opinions are nothing, and his death-bed is nothing; they are nothing—they are worse than nothing.”

The concluding lectures of the volume are upon the war with America, and are studded with many gems of rich thought and beauty. Professor Smyth traces with precision and force the

outline of that tremendous struggle between two countries previously united by the bonds of affection and of interest, and endowed by the Ruler of the universe with the noblest faculties of physical and intellectual vigour. The lectures of Smyth should be read again and again. The tincture which his own political feelings impart to the narrative is never unpleasing. His views are clear, and his opinions are candid. His admiration of Burke leads him frequently to the speeches and writings of that great man, whom he evidently looks up to with something of a religious veneration. He beholds in Burke the patriot of the British senate, breathing wisdom from his lips; ever seeking to draw the minds of men into his own pure region of contemplative excellence, by the golden chain of that costly rhetoric whose last echo has died away in the House of Commons. He hears him, in his glowing appeals to the hearts of those around him, urging the necessity of governing America by *affection*—by that affection which “grows from common names, from kindred blood, from similar privileges, and equal protection.” These are links, light as air and strong as iron. Had the voice of Burke been listened to, the genius of the British constitution might have directed the whirlwind in which it rode. The portrait of Washington is painted with the same tone of colour and with the same brilliancy. We know not, indeed, whether the present volumes contain any passages so *pictorial* as might be selected from the history of the American General. But, in the warmth of our admiration, we cannot pass, without a note of disapproval, the last sentence of the last lecture:—

“Give civil and religious liberty (says the Professor), and you give everything; knowledge and science, heroism and honour, virtue and power: deny them, and you deny everything; in vain are the gifts of nature; there is no harvest in the fertility of the soil; there is no cheerfulness in the radiance of the sky; there is no thought in the understanding of man, and there is in his heart no hope; the human animal sinks and withers—abused, disinherited, stripped of the attributes of his kind, and no longer formed after the image of his God.”

This is very impassioned declamation, and would sound well in a new edition of Campbell's “Pleasures of Hope,” or in one of Lord John Russell's letters to the electors of Stroud; it is not well placed in a lecture on Modern History. The entire passage is a glittering sophism. Civil and religious liberty are *not* the keys to the palace of happiness. They are not lamps, upon whose summons all the Genii of peace, glory, beauty, and imagination attend. Give civil and religious liberty, and you do *not* give everything; you *cannot* give everything. You cannot even give literary taste. The brightest

intellects of the old times shone under a despotism. We love liberty, it is the air we breathe; we advocate tolerance, it is the pioneer of religion; but *of themselves*, and *by themselves*, they are nothing—they are worse than nothing. The Arian, the Socinian, the Swedenborgian, all have this Pleasure in our own country; and have *they* everything? Learning, said Swift, is like Mercury—one of the most excellent things in the world in the hands of *skill*; one of the most mischievous in the hands of *ignorance*. The application is obvious; nor may it be inexpedient to quote the observation of Sir James Mackintosh. “Men are more free under every government, even the most imperfect, than they would be if it were possible for them to exist without any government at all.” Whether the national possession of civil and religious liberty prove a national blessing or no, depends upon the use which its possessor makes of the Bible. A Christian education is the necessary introduction to liberty. But we have done. In this rapid survey, we have only succeeded in catching occasional glimpses of the Professor's narrative, as it winds through the rich diversities of history. Nor have we been able to make any reference to the excellent work by Dr. Taylor, which is mentioned at the commencement of the present article. We recommend it, however, very earnestly to the attention of our readers. They will find it to be the production of a scholar and a man of taste; philosophic in its views; excursive in its plan; picturesque in its illustrations; and tending, both by its aim and by its execution, to promote the cause of sound religious education.

One word more upon Professor Smyth, and our pleasant task is ended. In describing the general style of these lectures, we are to remember the *object* of their composition, and the *manner* of their original publication. They were written to be *spoken*. A recollection of this circumstance will explain the occasional tautology and the somewhat unpleasant egotism of many passages. Professor Smyth has quoted, in his very brief introduction, the verses of Pope.

“In every work regard the writer's end,
Since none can compass more than they intend.”

Let the caution be remembered. To the construction of his sentences, and the rhythm of his periods, we might advance some objections. The first is frequently intricate, and the second inharmonious. Periods, wrote Ben Jonson, are beautiful when they are not too long; for so they have their strength too, as in a pike or javelin. Burke did not sufficiently remember this wise criticism, and his admirer has followed his footsteps into error. Instead of presenting a sharp point at the end, the

sentences of Smyth frequently bend back through debility. They outgrow their strength by careless expression and inelegant inversions of language; we had marked two or three instances; one will be sufficient. It occurs in the twelfth lecture. "A few general observations on the whole is all that I can offer." Here is a combination of obscurity and false grammar. So also in the fifteenth lecture: "*There is something of a doubtful shade hangs over the purity of his conduct in these transactions.*" Lord Digby would have stared at this allusion to his conduct. The Professor entertains also a predilection for particular words, which he employs with ludicrous pertinacity upon the most different occasions. "*Respectable*," is a good example. We have marked nearly a dozen places where this serviceable epithet is obliged to do duty. In the fourth lecture, the severer virtues of chastity, of self-denial, and of piety, are both *awful* and *respectable*; and, almost in the following page, the sacred principles of religion are represented as being *respectable*, even in their excesses. In the same spirit of passionate love of this fortunate word, we find the Professor speaking of a *respectable* poet, a *respectable* archdeacon, a *respectable* orator, and a *respectable* christian. We shall certainly not scorn the advice of Horace, and turn away in disgust from the Professor's historical costume, because we happen to observe a few spots in its train. We are reading the *second* edition of the lectures, and find that these blemishes still remain. We hope that they will be erased in the *third*.

ART. III.—*Observations on the Statutes of the University of Cambridge.* By GEORGE PEACOCK, D.D., V.P.R.S., Dean of Ely. London: Parker. 1841.

2. *Fuller's History of the University of Cambridge.* Edited, with Notes, by the late Rev. MARMADUKE PINKET, M.A., F.S.A., and T. WRIGHT, M.A., F.S.A., of Trinity College, Cambridge. London: Parker. 1841.

3. *A Discourse on the Studies of the University of Cambridge.* By the Rev. ADAM SEDGEWICK, M.A., F.R.S., Woodwardian Professor. 4th Edition. London: Parker. 1841.

THOSE who, for the first time, behold one of our princely universities, never fail to be struck with their peculiarly felicitous adaptation for the purposes for which they are intended. The stately palaces that rise on every side—the beautiful avenues—the

quiet cloisters—the numerous churches—the libraries, museums, and other public buildings—the picturesque costume of the students, and, above all, the air of monastic repose that prevails within the colleges, combine to impress on the mind the idea of perfect isolation from the world *without*, of a literary republic governed by its own laws, and owing no allegiance to aught foreign. And while a short residence would much modify the stranger's views, the idea of isolation would still remain. The universities are a world to themselves; they have their own standards of merit and honour, their own absorbing party interests, their own internal system of abiding hopes, and fears, and wishes. A *good man* at Cambridge is a man of undoubted mathematical acquirements, just as a *good man* on 'Change is a man whose wealth is unquestioned, and whose bill was never dishonoured. While, however, in these respects, Cambridge and Oxford are alike, there is, nevertheless, a marked difference both in the *immediate end* of their systems.—we say *immediate end*, because the *ultimate end*, in both cases, is the glory of God and the welfare of mankind, by supplying the more important classes with a sound and finished education,—and in the manner of carrying them out into execution. The absurd ideas which have prevailed in the world at large about these differences have had a considerable and certainly mischievous effect. To be told, as we sometimes are, that Oxford is a classical, and Cambridge a mathematical university; that there is more piety at Cambridge, and more fashion at Oxford; that the latter produces a greater amount of Toryism, and the former of Whiggism; deserve to be classed with the well-known story of the countryman, who, being asked the difference between Oxford and Cambridge, replied—"Oxford College and Cambridge College is both in London: them as goes to Oxford College wears a red bag at their back, and says *Ah-men!* and them as goes to Cambridge College wears a white bag, and says *Ay-men!*"

Our business at present is, however, not so much with the *differences* that prevail between the two universities, either in the end proposed, or in the studies pursued, as with the state of Cambridge as now existing, and with the changes contemplated in the studies of undergraduates.

The state of the university may be considered with regard to morals and religion—with regard to social refinement—and with regard to science and literature. With regard to the first of these points, though we have not space to say much, we must not, on the other hand, pass it over without notice, more especially as it is a matter of far more consequence than is sometimes

supposed. Those who are best acquainted with our country districts, know how well are the peasantry able to judge of refined manners ; with how much more respect do they treat the person, and with how much more deference the opinions, of one whose outward mien and bearing show him to have moved habitually in good society, than of one who, with equal ability, equal zeal, and equal good feeling to themselves, yet wants that polish which education among a polished class alone can bestow. In the one case, though the poor members of a minister's flock may feel even the most enthusiastic attachment to his person, they never forget the difference between him and themselves ; his courtesy, and kindness, and affability—his *not visible* condescension, all have their due and legitimate effect ; and we have seen a rude village congregation in a manufacturing district drowned in tears at taking farewell of such a minister, though he had scarcely laboured two years among them.

It becomes, therefore, a matter of some moment to see, that while the interior is assiduously cultivated, the exterior is not altogether neglected—that those who successfully sacrifice to the Muse lay now and then a votive offering on the altar of the Graces ; and that while the high object of the university is to make men learned Christians, she may also, while so doing, make them Christian gentlemen.

This is more successfully achieved at Cambridge, in the present day, than has been the case at any former period. There *was* a time (as Cantabs, we blush to own it) when Oxford easily bore away the palm in this respect ; when her sons were, not as we now see some youthful tractarians, pert followers of an arrogant school ; not habitual sneerers at all save their own particular clique ; not persons who refrain from answering either questions or letters on account of the great importance of their decision—but quiet, learned, accomplished, and courteous.

The state of society in the universities will of course be differently represented by different persons. Those, for the most part, associate together, whose previous education, whose station in life, and whose future views are similar. If a young man be rough and uncouth when he enters college, he is very likely to remain so till he leaves ; if he be dissolute, he will find dissolute companions ; if he be refined, he will find refined associates. All, therefore, that is wanted is an “*esprit de corps*,” which may effectually produce the requisite polish.

There was once an outrageous caricature of Pandemonium, sketched by a Mr. Beverley, who nicknamed it Cambridge ; and Sir Edward Lytton Bulwer has immortalized his own companions as men “who ate cheese by the hundred weight and

drank ale by the gallon, who wore jockey-cut coats, and talked slang, whose proudest exploit was to box with a coachman, whose most delicate amour to leer at a barmaid." We, however, *pace tantorum virorum*, if asked the best school for a gentleman, would reply—Trinity College, Cambridge.

The great point of interest in our collegiate institutions is the connection of science and literature with religion; and as that connection has been attained, there remains the question, to what extent, and can we make any change which shall still further advance it? That very little provision is made for theological education at Cambridge, is a lamentable fact; and if we find Cambridge men good theologians, it is *notwithstanding*, and not on account of the system of their university. The only direct and *necessary* instruction in divinity which they receive is comprised in one Gospel in Greek and Paley's Evidences. We say the only *direct* and *necessary* instruction in divinity; for if a man chooses, in the language of the place, "to read mathematics," then astronomy and the differential calculus will stand to him in the place of Greek, and Hebrew, and Latin—of history, and logic, and poetry—of ethics and metaphysics—of literature, both ancient and modern—of law and divinity—of canons and articles, and Prayer-book and Bible, and all. If it be replied, "there are the Norrisian lectures," we grant it; a man may, if he chooses, hear portions of Pearson on the Creed, but he is not *bound* to hear it; it forms no necessary part of his education, and unless he determine on taking orders, it is not even expected that he shall do so.

This theory of Cambridge education looks very strangely when set down on paper, and we will take an extreme case to exhibit its worst side. A young man is entered at a small college, he is remiss in his attendance on lectures in general, and keeps altogether away from those in which any theological information is conveyed; his tutor remonstrates with him, and he replies, I am reading with Mr. Such-an-one, whom you recommended to me as a *private* tutor." He is again told to attend the *public* lectures, but he does not comply, and the tutor says no more. It is a notorious fact, that discipline is *very* lax on this point in almost every small college at Cambridge. The time approaches for the previous examination—perhaps better known by its slang title of "little go;" our student reads his one Gospel and the first part of Paley's Evidences, and passes; his divinity is then over, he betakes himself to his algebra, *because it is easier* "to go out in honours," *provided they be low honours, than to take* a respectable ordinary degree. If the young man intends himself for the Church, he attends the Nor-

risian professor's lectures, to which he pays as much attention as he pleases, inasmuch as no examination is required to ascertain that he has paid any at all ; and then, armed with the professor's certificate, he presents himself to the bishop. He has read, *e.g.*, the Gospel of St. Matthew—by means of an interlinear translation ; the first part of Paley's Evidences, and has been sitting for twenty several hours in the presence of the Norrisian professor ! And this is the preparation for the ministry that the University of Cambridge affords her students ! We look round, knowing this, and expect to find many of the younger clergy ignorant, idle, and immoral—but what is the result ? We will take the words of an able contemporary ; no clergyman, no interested person, but the member of another profession, the subject of another system of education. The editor of the “London Medical Gazette,” of April, 1841, speaking of the present state of medical education, says—

“Medical students commonly come to the London schools at the same age as others commence their graduation at a university ; but under what different circumstances do the members of each class find themselves placed ? We need not imagine, for every one must have known, instances in which two companions and fellow students have parted—the one to graduate at Oxford, or at Cambridge ; the other to *walk* some hospital. The first is consigned to the charge of a tutor, who is responsible for his intellectual and moral culture ; his whole course of conduct and management is laid down for him ; he is made amenable to well-planned laws of discipline ; he is entered a member of a society whose rules he is compelled to obey, to belong to which is deemed an honour, and to disgrace which is punished with the hundred fold disgrace of the delinquent ; every inducement to diligence and propriety that ambition, interest, self-respect, and social order can suggest is held out to him ; as far as possible his domestic comfort is provided for ; and he is placed in a position, of all that can be imagined the most enviable for one with his objects. Of all men under discipline the undergraduate is the least sensibly, though in reality very strictly, restrained ; and of all possible circumstances, those in which he is placed have always appeared to us the most nearly to perfection adapted for the cultivation of the intellectual and moral character. That in many cases even these circumstances fail to produce their intended effect, is only a proof that they partake of the imperfection common to all things ; but, on the other hand, the brilliant results that they have fostered, and which are evidenced in the matchless learning and eminent morality which, issuing from our universities, have spread their influence over all the land, and have so much contributed to place England highest in the scale of civilized nations—these are fully sufficient to prove that the system could not be generally imitated without producing the most desirable consequences.

“Now let us contrast with the circumstances of the university

undergraduate, those of the medical student, who, up to this period of his life, has been placed under the same or very similar circumstances. On his arrival in London he is left, in ordinary cases, entirely to his own guidance; often, the choice even of the school at which he shall study is left to his own discretion; and in the best of cases he is only furnished with letters of introduction to one or more of his future teachers or hospital surgeons, from whom all that he can expect to receive is a certain amount of advice as to what courses of lectures he must enter to, and what general scheme of instruction he must follow. Beyond this he receives no counsel, and is entirely unguided; his choice of residence, of associates, and of mode of life, are left entirely to himself; and he is thus abruptly, and unguarded, placed in circumstances, of which, for one that will lead him to steadiness and application, a hundred will tempt him to idleness, and to the waste of the brief time that is allowed him for acquiring the knowledge that must serve him for his life. The circumstances of the young medical student in London are, in a word, almost as utterly hostile to his progress in professional knowledge, as those of the university undergraduate are favourable to the culture of the intellect; and it is a matter of surprise to us, not that so many, but that so few of the former, lose all the advantages that they ought to obtain from their attendance at the schools.

“Of course all these things can only be said *in general*. In numerous instances, talent, and the love of exercising it, ambition, necessity, a naturally steady disposition—one or all of these are sufficient to resist the pressure of circumstances; and the medical student, in spite of all the disadvantages of his position, works on, and attains an admirable result of professional knowledge. But if he does this, it is in spite of his circumstances; whereas, if an university undergraduate of the same disposition and talent does not obtain a similar result, it is in spite of his circumstances that he fails; on himself alone can the blame rest.”

Again :—

“In all these and similar things of domestic management, the system now prevalent in Cambridge, or Oxford (and which, as it is the result of some centuries of experience, is probably more nearly perfect than any new one that can be suggested), might be followed; and we are quite sure that if a college system were adopted, even no further than this, it would be sufficient to change the mode of life of the medical student, which is now most dangerous or most uncomfortable, for one which would afford a high degree of social comfort and security.”

This, then, is the testimony of a competent witness as to the *result* of that system whose theory we have just seen. It would be scarcely possible to conceive anything *much* worse than the one, or much better than the other. *General* education has, indeed, received a considerable degree of attention lately at Cambridge, and it has been said, by the “let-things-alone” party, that it is the province of the bishop to decide as to the fitness of any man for the ministerial office. Doubtless it is so, but these reasoners forget that it is not the province of the

bishop to *provide*, as well as to *ascertain*, the theological learning of the clergy. But, after all, the universities are *not* (and we say it fearlessly, though we know we have many great names against us)—the universities are not places for merely professional education; their intention, *i.e.*, the intention of their statutes, is to make those who resort thither CHRISTIANS—first *Christians*, then scholars, then gentlemen. When this is attained, the universities superadd, for those who desire it, strictly professional information. Their very style and title, “seats of sound learning and *religious* education,” ought to open the eyes of our modern expediency-mongers as to the *objects* for which they were founded: they profess to furnish a basis upon which *any* professional superstructure can be raised with advantage; and though in the present day the ages and prospects of the undergraduate members, so widely differing from those of the same class three centuries ago, have necessarily modified the course of study pursued; yet the one grand idea which still prevails in the university system is that of a competent preparation for any branch of exclusive study. Now the mode in which this end is accomplished at Cambridge is by requiring from all a certain portion of mathematical learning: but little, we grant, is necessary for a degree; but then it is to be remembered that the standard fixed must be one attainable by a very limited intellect. Lest, however, the lowness of the standard should have an injurious effect on the average of the students, the bachelors are arranged, not only in classes, but in order of *merit in those classes*; so that, save a few not classed at all, and usually, with exquisite irony, denominated “*Elegant Extracts*,” but one man in the course of a year can take a degree with the *minimum* of useful knowledge required. This is still the case, though in the present year the system has received some slight modification; but it is not wholly, nor even chiefly, in the effect of a mathematical training on the average class of minds that we must expect to trace the causes of that splendid position which the University of Cambridge now occupies. The youth of ordinary abilities who is not calculated to shine, but who, nevertheless, may, if his intellect be well trained, become extensively useful, has need only of mental discipline. Mathematical science affords a discipline, perhaps, better than either logic or moral philosophy. And as any one of them would be used and regarded as a means, *and as a means only*, Cambridge does him no injury in choosing for him, his mind has the exercise it required, his faculties are both strengthened and habituated to close application; and thus the end which the university proposes has been attained.

The greater part of the students sent out from any university will necessarily be but smatterers, *in point of absolute information*—and what matters it whether they be smatterers in Euclid and algebra, or smatterers in Homer and the Nicomachean ethics? Perhaps, indeed, it does somewhat matter, for Euclid will more readily become a wholesome pabulum to the mind than the Stagyrite. We would wish to be understood here. We are not speaking of *scholars*, but of such as merely read for a degree; and as it is much more easy to *cram* Aristotle than to *cram* Euclid, we consider the latter as the more useful book for those who are likely to cram.

But there is another class of men for whom colleges are endowed and dignities established—men who exercise their minds as well as their memories, who study as well as read; and on these also the mathematical bias at Cambridge has had its operation. It is naturally to be expected that where a school is celebrated for the success with which its members have prosecuted some particular study, those who feel a talent or an inclination for that study should betake themselves thither; and when, in addition to this natural cause, an artificial cause (if we may so term it) is created by any exclusive encouragements to that study, it would, indeed, be wonderful if the science in question did not flourish. The first hour that a young man enters Cambridge he is made aware of the homage paid to the *genius loci*; he finds (unless he is fortunate enough to fall into very polished, or unfortunate enough to fall into dissipated, society) that the great subject of conversation is ever the same. “Senior wranglers,” and “good wranglers,” and Dr. Peacock’s Algebra, and Miller’s Differential Calculus, and Snowball’s Trigonometry, are dreamt of, as well as talked of, to the exclusion even of politics. $\chi \times \pi$ are discussed at breakfast, unknown quantities at dinner; tangents and oscillations over wine; and the wearied and symbol-ridden student goes to bed at half-past two, with the hyperbolic expectation of being “somewhere about fourth wrangler.”

Now if, when he takes his degree, he is a moderate “senior optime,” he has done no harm, and some good; he has unconsciously aided a system which formed a Newton and a Barrow in past days, and a Whewell, and a Peacock, and a Herschell, and an Airy, in our own (we must stop somewhere, but our list might go on till our readers were tired). He has impressed on the minds of other students (as far as in him lay) an idea of the supremacy of mathematical science; he has accustomed himself to hard work and habits of self-denial; he has sharpened his intellect by the most invigorating of mental exercises, viz., the

pursuit of abstract truth ; and if finally he is unable to turn his mathematical acquirements to technical use, it is a consolation to know that neither he nor society are any the worse—they were but the means to an end, they were what the dancing attitudes are to the body. His mind can move easily and powerfully, and he has no occasion to put it into a minuet step.

If, then, this *be* the case, it must be evident that no alteration ought to be *hastily* made ; but we must not, on the other hand, too hastily assert that the *exclusive* system of Cambridge *has* had this effect. When, however, we come to compare it with that of other universities, we shall see reason to believe, had it not been for this partial exclusiveness, Cambridge would by no means have been what she is. There is no mathematical quality in the air or the water, the beef or the butter of Cambridge, any more than in those of Oxford. Every encouragement is given at the latter university to the cultivation of the sciences. No one will say that a Cambridge man has more mathematical talent than an Oxonian. The truth is simply this. At Oxford no man is compelled to study mathematics unless he chooses. Now the approaches to this branch of science are anything but inviting : the elements are dry and repulsive, and a considerable time must elapse before the student *perceives* his progress, and relishes the mode of reasoning which pure mathematics furnishes. Nor is this the case only with the person of moderate capacity. We firmly believe that there is *no such thing* as mathematical talent : the same clearness of intellect, the same rapidity of perception, the same gigantic grasp of thought, the same accuracy of deduction, which distinguish the first-rate mathematician or astronomer, would have been displayed with equal success in metaphysics, in theology, or in jurisprudence ; they did not even tend to make him a mathematician, but *circumstances* having turned his attention to those branches of study, the superiority of his natural faculties ensured his success. Many a man has a real love for the pursuit without the powers necessary to attain any distinguishing success ; while, on the other hand, many a senior wrangler has had no genuine love for mathematical science—has never opened a mathematical book after his degree of B.A. ; but, adopting a profession, the same energy and ability which placed him at the head of the mathematical tripos have gradually pushed him up one step after another of the legal or ecclesiastical ladder, till the mitre or the ermine rewards his labour.

This is our reply to those who tell us that mathematical genius will certainly exhibit itself, and its happy possessor be-take himself, without fail, to the mysterious symbols which

make so many undergraduates desperate. We deny the principle *in toto*, and maintain that the only way to secure a future race of mathematical philosophers at Cambridge is to make every student read a little science, whether he likes it or not. Nor should we be at all changed in our opinion if the restrictions which now obtain were removed, and the university retain for some years its present lofty position in scientific reputation. Doubtless, the force of example would for a long time act powerfully. The brilliant renown of such men as we have named would excite many a student to attempt the same path to fame; but one by one the "living lamps of learning" would go out, and fewer, and still fewer, would be their successors.

Hitherto we have spoken of "restrictions," without explaining what restrictions they are to which we refer. It is not permitted to a Cambridge man to obtain classical honours, till he has first obtained an honourable place in the mathematical tripos. There is, however, one limitation to this rule which we would gladly see removed: it is the permission granted to the nobility to take places in the classical tripos without passing through the probationary mathematical ordeal. For this we can see no good reason. We are far from wishing to take one *fair* privilege from the nobility. We object not to their honorary degree of M.A.; we murmur not at the short term they are expected to spend in the university, though it is only half what is required from a commoner. We highly approve the respect with which they are treated; but we do *not* approve that honours, which others obtain under very great comparative disadvantages, should be, as it were, given to them without labour. We would say, let the young peer be placed in his proper position; give him all the advantages of precedence; let his attire be of gold and purple; let him be exempted from any parts of university discipline that may seem derogatory to his rank. We would not set an Earl to write out a book of Homer, or to learn by heart forty propositions of Euclid, for not attending a lecture; but we *would* teach him early the lesson, that there is no royal road to learning—that there is no intellectual railway to the Principia or the Temæus. In point of the advantages and honours of learning, it is degrading to an university to make a difference between her sons. Under her fostering care, the peer and the peasant should run the same race under equal advantages; and then, if the noble be distanced by the son of the shopkeeper, *palmam qui meruit ferat*.

There is one circumstance connected with mathematical honours at Cambridge which has a curious effect on the minds of those without her pale. The number of men who attain

mathematical honours is greater, much greater, than that of those who only obtain a degree. Out of three hundred bachelors, there has been no fewer than fifty wranglers. Now this tends to diminish the value of such honours to an extent that can hardly be conceived. It is said that it would be cruel to deprive men, who come up to the required standard, of their reward, seeing that many have done so solely for the purpose of reaching the classical tripos; but this might be managed by making seven or eight classes, instead of three, for mathematical men: and then the title of wrangler would have some value; now it is a "*vox et præterea nihil*." But it is a notorious fact, as we have before mentioned, that idle men, who cannot afford to be plucked, read mathematics for the purpose of honours; because it is *easier* to take a mathematical than an ordinary degree. This is certainly, viewed in one light, the climax of absurdity. On the other hand, it would obviously be unjust to demand *more* mathematics from those who make such pursuits but a small part of their studies. What can be done in this case? We should like to see all low mathematical "honour men" compelled to pass *some* other examination, either classical or theological, or in history and literature, and their degree conferred *after*, and not *before* this second examination. We throw out these hints with great deference, because we know that all changes in the course of study pursued at any university, and the kind and degree of discipline adopted there, must necessarily be attended with deep thought and much anxiety, and because if ever any public body was under the management of able and upright men, Cambridge is so now. An alteration has, however, been lately made, and others are in contemplation; we therefore feel emboldened to speak out on this important subject. In January, 1841, the candidates for ordinary degrees were examined on a greater variety of subjects, and we think that the alteration has been a judicious one: the effect of it will, we think, be, that the *average* attainments of those who take ordinary degrees will be improved; the lower ones will be raised and the higher ones diminished, but the average will be better. The previous examination is fixed also twice in the year.

Thus, then, we have spoken at some length upon the mathematical studies of the university, venturing to suggest a few modifications, but deprecating the removal of the existing restrictions. We are well aware how hard is the case of many an accomplished classical scholar who cannot obtain the reward of his labours; but if, after an honest effort to study a little analytical science, he has failed, all we can do is to offer him

our sympathy, and to point out to him that the interests of one individual must bow to the general welfare. It is hardly to be expected that a system which has produced results so brilliant should give way to the feelings of even a much larger number than those who now feel its influence to be injurious.

We must hasten to a still more important subject—more important because it lies at the root of the whole matter, and unless it be attended to, other reforms will at best be precarious. We allude to the statutes of the university.

“The statutes of the University of Cambridge (says Dr. Peacock), and of nearly all the colleges of which it is composed, have undergone few essential changes in the course of nearly three centuries, whilst very few vestiges remain of the system of education which they prescribe, or of the practical regulations which they enforce. If the inconveniences which resulted from the continuance of this remarkable discrepancy between the theory and practical working of the constitution of these bodies were confined to the retention of a few unimportant forms which have lost their original import, and which neither tended to weaken the sense of the strict obligations of oaths, nor to embarrass and retard the progress of important improvements in the scheme of academical education or government, they could hardly be considered as sufficient to justify a departure from a system which not only possessed the sanction and authority of antiquity, but which had been shown by experience to be capable of accommodating itself to the varying wants, as well as to the varying habits, of different ages: but a very slight examination of some of those statutes, which the university possesses no power of altering without an appeal to an authority external to itself, will be sufficient to prove that those inconveniences are neither few nor unimportant, and are such as not merely justify, but absolutely require, a decisive and comprehensive reform.”

Now, how this reform is to be accomplished, is not quite so easy to see; for, as though for the very purpose of perpetuating institutions adapted only for a semi-barbarous age, ever imaginable difficulty is thrown in the way of change:—

“The Elizabethan statutes (which still govern the university) provided most cautiously against the introduction of those amendments in the academical constitution and administration, which might adapt them to the changes which the lessons of experience might render necessary or expedient; and we consequently find, that in later ages they either tended to check or to retard the progress of improvement in the system of university education. . . . They refer to habits of life, and to a condition of society, which have long since disappeared: they prescribe a course of studies for students of all ages, which the experience of a later age has rejected as unsuitable for their preparation for the business of life; they recognise a course of physical and metaphysical philosophy, which the progress of knowledge or the changes of opinion have pronounced to be false or inadequate; and they inculcate and

require submission to a system of discipline which the refinements of modern life would reject as impracticable from its puerile character, or its extreme and oppressive severity."

Dr. Peacock exemplifies this in the constitution of Trinity College, and goes on to add:—

"The statutes of all the ancient foundations embarrass the present occupants with similar difficulties. Every fellow of Queen's College is obliged to swear that whenever the name of the founder or foundress is mentioned in his presence he will pray for their souls. The statutes of this college have, however, lately been revised by the Queen in Council, and possibly this clause may have been erased. The fellows of Christ's College are directed by the foundress to pray for the soul of her son, Henry VII., &c. This clause, it is true, is not administered; but this only shifts the burden to other shoulders. The statute remains, and, whether actually administered or not, is equally binding upon, or rather equally distressing to the fellows of the college, whose oath runs in this form—'I will never at any time seek, nor, if others seek and obtain, will I accept of any dispensation of the college statutes, or of this my oath.' The oath taken by the kindred society of St. John's is framed to the same effect, though still more rigidly expressed:—'I swear that I will never seek a dispensation affecting any particle contained in the statutes, nor avail myself of dispensations obtained by any other person or persons, secretly or openly, directly or indirectly.'"

The whole system of public education in the periods during which these laws were enacted, was not only conducted by ecclesiastics, but intended for the supply of a succession of monks and friars to the Church. Education, except by Churchmen, was utterly neglected and despised. Then, the age and circumstances of the students were very different. They usually entered between the ages of fourteen and sixteen. The universities of the fifteenth century were the Eton and Westminster of the nineteenth. Accordingly the statutes provide, that the students shall domicile two, three, or four in one chamber, according to its size; the younger students were subject to corporal punishment (it is said, we know not on what authority, that Milton was the last who suffered this discipline), which, in Trinity College, was inflicted in the hall, at seven o'clock on every Thursday evening, in the presence of all the undergraduates; they were confined within their respective colleges, except when their presence was required in the public schools, to which they were guarded by a monitor, who was answerable for their presence. At five in the morning they went to chapel; at six they heard lectures in the college-hall; at nine they proceeded in a body to their schools; at eleven they dined; at one they returned to their attendance on public declamations; from

three to six they played; then supped, and went peaceably to bed.

But we will give the *ipsissima verba* at Trinity College:—

“All the fellows (who are absent from chapel) shall be fined three-halfpence; if they come too late, or go out, a halfpenny. All the scholars, bachelors excepted, the pensioners, sizars, &c., who are absent, if adults, *i. e.*, if they have completed eighteen years of age, shall each be fined a halfpenny; coming in too late, or going out, a farthing. But if they have not completed the year of their age above mentioned, they shall be chastised with rods in the hall on Friday..... On Fridays, always at seven o'clock in the evening, let the chastisement be inflicted by the deans, at which let all the scholars, bachelors excepted, pensioners, sizars, &c., be present. Whosoever, during the infliction of these punishments, shall not answer to his name when he is called, and shall not remain until they are concluded, he shall be fined a penny; if a boy, he shall be flogged on the Saturday..... The half of all fines shall go to the college, the rest to the deans themselves.”

Of a truth Mr. Carus is a most disinterested person to forego so many pennies and three-halfpennies, to say nothing of the amusement. Yet changes *have taken place* in the constitution of the university which may well serve as precedents for changes in our own day. Dr. Peacock, speaking of the new statutes devised by Gardiner and Pole, observes—

“This new constitution of the university, however, was destined to be as short-lived as that which preceded it. On the 17th of November, 1558, in the year which followed the last visitation, the queen died, and in the following June a new commission was issued by her successor, which abolished the Marian statutes, and re-enacted, with very trifling alterations, the statutes of Edward VI. The university had thus, in the course of ten years, been under the government of four different constitutions: she had witnessed, during that period, the banishment and death of some of her most distinguished ornaments; and she had been exposed to the still more bitter trial and humiliation of witnessing the most rapid and fundamental revolutions of opinion and of profession, amongst a majority of her members, on the most vital points which can concern mankind.

“The restoration of the Protestant statutes of Edward VI. did not suffice, however, to restore tranquillity to the university. Many of its members had taken refuge, during the reign of terror, in Germany and Geneva, where they had imbibed, along with the principles and prejudices of the reformed Churches, a fixed dislike of the form of Church government, which was in the course of establishment in this country. Others retained their attachment to the ancient faith, and conformed to the existing order of things, trusting to the recurrence of another of those extraordinary revolutions, so frequent of late years, which might again restore the ascendancy of their party. A still greater number

had not hesitated to comply openly, whether from want of principle or courage, with the changes of religion, as they had successively taken place, and were the objects of the undisguised contempt of all those who had braved privation and exile for the sake of their opinions. In a society composed of such discordant materials, it was in vain to expect an extensive or general acquiescence in common principles or opinions, whether they regarded the constitution of the Church, or the practical administration of the university; and we consequently find that the contests of different factions increased daily in violence and intemperance. The liturgy and government of the Church were openly impunged. The surplice was rejected as a badge and relic of Popery. The forms of the daily service, and of the administration of the sacraments, were altered or neglected; and it was reserved for the vigorous and severe administration of Whitgift, supported by the authority and favour of the Lord Treasurer Cecil, who was chancellor of the university, and aided by the new statutes which he had himself composed, and which he strictly enforced, to give peace at least, if not contentment, to this troubled community."

It has often been felt as a matter of regret by the governing body of the university, that they had no power to grant honorary degrees on distinguished men not of their own body. Dr. Peacock speaks ably on this subject:—

"All graces for dispensations, with respect to time and exercise, were not only forbidden, but, if passed, were declared to be null and void; and the concession of any grace, declaring admission by the vice-chancellor to stand for the *completion of the form and degree*, except in the case of noblemen and *quasi nobiles*, subjected every member of the *caput* to the imputation of perjury. This rigorous and absolute prohibition of dispensations, which had formerly been so frequently and so easily granted, most seriously affected the privileges and administration of the university: it totally deprived the university of the power (which it formerly possessed, in common with every other university in Europe) of conferring degrees upon distinguished men, or of departing, under any circumstances, from the strict conditions of graduation which the statutes prescribed.

"The statutes of King's, Trinity, and other colleges, contain very severe provisions against the claim or acceptance of any dispensation with respect to the usual times and exercises for degrees, which were probably introduced, in consequence of the extreme facility with which they were granted by the university. Amongst other academical statutes of later date (1518) is one, *de dispensationibus*, where a long list of fees is given for different classes of dispensations (Stat. Acad. p. 108). The old grace-books of the university, from 1480 (the earliest which exist), are full of graces for dispensations."

But if dispensations were so rigidly denied, what strange inconsistency was that which could consent to a compact between one college and the rest of the university, whereby that one college became an university within itself; examining its own members

for degrees, usurping for its provost the power of the vice-chancellor, and, in fact, acknowledging the greater body only by presenting its members for degrees. This monstrous compact ought (fenced though it be by a separate clause in every Act connected with the university) to be annulled. King's College would be benefitted as well as the university; her members would, we think, gladly yield up a privilege which retains them in inglorious darkness, and would feel a delight in being free to contend for the honours of Cambridge, in being enabled to reflect a yet brighter lustre upon her. It is a remarkable fact, that whereas but a few years ago the Craven scholarships, and all other classical prizes, were, in a large proportion, carried off by King's men; it is now as great a rarity to see the name of a King's College student in the calendar, as having obtained any literary distinction, as it would be to meet the man himself in any society save that of his own college. Of Eton and King's, Dr. Peacock speaks in a tone which shows how exactly his feelings harmonize with our own:—

“A reorganization of these two royal colleges, so ample in their endowments, so magnificent in their architecture, so rich in ancient and honourable associations, which would free them from the miserable limitations under which they at present labour, and bring them, without altogether destroying the sisterly connexion which they have so long maintained, under the stimulating influences of a more open and liberal competition, would be a work well worthy of the highest ambition to undertake and to accomplish. The proper administration of the celebrated school which forms part of one of these establishments—the nursing-mother of the aristocracy of England, and so singularly fortunate in the enthusiastic love and attachment of her numerous sons—is an object of truly national importance; whilst the co-ordinate foundation in this university, possessing such various capacities of usefulness, yet so poor in their employment, which remains, as it were, an alien to the academical institutions in the midst of which it is placed, and a stranger to the motives and sympathies by which the great body of their members are animated, might be converted, by a wider distribution of its benefits, even amongst her sister's children, from a magnificent cenotaph of learning into a living and glorious monument, dedicated to the cultivation of all the arts which adorn humanity. Let us earnestly hope that the time is not far distant, when the consideration of this most important subject will be undertaken in a spirit of bold and comprehensive, yet cautious and equitable, reform.”

We need not say how heartily we echo this wish.

Perhaps the chief reason that the statutes are so unfitted for the present condition of the university is to be found in the different social positions of the undergraduate body. The undergraduate is no longer a schoolboy: taken on the average, he is

not a person in needy circumstances ; he comes to finish an education which is to qualify him to take a place among scholars and gentlemen. It is true that not a few are supported by sizarships and exhibitions ; that they look to their degree as to their means of a livelihood ; and that such are especially the persons for whose benefit many of the statutes were intended ; still we are inclined to think that they are decreasing in number, and that every year “ raises the qualification,” so to speak, of the mass. Dr. Peacock observes—

“ It is a very common practice, however, to send young men to the university, who have no claims but those of poverty to urge, and who are thus forced by the mistaken benevolence of their patrons out of their proper sphere of life, into professions for which they are neither qualified by their habits nor attainments : and though the provisions of the ancient statutes would appear in many cases to point out such persons as the proper objects of the bounty of our foundations, yet it can hardly be considered that such a distribution of it is calculated to advance the interests of religion and learning.

“ Thus when students entered college at the age of fourteen, they became fellows at eighteen, whilst still *in statu pupillari* and also *minors* ; and we consequently find that they were denied the full rights and stipends of their fellowships until they had attained the degree of M.A., an arrangement which was extended to their dividends, though at no period of life would the assistance which they afford be more useful, than during the transition from youth to manhood, when they are just entering upon professional or other studies and occupations. There are few methods by which the value of fellowships would be more certainly enhanced, than by shortening or abolishing altogether those periods of probation : and there are few reforms in our customs or our statutes which an equitable regard to the new conditions introduced by changes of habits and of circumstances would more completely justify.

“ The very general diffusion of wealth, and the complete graduation of the social rank and condition of the various classes of society, from the highest to the lowest, which is characteristic of modern times, affords a more than sufficient supply for the learned professions, without the necessity of meeting the demand by a nearly gratuitous education in the university, except in those cases where extraordinary merit and industry constitute a just and honourable claim to encouragement and support.”

In every word of this we most cordially agree ; genius *cannot* be kept down, it must display itself, and if associated with good moral qualities must make itself respected. But the gratuitous education of which the Dean speaks is defeated by a custom of late growth, but still increasing extent ; the university lectures gradually gave way to college lectures, and these now, though delivered in many cases by men of consummate talent, are almost

(as means of degree-getting) superseded by private tuition. A young man goes to the college lecture because in Trinity and St John's he is not permitted to be absent, and he attends because he is called upon to give proof of his attention; but he trusts for his "place" to his private tutor, who speculates for him on the chances of problems, and makes him "get up" "things likely to be set." Thus the lecture which would make him *a scholar* is practically neglected, while that which is only to make him "*an honour-man*" receives his almost undivided attention. This system is, of course, attended with great expense: the private tutor cannot work for nothing, and the student is unable to do without his aid, if he is to take a distinguished place among the "men of his year." The poor man, who cannot afford this, is thereby thrown necessarily at a great disadvantage into the arena. Dr. Peacock on this topic speaks powerfully:—

"The rapid growth of private tuition in late years, which is due to various causes, is an evil of the most alarming magnitude, not merely as occasioning a great and ruinous increase of the expenses of academic education, but as threatening to supersede the system of public instruction, both in the colleges and in the university. A wise law, enacted in 1781, to meet abuses of a very discreditable character, forbade every candidate for the honours of the first tripos (*wranglers* and senior *optimes*) from engaging or accepting, in any way whatever, the assistance of a private tutor, under whatever name concealed, within two years of his B.A. degree. This grace was unhappily repealed in the year 1824, and the consequence has been, that private tuition has nearly absorbed every other mode of instruction in the university.

"The ordinary payment made to a private tutor is 14*l.* per term; 10*l.* is generally paid for the Christmas vacation, and 30*l.* for the long vacation, whether at Cambridge or elsewhere. It is not an unfrequent practice for a student to engage a classical and a mathematical tutor on alternate days, and sometimes even on the same: the system extends to students of all classes, industrious or idle, rich or poor; and so very general has the practice become, that it would not be an extravagant estimate to fix the *average* annual expenditure of every student at the university for private tuition at 40*l.* If we assume the average number of students throughout the year to be 1300, this will amount to 52,000*l.* per annum, or more than three times the sum paid to the whole body of public tutors and professors in the university.

"The effects of this system are almost equally injurious to tutors and pupils. A tutor of superior attainments wants the stimulus which a large class of hearers supplies, and his spirits are exhausted by the weary and uninteresting labour of teaching pupils, who are frequently unable to appreciate the value of what is taught: whilst a pupil, whose difficulties are thus smoothed over without labour or research, is too frequently enervated by this perpetual pampering of his appetite for

knowledge, without the necessity of digesting that less palatable food which original enquiry must perpetually present to it."

And in a passage very shortly following he says—

"But we believe that the most prompt and the only effectual remedy which can be proposed, is the strict and peremptory prohibition of private tuition, under any form, whether within or without the university, after the three first terms, in the case of all students who are candidates for honours. We should extend the prohibition to private tuition without the university as well as within, in order to prevent the formation of reading parties at watering-places and elsewhere, which are ruinously expensive, and not unattended by many other very serious evils, which it is not necessary to enumerate."

This leads us to the very important question of expense. It needs not to be here stated that a young man who is inclined to economy may live at as small an expense, at either Oxford or Cambridge, as anywhere else. The *average* expenses of the two are about the same; but the scale is both higher and lower at Cambridge. We have at this moment before us the bills of a young man who was a sizar of St. John's College; he had no interest in the university; was not a young man of brilliant talent; his intellect was respectably moderate, or not far above that rank; he obtained no other exhibition, no foundation sizarship, no scholarship; he cannot, therefore, be taken as an exception, for nobody considered him fortunate; he took a second class, and read nothing but mathematics and classics. Here, then, was a young man who entered the university under circumstances rather disadvantageous than otherwise. Now for the fact—*his expenses, including clothing, travelling, and books, amounted to less than fifty pounds per annum.* This may well be called "almost gratuitous education." Nor are the *necessary* expenses of the universities by any means oppressive in any case. We do not, therefore, see the desirableness of shortening the time spent at Cambridge by undergraduates. We would not bate a single term; three years and a quarter is but a short time to perfect an education for an accomplished English gentleman. Yet because the greater part of the students at our universities are destined to be clergymen, it is certainly necessary that some means should be taken to fit them *specifically* for that office. On this topic let us hear the Dean:—

"At least one half the students in the university are designed for the Church, and no provision (the lectures of the Norrisian professor alone excepted) is made for their professional education; this is a deficiency in our academical system, which, in the present state of public opinion on this important subject, it will be impossible long to overlook. We believe that there are few members in the university who

are not prepared for the adoption of the most prompt and decisive measures for the effectual remedy of so great an evil.

“ With this view we should be disposed to recommend regular and systematic courses of lectures to be given every year on the following subjects :—

“ On the doctrines, liturgy, and articles of our Church, by the Norrisian professor.

“ On the Hebrew language, by the regius professor of Hebrew.

“ On Biblical criticism, more especially of the language and books of the New Testament, by a professor of Biblical criticism to be hereafter appointed.

“ On ecclesiastical history, more particularly of the four first centuries after Christ, by a professor of ecclesiastical history to be hereafter appointed.

“ On the canon of Scripture and the writings and opinions of the early fathers, by the Lady Margaret’s professor of divinity.

“ On moral philosophy and the principles of moral evidence as affecting the grounds of religious belief, by the professor of moral philosophy.

“ To the regius professor of divinity might be assigned the duty, becoming his high office, of superintending the entire course of theological education in the university, including the examinations for academical certificates.

“ We would further recommend that all candidates for holy orders should be examined by the several professors on the subjects of their respective lectures ; and that joint certificates, which, in certain cases, would be certificates of honour, signed by the whole body of examiners, should replace the present certificate of the Norrisian professor. There can be no reasonable doubt but that such an arrangement would receive the unanimous approbation and sanction of the archbishops and bishops of our Church.

“ Though we have assumed that these lectures would be generally attended in the year immediately succeeding the bachelor’s degree, yet there seems no sufficient reason for confining it to that specific period. Those whose time and attention were not altogether occupied with the general studies of the university would probably endeavour to attend them as undergraduates, and thus save the expense and inconvenience of an additional year of residence in the university ; whilst many others would defer it until they had decided upon the choice of their profession, or until they had obtained a respite from other and more pressing claims upon their time. In all cases a certificate of attendance upon the lectures, and of a sufficient acquaintance with the subjects of them, would be considered as an indispensable qualification for admission to the Church. There can be little doubt but that the adoption of such a system would promptly raise the general standard of the theological attainments of those who are candidates for holy orders, and would enable the university to do justice to the most important of its functions, as one of the two great national nurseries for supplying the Church with a well-trained and learned clergy.”

Now, while we perfectly coincide with all this, we would respectfully ask the Dean whether it would not be better to make the student pass the *examination* in arts at the end of the second year, or at some period to be fixed by the senate *earlier* than that now appointed, that the remainder of the term now occupied by the preparation for that trial be occupied by some strictly professional course of study. There might be a classical, a mathematical, a theological *tripos*, and after passing through one of these the degree of B.A. might be conferred. We do not see any reason why the same individual might not obtain honours in classics, and mathematics, and civil law. Dr. Peacock well shows in what manner the medical education of the university might be made effective; and we think that common as well as civil law might be introduced with advantage into the studies of the place. We have much to say on the constitution of our universities as seats of religious education, but the subject is too important to be *very* briefly discussed, and we must therefore defer to another number the remarks we would willingly have made. We have only found room to speak of *general* education in the University of Cambridge; and we cannot dismiss this without alluding, and we can only allude, to the fact, that in the year 1841 the chancellor was advised to give no medals for proficiency in classical literature, because the most eminent classics in the year were only third-class mathematicians. We cannot think this decision a wise one. According to the present regulations, the best classics, *being senior optimes*, had clearly a right to the medals; we say *clearly* a right, because, though, strictly speaking, no *right* can be established to that which is a free gift, still, as the office of chancellor is always accepted with a tacit understanding that these medals shall be given, the parties who receive them look upon them as fairly earned and rightfully received. But while we think that the medals ought to have been bestowed upon those two wranglers, or senior optimes, who might approve themselves the best proficient in classical literature, we certainly would recommend the Duke of Northumberland to allow all who qualify themselves for the *tripos* to contend also for the medal; that is, that a man should not be disqualified for the highest classical honour the university has to bestow because he has taken a third and not a second class in mathematics. We shall conclude by recommending all Cambridge men to procure and study Dr. Peacock's observations—a recommendation which we imagine they have in general anticipated.

ART. IV.—*The Letters of Horace Walpole.* 6 vols. 8vo.
London: Bentley. 1840.

IT may be, very probably is, very bad taste on our part; but we must, once for all, confess, that we have not that love of dead men's letters, which has been so long, and will be as long as mankind retains their curiosity, prevalent among readers and profitable to booksellers. We like not this practice of raking together every scrap of sense or nonsense which a man may have scribbled to a college friend or a dunning tailor; because, if the letters were real, natural productions, inartistically written, the chances are against their being worth publication. It is unfair to make the writer answerable for the contents, and it is dishonest in the injudicious friend to make them public. If, however, the contrary is the case, then we lose all the benefit of the assumed naturalness of the correspondence. Nineteen-twentieths of the letters of Walpole are of this last class. They were written for the world, and, therefore, *he* cannot except to their publication. With such varied matter, as these hundreds of letters afford us, it were no difficult task to collate and compile a most amusing and even interesting article. We should not want for lively anecdotes, ill-natured sayings, and highly-coloured pictures, sufficient to glut even the distorted taste of the present day. To do the deed according to the rule, we ought to speak of Walpole as being as incapable of a clumsy turn of the pen as of wearing a hat; to tell Mr. Bentley that he could not have given us a more welcome present; congratulate the editor on his care, his taste, and his erudition; speak of the letters as delightful in themselves, and a most amusing and instructive commentary on the history of parties; and acknowledge, that although the new letters are less brilliantly studded with wit and anecdote than the epistles already before the world, yet that they are a perfect treasure, a mine, a rich harvest, from which to gleam for the amusement of our readers. Such is the strain in which every daily, weekly, and monthly critic has been for the last year heralding the successive volumes of these letters; and what then can *we* say—can we dare to gainsay this crowd of critics? What, dare to attack Walpole, the little idol of Strawberry-hill?

“ Who to love tuned his note in the fire of old age,
And chirp'd his trim lay in a trim gothic cage.”

Nous allons voir. So fond is the nineteenth century of discoveries and inventions, that it is wont to congratulate itself on

the novelty of its errors, its vices, and its crimes. But a few months have passed since we saw the cell of the murderer and of the assassin crowded with the rich, the noble, the learned of the land, and the public press claiming for these enlightened days the merit of the invention of this humane frailty. But, alas! with how little reason. In Walpole's earlier days, Maclean was the favourite highwayman, the Gentleman Jack of his time; and as the wheel of fortune turned, he, as the beadle of St. Giles's observed—

“Having prigged what wasn't his'n,
Was cotched at last, and sent to pris'n ;”

and there he held his levees, receiving daily his noble patrons and patronesses.

“I am almost single (says Walpole) in not having been to see him: Lord Mountford, at the head of half White's, went the first day; but the chief personages who have been to weep over him, are Lady Caroline Petersham and Miss Ashe. (ii. 347). My friend, Maclean, is still the fashion. (ii. 353). The first Sunday after his condemnation *three thousand people* went to see him; he fainted away twice with the heat of his cell. You can't conceive the ridiculous rage there is of going to Newgate; and the prints that are published of the malefactors, and the memoirs of their lives and deaths set forth with as much parade as Marshal Turenne's.” (ii. 360).

What humble imitators of the follies and frailties of their by-gone ancestors and ancestresses, are the compounders, editors, publishers, and readers of the raw-head-and-bloody-bones stories and novels of these enlightened times!

In a letter to Lord Strafford, written in the year 1790, when all the world was in the maelstrom of the French revolution, we find another glance at noble follies:—

“I must not pretend any longer, my dear lord, that this region is devoid of news and diversions. Oh, we can innovate as well as neighbouring nations! If an Earl Stanhope, though he cannot be a tribune, is ambitious of being a plebeian, he may, without a law, be as vulgar as heart can wish; and though we have not a national assembly to lay the axe to the root of nobility, the peerage have got a precedent for laying themselves in the kennel. Last night, the Earl of Barrymore was so humble as to perform a buffoon dance, and act Scaramouch in a pantomime at Richmond, for the benefit of Edwin, jun., the comedian.”

What would the writer of these indignant lines have thought, had he lived to see one noble lord driving a public stage; another broaching a cask of wine for the drabs of the Hay-market; and a third so far demeaning himself, in his associates, as to permit, nay, subject himself to being called a “dear

chum" in a public police-office, by a prize-fighter; truly, he might have said, that *they* at least had a precedent for laying themselves in the kennel.

The increase of London was as much the talk and wonder of the busy world of 1791, as it is of 1841:

"Though London increases every day, and Mr. Herschel has just discovered a new square or circus, somewhere by the New-road, in the Via Lactea, where the cows used to be fed, I believe you will think the town cannot hold all its inhabitants, so prodigiously the population is augmented. I have twice been going to stop my coach in Piccadilly, thinking there was a mob, but it was only nymphs and swains sauntering or trudging. T'other morning, that is, at two o'clock, I went to see Mrs. Garrick and Miss H. More, at the Adelphi, and was stopped five times before I reached Northumberland House, for the tides of coaches, chariots, curricles, phaetons, &c., are endless; indeed the town is so extended, that the breed of chairs is almost lost, for Hercules and Atlas could not carry anybody from one end of this enormous capital to the other. How magnified would be the error of the young woman at St. Helena, who, some years ago, said to the captain of an Indiaman, 'I suppose London is very empty when the India ships come out.'"—*To the Miss Berrys, 1791.*

This reminds us of the country cousin, who enquired of her relation whether it was not fair-time, as the town was so full; and of another country friend of ours, who coolly proposed waiting until all the coaches had gone by, before she proceeded to cross the Strand. To all those who habit somewhere within six miles of the Post-office, whether it be in the new town at the foot of Primrose-hill, or in the old town in the Via Lactea, the antiqua villa of Blackheath, or the antiquissima of Paddington, we recommend the following passage, in which Walpole appears as a second Merlin:—

"There will soon be one street from London to Brentford, and from London to every village within ten miles round. Lord Camden has just let ground at Kentish Town to build fourteen hundred houses. Nor do I wonder; London is much fuller than I ever saw it. (What would he have said to it at the coronation?) Nor is there any complaint of depopulation from the country. Bath shoots out into new crescents, circuses, and squares every year; Birmingham, Manchester, Hull, and Liverpool, would serve any king in Europe for a capital, and would make the Empress of Russia's mouth water."—*Letter to the Miss Berrys, 1791.*

Such quotations as these are interesting, showing how the same fear pervades the inhabitants of an increasing town at all times, even from the days of the arbitrary acts of parliament against building houses within a certain distance of the metro-

polis to this brick and mortar era, when all the world is striving who can go furthest out of town without exceeding its visiting boundaries. It is, indeed, impossible to read these letters, and not be a firm believer in Thucydides's theory of the cyclical return of great events. The cool impudence, high demands, and fulsome adulation paid to the hired vocalists, by the nobles of this kingdom in the year 1742, can hardly be outdone even in these degenerate days, when an Italian tenor condescends to appoint one of England's dukes his referee in a money squabble between himself and his manager. Even my Lord Howick, of 1840, finds his prototype in the Lord Brooke of one hundred years before, of whom Horace Walpole writes :—

“In this age we have some who pretend to impartiality : you would scarce guess how Lord Brooke shows his : he gives one vote on one side, then one on the other, and the third time does not vote at all, and so on regularly.” (i. 116).

The veritable contrivance of the original Reform Club, in hiring a decent vehicle or two to stand before their door and look respectable, is but a poor imitation of the new ministry of 1743, “who were so low afoot that somebody said, Sandys had hired a stand of hackney coaches, to look like a levee.” (i. 279).

The grand new Elliot conquest of the harbour and town of Chusan is far from being unlike the far-famed expedition to Quiberon, of which Walpole tells, “On the first view one would think that our fleet had been to victual, as our chief prizes are cows, geese, and turkeys. But I rather think that the whole was fitted out by the Royal Society, for they came back quite satisfied with having discovered a fine bay.” (ii. 167).

It is amusing to read the dicta of this would-be lord of criticism on Virgil, Corregio, Sterne, and Garrick. “The first has no more imagination than Dr. Akenside.” (vi. 309). “The grace of the second touches on grimace.” (vi. 318). Respecting the third, he gravely informs his friend Zouch “that the third and fourth volumes of ‘Tristram Shandy’ are the dregs of nonsense, and have universally met *the contempt they deserve*,” (iv. 124); which last sentence seems to account for their immortality. And as for Garrick, “he is but a good mimic.” “His acting (says the Aristarchus of Strawberry-hill) I have seen, and may say, I see nothing wonderful in it.” (ii. 189). And yet in another letter, says Mr. Crocker, “In order to find an equivalent to this actor, Walpole was obliged to bring together old Johnson and Colley Cibber, Quin and Clive, Porter and Dumèsnil—two nations, two generations, and two sexes.” How amusing it is to hear the reiterated attacks of this unpaid pa-

triot on every placeman of the other party, when we know that even from a child he had been a placeman himself, and that, what with reversions and certainties, his revenue was seldom less than four thousand a year from his sinecures; to read his seemingly hearty denunciations of the Duke of Newcastle in December, 1763, and then the account of his visit to the great duke hardly a month after the diatribe, and the snug *tete à tete* with him just eight months after his fierce attack on his now dear, honest, upright friend; and then, to turn from politics to grammar, to discover such a passage as the following in the works of one whom we are told could not even concoct an ungraceful sentence:—

“As words is what I have not rhetoric to find out to thank you for sending me this paragraph of Mrs. Goldsworthy, I can only tell you that I laughed for an hour at it.” (i. 183).

“*Noscitur a sociis*,” said the Roman. “Birds of a feather flock together,” replied the English proverb. Yes, the society of a man is far from being an incorrect test of his feelings and his opinions, even when he openly repudiates the opinions of his companions: how much more certain, when, instead of repudiating or even passing them over in silence, he openly sanctions and approves them, and tells the world that their judgment on every subject is as just as possible, though their conduct be ever so incorrect.

In the year 1696 was born Walpole's dear friend and correspondent, Marie de Vichy, daughter of Gaspard, Count of Champ Rond, and, in the year 1718, the wife of the Marquis du Deffaud. Some time after, she was separated from her husband, formed her own establishments, had her own separate admirers, and became a reigning beauty and wit of the moral and virtuous days of the Regent and Louis XV. Her patrons were successively the Regent Orleans, at a very early age, Formont, and the President Henault. Her dear friends and correspondents were the leading Atheists and libertines of the times. On the death of her husband, in the year 1750, she retired to apartments in the convent of St. Joseph, in the Rue St. Dominique, where she spent the thirty last years of her life. In October, 1765, Walpole, in a letter to General Conway, describes her as “an old debauchee of wit, who was the mistress of the house (where he had supped), and formerly the mistress of Henault, the pagod of these (the free thinking) parties.” Soon after, he tells Gray “that the old lady of the house, who, by the way, is blind, was the Regent's mistress for a fortnight, and is very agreeable.” In the January of the year following, Wal-

pole sends Gray the following full-length portrait of the lady in question:—

“Madame du Deffaud was for a short time the mistress of the Regent; is now very old, and stone blind, but retains all her vivacity, wit, memory, judgment, passions, and amiableness. She goes to operas, plays, suppers, and to Versailles; gives suppers twice a week, and has everything new read to her; makes new songs and epigrams—aye, admirably, and remembers every one that has been made these fourscore years. She corresponds with Voltaire; dictates charming letters to him; contradicts him; is no bigot to him or anybody; and laughs both at the clergy and the philosophers. In a dispute, into which she very easily falls, she is very warm, yet scarce ever in the wrong. *Her judgment on every subject is as just as possible; on every point of conduct as wrong as possible: for she is all love and hatred, passionate for her friends to enthusiasm, still anxious to be loved (I do not mean by lovers), and a vehement enemy, but openly.*”

In the month of April in the same year commenced the correspondence between the painter and the person whom he had so sharply sketched—a correspondence extending to nearly three hundred and fifty letters, and over a period of fourteen years.

If this amiable lady's *judgment* was as *just* as possible on *every subject*, it must have been so on *religion*; and consequently, in Mr. Walpole's opinion, the views entertained by his “dear old friend,” as he speaks of her in 1790, on this point, must have been *as just as possible*. The very facts of her life, the friends with whom she lived and corresponded, would at once persuade us, even if we had not her letters, what the opinions of this adulteress, this “dear old friend” of Walpole's, were. The letters themselves show, that though she did laugh at the philosophers and hate the *men* out of private pique, she had so thoroughly imbibed all their tenets as to satisfy their prince, even Voltaire himself. No one can, indeed, hesitate to pronounce her correspondence with Walpole as indelicate, immoral, and blasphemous. Those of the answers of Walpole which unhappily have been preserved, and which, from the anxiety which he expressed to get them into his own hands before her death, in order that they might be expurgated by their author, we must naturally conclude are the most presentable of the entire mass, show that, so far from being disgusted, or even disliking the tone of his dear friend's epistles, he goes very far towards her views, and that, afraid openly to confess his infidelity, was at heart an unbeliever. It is unfit for us to enter more at length into the opinions and life of such a woman as this *chere amie* of Walpole. Such as desire to see her views drawn out with as much propriety and delicacy as the subject will admit of, and with such severity as they deserve, we refer to the third volume of the late Mr. Justice Hardinge's Miscel-

laneous Works, where, under the title of "Letters to the Editor of Madame du Deffaud's Letters," from "An Old Grandmother," they will find the subject treated of with his usual ability.

It may, perhaps, be advanced, that it is hardly honest to charge on Walpole such infidel views, merely from the tone assumed by him in his replies to his infidel *chere amie*. For argument's sake, we will admit the plea, and proceed to enquire how far Mr. Walpole, in his correspondence with his English friends, at least nominal Christians, corresponds with the Mr. Walpole of the letters to Madame du Deffaud.

Let us begin with him when some twenty-four or twenty-five years old—hear how he writes in the year 1740:—

"Rè di Cofano, Vulgo Radicofani, July 5th, 1740, N.S.

"You will wonder, my dear Hal, to find me on the road from Rome; why, intend I did to stay for a new Popedom, *but the old eminences are cross and obstinate, and will not choose one, the Holy Ghost does not know when.* There is a horrid thing, called the Mal'aria, that comes to Rome every summer, and kills one: and I did not care for being killed so far from Christian burial. Though I am so tired in this devil of a place, yet I have taken it into my head that it is like Hamilton's Bawn, and I must write to you. 'Tis the loss of a black barren mountain, a vile little town at the foot of an old citadel; *yet this, know you, was the residence of one of the three kings that went to Christ's birth-day*; his name was Alabaster, Abarasser, or some such thing; the other two were kings, the one of the east, the other of Cologne. . . . Well, but about writing; what do you think I write with? Nay, with a pen; there was never a one to be found in the whole circumference but one, and that was in the possession of the governor, and had been used time out of mind to write the parole with; I was forced to send to borrow it. It was sent to me under the conduct of a serjeant and two Swiss, with desire to return it when I should have done with it. 'Tis a curiosity, and worthy to be laid up with the relics, which we have just been seeing in a small hovel of Capuchins, on the side of the hill, and which were all brought by his Majesty from Jerusalem. *Among other things of great sanctity, are a set of gnashing teeth, the grinders very entire; a bit of the worm that never dies, preserved in spirits; a crow of St. Peter's cock, very useful against Easter; the crisping and curling, frizzing and frouncing of Mary Magdalene, which she cut off on growing devout.* The good man that showed us all these commodities was got into such a train of calling them the blessed this, and the blessed that, that at last he showed us a bit of the *blessed* fig-tree that Christ cursed."

Perhaps, however, some red-hot Exeter Hall frequenter will regard this extract as merely the development of his overcharged feelings; which were outraged by the mummeries of Romanism. Be it so; and therefore, passing over his comparison of the confusion of moving from Downing-street; to St. John crying out "Woe! woe!" in the isle of Patmos (vol. ii., p. 212, An. 1742);

we will extract a passage, intended; no doubt, to be replete with wit, as it contains nothing but blasphemy:—

“Do you suppose that the kingdom of death is come upon earth—not with the forerunners and prognostics of other to come kingdoms? No, no; the sun and the moon go on just as they used to do, without giving us any hints: we see no knights come prancing on pale horses, or red horses; nor stars called Wormwood fall in the Thames, and turn a third part into wormwood; no locusts like horses, with their hair as the hair of women; in short, no thousand things, each of which destroys a third part of mankind. The only token of this new kingdom is a woman riding on a beast, which is the mother of abominations, and the name in the forehead is Whist: and the twenty-four elders, and the woman, and the whole town, do nothing but play with this beast.” (Vol. ii. 250).

“Ah! but (says some apologist) this was merely in the days of his inexperience and folly, when he was the gay, petted son of the minister, the little great man.” Well, let these impious extracts be set down to youthful folly, and place with them his parody on the joy experienced in heaven over the repentant sinner (ii. 258); the ridicule of the deliverance of Noah (ii. 192); of the habits of the patriarchs (ii. 225); the delight with which he retails the impious joke at White’s (ii. 310); his application of Deuteronomy (ii. 305); his parody on the magi’s offerings to our Saviour (ii. 411). He was not above forty years of age when he perpetrated the latter; and not more than three years older when he told his friend Bentley that “on his way he had an opportunity of surveying that formidable mountain, Silver Hill, and that he took it to be the individual spot to which the Duke of Newcastle carries the smugglers, and, showing them Sussex and Kent, says, ‘All this will I give thee, if you will fall down and worship me.’” (ii. 442).

He was but a boy when in 1761—he was only forty-four—he spoke of Lord Talbot’s elevation to the high stewardship as the stone which the builders refused being made the head of the corner, (iv. 125); and likened Mr. Pitt’s resignation to the parable of the grain of mustard seed, (iv. 181). He was yet a thoughtless youth, when, in 1765, he applauded, even to the echo, Quin’s unhallowed sneer at the martyrdoms of the apostles, (v. 14); and cut his indelicate joke on Abraham’s bosom, (v. 76); when, four years after, he spoke of his friend the Bishop of Ely, who was anxious about the restoration of a window in the cathedral, as “impatient to be let depart in peace, after his eyes have seen his vitrification,” (v. 235): he was only writing to a clergyman—how delicate, to say the least. Alas! alas! how the vice sticks to him, like a bur to a frieze jacket.

In 1770 he re-echoes his blasphemy on the temptation, (v. 282) ; and in the year following cooks up his old parody on the archangel's cry of *woe!* for his friend Conway (v. 305), and for his clerical correspondent, Cole, the antiquarian, some twenty pages after. The excuse of youth will no longer hold. Our last extract brought him to his fifty-fourth or fifty-fifth year, and showed us how he loved the impieties of his youth, and re-edited them in his maturer years.

In 1780 another decade had passed over his head, and his love of impiety was still as strong as ever. Daniel, the murder of the innocents, had already been made the subjects of his wit in previous years ; he now passed on to St. Peter, and told his friend Lord Strafford, "that their new and imprisoned apostle (Lord George Gordon) had delivered so many congenial St. Peters from prison, that one heard of nothing but highway robberies." In the same year, too, he delivered his opinion respecting the crime of sacrilege, informing the world, and his friend Dalrymple, that "he had not so heinous an idea of the crime as Dr. Johnson"—as if any one ever thought he had—and that "of all kinds of robbery he considered it the slightest species, because it injured nobody." In 1782, the deluge and the ark are reproduced on the stage, and so meagre is his invention, yea, even in blaspheming, that he concocts them, for Lord Strafford, two years after.

But let us now think seriously of bringing to a conclusion this mass of impiety, indelicacy, and blasphemy; and, in order to effect this very desirable object, let us pass over the many additional proofs with which the old letters in the sixth volume of this new edition abound, and be content with one concluding and conclusive extract from those until now unpublished letters, which, in his declining years, Walpole indited to his friends, the Miss Berrys, and as to which these fair dames would have but acted a kind and prudent part towards their old friend, had they allowed them to remain still unseen, if they could not bring themselves to committing them to the flames. These ladies must not suppose that it is our intention to sully our pages with *their dear old friend's* indelicate description of Mrs. Jordan and our late king, which he favoured them with in 1789; or that intended witty ridicule of the window in St. George's chapel, which he wrote for them and posterity two years after, that the world might be assured, that even at the age of seventy-four he was still as *au fait* in Scripture wit as he was when young and gay; or the parody on the star in the east, with which, to use the words of Walpole lovers, one of his letters to the Berrys is *enriched*, in the year 1790. No,

with one extract, and one alone, will we conclude this our catalogue—first, because the whole tenor of the extract, quite as much as the particular passage in which the supposed witticism is to be discovered, accurately displays the true feelings of the writer's mind; in it there is no affectation: and, secondly, because this selfsame passage has been going the round of the dailies, weeklies, and monthlies, as a crack specimen of the brilliant wit of the writer; which even, say the tribe, more than threescore and ten years could not dim.

“Have you shed a tear over the opera-house? or do you agree with me, that there is no occasion to rebuild it? The nation has long been tired of operas, and has now a good occasion of dropping them. Dancing supported their existence for some time, but the room after was the real support of both, and was like what has been said of your sex, that they never speak their true meaning but in the postscript to their letters. Would it not be sufficient to build an after-room on the whole emplacement, to which people might resort from all assemblies? It should be a codicil to all the diversions of London; and the greater the concourse, the more excuse would there be for staying all night, from the impossibility of ladies getting their coaches to drive up. To be crowded to death in a waiting-room, at the end of the entertainment, is the whole joy; for who goes to any diversion until the last minute of it. *I am persuaded, that instead of retrenching Saint Athanasius's creed, as the Duke of Grafton proposed, in order to draw good company to church, it would be more efficacious if the congregation were to be indulged with an ante-room in the vestry; and instead of two or three being gathered together, there would be all the world before the prayers were quite over.*”

Walpole was well read in Scripture; yes, he knew every passage in the Bible which could be turned into ridicule, or which had been so treated by any pet infidel of his own society. Even in this qualification he cannot claim the merit of originality; his favourite witticism on earthquakes is borrowed from the sixth volume of Gibbon, page 53; and his opinion respecting the crime of sacrilege, a poor dilution of another note about a hundred pages further in the same volume. Soon after the death of the philosophical Sir Joseph Banks, whose sense of religion was more than doubted of, a present learned and knightly antiquarian enquired of one of the late president's most intimate friends “what he thought of Sir Joseph's religious belief.” After some hesitation, the friend and admirer gave it as his opinion, “that Sir Joseph believed in a God.” Hardly satisfied with this reply, the same enquirer asked another ardent admirer and follower of the deceased what he thought on the same subject. The second friend seemed unable to reply. “Well (said the antiquary), A— says he thinks he believed in a God.” “Yes,

yes (replied the friend), he believed in a God, and took his chance." Even such was the author of these six "octavo volumes, neatly bound," of letters, letters, letters.

It is an old story to accuse the letters of Walpole as abounding with indelicate allusions, too gross even in those days, save for the eyes of his male correspondents, Conway, Montague, Strafford; or to allude to the gallant sayings, as they were considered in his time, with which his letters to all his friends abound; aye, even to Hannah More, not to say his dear Miss Berrys; but which, in these prudish times, would have been considered as an insult by any lady. No, we will not dilate on this point, though we cannot but commend the ingenuity of the editor or his publisher, in having left the blanks for the first class of these expressions, in such a manner as to facilitate the insertion of the expunged words, instead of erasing the entire passage. Nor do we intend to defend the publication of these letters on the ground of their augmenting our insight into the human heart, and adding some little to the mass of human knowledge; as this would do equally well for a preface to the lives of courtezans, or the adventures of highwaymen. But this we will admit, that if in this enormous mass of correspondence we can discover a key to many political secrets and manœuvres; a just view of the great men who flourished in those eventful times; able criticisms on the learned of his day; just and honest views on religion and its ministers; however much these letters may be studded with the light expressions and indelicate phrases of the gay of those days, we shall go far to justify the publication, as we do that of our early dramatists, or the setting boys and young men to cull information from the impure writings of Aristophanes and Juvenal, because in them the good outweighs the bad.

Are his political characters and sketches to be depended upon? Let us see: the first that meets our eye in the second volume is what would seem a well-timed and well-deserved laugh at those, who, in the dearth of heroes, had proposed raising a monument to one Captain Cornwall, "who, having been tried twice for cowardice (says Walpole), is now to be made an hero for at last doing his duty." Had Horace Walpole been inclined to tell the truth, he would have added, that though twice tried, he was twice honourably acquitted, and that it was generally supposed that private malice had prompted both the accusations. Pass over a few pages, and in a letter to Marshal Conway, we discover him letting loose his anger against his father's old enemy, the Earl of Bath, accusing him of instigating Admiral Vernon to neglect his duty, with the assurance, that all the blame

would be imputed to Sir Robert Walpole, and charging the Earl with having given the advice for the very purpose of embarrassing the minister. That our readers may judge of the truth, we will place Walpole's and Pulteney's letters side by side, without note or comment.

WALPOLE'S LETTER.

"Admiral Vernon has just published a series of letters addressed to himself, among which are several of Lord Bath's, written during the height of his opposition; there is one in particular, to congratulate Vernon on taking Porto Bello, wherein this great and virtuous patriot advises him to do nothing more, assuring him that his inactivity would all be imputed to my father; Pulteney counselling the admiral who was intrusted with the war not to pursue it, that its mismanagement might be imputed to the minister!" (ii. 211).

PULTENEY'S LETTER.

"*Pursue your stroke*, but venture not losing the honour of it by too much intrepidity. Should you make no more progress than you have done, no one could blame you, but those persons only who ought to have sent some land forces with you, and did not. To their slackness it will be very justly imputed by all mankind, should you make no further progress until Lord Cathcart joins you."

It is well known how he has not only misrepresented every act of Lord Hardwicke's, but, in his utter ignorance and forgetfulness of what he has written, at one time informed us that the chancellor was the laughing-stock of the lords and the cabinet, whilst at another he deploras his influence in the latter, and laments his absolute dominion over the former. His inaccuracy in the numbers of two of the most important divisions at which he was present, on the Secret Committee and Septennial Act, are recorded in the second volume, page 163-169: whilst his errors about Count Konigsmark, Lord Bathurst, Lady Suffolk, and Swift's ingratitude, have already been exposed and refuted.

His misrepresentation of the affair of the two princes of Gloucester and Cumberland, in the year 1764, is another specimen of his party malice. "The two next princes (he writes to Lord Hertford) are at the pavilions of Hampton-court, in very private circumstances indeed; no household is to be established for Prince William (the Duke of Gloucester), who accedes nearer to the malcontents every day." (iv. 447). Now the fact is, that at that time neither of the princes were of age; and so far from their politics being a hinderance to their receiving their due honours and maintenance, they were severally created dukes, and given separate establishments, immediately on their attaining their majorities.

When any one of the Hardwicke family is to be misrepresented, facts are mere feathers with Horace Walpole, and truth, even in the most common occurrences, quite immaterial.

“Charles Yorke (the unfortunate Lord Morden) would have taken the Rolls if they would have made it much more considerable, but as they would not, he has recollected that it would be clever for one Yorke to have the claim of being disinterested; so he only disgraces himself, and takes a patent of precedence over the solicitor-general.” (iv. 472).

Thus writes our author to his dear friend, Lord Hertford, in 1764, in one of those many letters with which he favoured that nobleman, and which were written in the hope, and with the express intention, of present preservation and future publication. Now how do the facts stand? Mr. Yorke was made solicitor-general in 1756, and rose not long after to the attorney-generalship, but he had never worn the silk gown. When, on his resignation in 1763, he lost with his office his precedence at the bar, the then chancellor, at the request of the entire bar, made a point of calling him immediately after the king's counsel. After this singular preaudience had lasted a year, a regular patent of precedence was given him, in the year 1764.

As Walpole's Reminiscences have been prefixed to this new edition, the most notoriously incorrect and illiberal account of those times, it may not be unacceptable to our readers if we give them one parallel between the records which have been left by two of the most bitter partisans of those times, the author of the Reminiscences and the redoubtable Duchess of Marlborough. It shall be the account of the *fracas* between the Prince of Wales and his father; as for the truth of the matter, we leave it to our readers to unravel, assuring them that we believe one relator as much as the other, and, as the Irishman said, don't believe either of them:—

WALPOLE.

“What could excuse—what, indeed, could provoke the senseless and barbarous insult offered to the king and queen by Frederick's taking his wife out of the palace of Hampton-court in the middle of the night, when she was in actual labour, and carrying her, at the imminent risk of the lives of her and her child, to the un-aided palace and bed of St. James's? Had he no way of affronting his

MARLBOROUGH.

“There has been a very extraordinary quarrel at court, which I believe nobody will give you so exact an account of as myself. The 31st of last month the princess fell in labour: the king and the queen both knew that she was to lay in at St. James's, where everything was prepared. It was her first child, and so little way to London, that she thought it less hazard to go immediately away

parents but by venturing to kill his wife and the heir to the crown? [Whatever might have been the faults of the Prince of Wales, few persons but Walpole would have assigned or hinted at such a heartless reason. He naturally thought that the prince would have done, out of mere spite, such an act as none save a truly heartless Walpole could have done]. The scene, which commenced with unfeeling idiotism, closed with paltry hypocrisy. The queen, on the first notice of her son's exploits, set out for St. James's to visit the princess by seven in the morning. The gracious prince, so far from attempting an apology, spoke not a word to his mother, but on her retreat gave her his hand, led her into the street to her coach—still dumb; but a crowd being assembled at the gate, he kneeled down in the dirt and humbly kissed her majesty's hand. Her indignation must have shrunk into contempt." —*Reminiscences*, p. 98.

from Hampton-court to London, where she had all the assistance that could be, and everything prepared, than to stay at Hampton-court, where she had nothing, and might be forced to make use of a country midwife. There was not a minute's time to be lost debating this matter, nor in ceremonials. The princess begging earnestly of the prince to carry her to St. James's in such a hurry that gentlemen went behind the coach like footmen. She got to St. James's safe, and she was brought to bed one hour after. Her majesty followed them as soon as she could, but did not arrive until all was over. However, she expressed a great deal of anger to the prince for having carried her away, though she and the child were very well. The prince said all dutiful and respectful things imaginable to her and the king, desiring her to support the reasons which made him go away as he did without acquainting his majesty with it. And I believe all human creatures will allow that this was natural, for a man not to debate a thing of this kind, nor to lose a moment's time in ceremony..... When the prince led the queen to her coach, which she would not have had him have done, there was a great concourse of people; and notwithstanding all that had passed before, she expressed so much kindness, that she hugged and kissed him with great passion.

"Wimbledon, Aug. 17, 1737."

Both these accounts are from the pens of violent partisans; in that of the one, party feeling seems to have deadened every sense of justice or honesty; in the other, fair and good reasons are assigned for the conduct of all the parties concerned; and though the bias of the duchess is not concealed, the tone of her

remarks is that of the most perfect respect for her opponents. One of these two accounts must be false.

“Utrum horum mavis accipe.”

Worthless as these hundreds of letters are in matters of political history, peradventure they may present a more accurate account of the peculiar position which was held by our clergy during that period; and the accuracy and fidelity of his clerical portraits may, perhaps, go far to compensate for the absence of honesty in his political sketches. *Experto crede*. Can we believe, on the word of Horace Walpole, that “the Bishop of Salisbury, Sherlock, who refused Canterbury, accepted London on the prospect of some fat fines?” (xi. 267); or, on the same authority, that when, in the year 1756, the town was in fear and trembling from the repeated shocks of earthquakes—Walpole’s most favourite subject on which to break his semi-infidel wit—that, “all the women in town having taken them up upon the foot of judgments, the clergy, because they had had no windfalls for a long time, were driven horse and foot into that opinion.” “That there were showers of sermons and exhortations,” may well be credited; but not that “Secker, *the jesuitical* Bishop of Oxford, set the mode;” or that “he heard the women were all going out of town to avoid the next shock; and so, for fear of losing his Easter offerings, he set himself to advise them to await God’s good pleasure in fear and trembling,” (ii. 326). His attacks on Secker are renewed at page 356: “The Bishop of Oxford has laid aside his post obit views on Canterbury, and come roundly back to St. James’s for the deanery of St. Paul’s.” Again he hints, that on the death of Dr. Middleton “perhaps the Bishop of London will make a jubilee” (ii. 346); accuses the clergy of a plot to obtain possession of Middleton’s papers from his widow, by deliberate treachery and legal persecution (ii. 368); and retails, with evident delight, one of his father’s illiterate sneers at the “Analogy” and its author.

“Ah! (but says some kind apologist) this was in the days of his youth and thoughtlessness—about thirty to thirty-three; all your extracts are from one volume, and that one of the very earliest.” Well, let us turn, then, to the days of his age, and his grey-headed sobriety—to the new letters with which the sixth volume of this edition is nearly filled, and content ourselves with two examples from them, and one rather long extract from a letter not quite new, but written in the year 1778, when Horace was no thoughtless, beardless boy. To begin, then, with the old letter, written in 1778, to the Rev. Mr. Cole, who was more than once obliged to call his titled correspondent to

order for his free-thinking observations on religion and its ministers. Speaking of James I. and his bishops, he says—

“One can almost excuse the faults of James, when his clergy were such base sycophants. What can a king think of human nature, when it produces such wretches? I am too *impartial* to prefer puritans to clergymen, and *vice versa*, when Whitgift and Abbot only run a race of servility and adulation: *the result is, the priests of all religions are the same.* [What, Jews, Turks, Mahometans, Hindoos, *et id genus omne*? How very impartial.] James and his Levites were worthy of each other; the golden calf and the idolators were well coupled, and it is a pity they ever came out of the wilderness..... Church and Presbytery are terms for monopolies; exalted notions, in such matters, are contradictions in terms to the lowliness and humility of the Gospel. There is nothing sublime but the Deity; there is nothing sacred but as his work. A tree, a brute stone, is more respectable as such, than a mortal man called an archbishop, or an edifice called a church, which are the puny and perishable productions of men. Calvin and Wesley had just the same objects as the Pope; power and wealth their objects. P.S. I like Popery as well as you do; I like it as I like chivalry and romance; they all furnish one with ideas and opinions, which Presbyterianism does not. A gothic church and a convent fills one with romantic dreams; *but for the mysterious, the Church in the abstract, it is a jargon that means nothing, or a great deal too much, and I reject it and its apostles, from Athanasius to Bishop Keene.*”

Are these fit and proper opinions to be re-edited by a member of the Church of England, and replaced among the letters without note or comment, and well suited to the press of her Majesty's printer in ordinary?

But let us see what the new letters tell us of archbishops and bishops; and first, of Blackburne, Archbishop of York, and Hayter, Bishop of Norwich. In the “Memoirs of the Reigns of George I. and II.,” vol. i., p. 74, speaking of the preceptors of the young Prince of Wales, he says, “The other was Hayter, Bishop of Norwich, a well-bred, sensible man, natural son of Blackburne, the jolly old Archbishop of York, who had all the manners of a man of quality, though he had been a buccanier and was a clergyman; but he retained nothing of his former life but his seraglio.” This charge of bastardy against Hayter he reiterates in a letter in the second volume, page 333; and in another epistle to Dalrymple, written in 1780, and now first printed, he says of Blackburne: “I have often dined with him; his mistress, Mrs. Conway, sat at the head of his table, and Hayter, his natural son, by another woman, and very like him, at the bottom, as chaplain.” Now, to refute at this time such insinuations as these, is such an utter impossibility, that it may seem an over foolish thing, to

arraign his words, when for the greater part of his insinuations, especially as to the life led by the Archbishop Blackburne, the matters lie without possibility of proof. One assertion, however, he has made, the groundwork of all these insinuations against the primate, which we are enabled to meet—the charge of bastardy against Bishop Hayter. The parish register of the village of Chagford, in Devonshire, proves the falsity of this malicious assertion, recording, as it does, the bishop as the son of the rector of the parish. Let the credit due to the insinuations be tested by that which is found to be due to the assertion.

Eleven years after, we find his opinion respecting the bishops unaltered. In a letter written in this his seventy-fourth year, to his dear friends, the Miss Berry's, he thus speaks of one, whose name and memory will never cease to be revered in the Church, as a model of episcopal virtue and primitive piety :—

“Bishop Barrington of Salisbury is transferred to Durham, which he *affected* not to desire, having large estates by his wife in the south; but from the triple mitre downwards it is almost always true, what I said some years ago, that *nolo episcopari* is Latin for *I lie*.”

As a pendant to this portrait, we will extract from Mr. Harford's “Life of Bishop Burgess” an anecdote respecting this munificent prelate :—

“A near relation of Bishop Barrington's, who had been gay and thoughtless, applied to him for advice about taking orders, adding that he could venture to say, a great improvement had taken place in his principles and habits. The bishop received him kindly; but before he would enter on the subject, stipulated for the most frank and explicit replies to any questions he should put to him. In this way an acknowledgment was obtained, that he was influenced by a hope that, as his relation, he would ordain and provide for him. And it further came out, that his wishes were fixed on a particular living then vacant, or on the point of becoming so, the value of which was about 500*l.* per annum. ‘And would this amount of income (enquired the bishop) entirely satisfy your wishes?’ He eagerly replied in the affirmative. ‘You shall shall it then (replied his lordship); but not in the way you propose. I cannot reconcile it to my sense of duty to ordain you, but I will immediately transfer as much stock into your name as will produce an annual sum equal to that which you have declared to be the acme of your wishes, and may it prove to you all that you anticipate.” (p. 394.)

Now, as it is morally impossible that one and the same person should deserve the *nolo episcopari* accusation of Walpole, and do such a deed as that which Bishop Barrington did towards his relation, there must either have been two Bishops Barrington in those days, or Walpole deliberately pens a malicious falsehood.

In the memoirs, which, from the careful way in which they were to be preserved unopened for so many years, we presume their author regarded as too true to be published, we discover that Archbishop Stone was "an ambitious priest, without either learning or sanctity;" Gilbert, "that common mixture of meanness, ignorance, and arrogance;" and Secker, president of an Atheistical club.

But was there not *one* who ever sat on the episcopal bench for whom Walpole had respect, whom he could admire? Yes, we are unwillingly forced to admit that there *was* one bishop who came up to Walpole's standard, a man of high repute among the Walpoles of his times, successively Bishop of Bangor, Hereford, Salisbury, and Winchester, and for whom he writes Pinkerton word, in 1785, that "*he had a real affection,*" and *that he stood with him "in lieu of what are called the fathers;"* of whom he says, "I am much obliged to you for offering to lend me a book of his; *but as my faith in him and his doctrines has long been settled,* I shall not return to such grave studies, when I have so little time left;" and this bishop was—Hoadley.

As to all these opinions and acts being justified or hallowed by the genius of the writer, and the rest of the common-place excuses of the day, we shall not speak of them. May not, however, all this semi-infidelity, miscalled wit, this indelicacy of sentiment, grossness of expression, love for hunting after or inventing scandal about his relatives and his friends, have been *assumed* in deference to the low tone of morality by which the times of Walpole were characterised? May he not have *affected* to be frivolous and fashionable? Supposing he did so—why republish such a mass of disgraceful affectation, unredeemed by accuracy of facts and characters. But at this charge of affectation his latest defendress, Miss Berry, is highly indignant. "He affected nothing, he played no part," says this lady. It was no affectation, then, Madam, of this writer, when he recounted to his dear friend Mann, in one and the same strain of pathos and feeling, the deaths of his father, of his friend Chute, and his favourite dog Patapan, in his letter of the 29th of April, 1745. Nay, we are doing him injustice; he clearly feels much more for the loss of his quadruped, than of his biped relative or friend. It was not affectation then, Madam, that, on the 11th of May, in the same year, he wrote to the same person; and after speaking of the battle of Fontenoy, and giving a list of the killed and wounded, including in the former catalogue Colonel Montague, his "dear friend George's brother," he continued thus—"I have had the vast fortune to have nobody hurt for whom I was in the least interested." We do not doubt of the

truth of *that* assertion, and we can, though, perhaps, one who holds that "he played no part" cannot so easily, reconcile that epistle with the next letter, which bears date only seven days after, and which purports to be one of condolence to "his dear friend George," on the glorious but melancholy death of his brother. "He was what he appeared to be," says Miss Berry. What that was, our extracts have already demonstrated. An inimical critic in the "Edinburgh Review," some time since, declared that "he sneered at everybody." "Sneering (says Miss Berry) was not his way of showing dislike." Undoubtedly not, whenever he could circulate a lie with impunity, unless he foresaw a chance of danger, he preferred a libel to a sneer. "The affections of his heart (continues his Minerva, casting her editorial ægis over her favourite's fame) were bestowed upon few." Very few—Conway, Madame du Deffand, Patapan, and the Minerva and her sister. We may seem to have confined his affections within a very narrow limit, more especially when the apparently affectionate forms in which so many of the letters are couched are considered. But we are unwilling to credit any of his "dear-friending," unless borne out by his recorded acts, regarding his pretty phrases, as the Indian did the governor's harangue to his red children, "very good jaw that, Mr. Gubbernor: you speak 'um grand well; now try and act 'um well." Putting Walpole's affections to this Indian test, we admit that he bestowed the affections of his heart on Conway, du Deffand, Patapan, and the Miss Berrys. The first he defended with his pen, and wished to share with him his fortune in the hour of his degradation; to his *chere amie* he offered a maintenance; as to Patapan, who can doubt his affection; to his last friends his bankers' book was open, had they consented to accept of his assistance.

What would his "dear Saint Hannah" have said, could she have seen her admirer's letters to Lord Strafford, during the continuance of his correspondence with her; or had she read his deliberate slander of Bishop Barrington and the entire bench, written to the Miss Berrys, but a few days before his meeting Miss More at the table of the Bishop of London? The character of the man is nowhere more clearly shown than in the difference of style, of thought, and of expression, in which he corresponds with his various friends. To Sir Horace Mann he sends scandal, indelicacy, and covert infidelity; which he deals out, at intervals, to Montague, Conway, Strafford, and Cole. To one lady he writes frivolous nothings, to another indelicate somethings; to Gray he dare not hardly hint at rationalism, or to patronize immorality. To Hannah More, he

pens the most fulsome praise, in his most moral and decent language. To Lady Ailesbury, his letters are easy, polished, and clever, containing not a single thought that prudery could arraign ; whilst those to Lady Craven are hardly more admissible than his correspondence with Montague or Mann. Few there were of whom he could not say an ill-natured word ; and were they friends or foes, he never thought of keeping his information to himself. Few there were whom he did not treat with levity and harshness ; and did any one dare to thwart him in his private views, the utmost scorn and hatred was their portion. To use the words of a cotemporary, "he was like a tiger cat ; sometimes sportive, sometimes ferocious, but always cruel."

As a set-off to all these savage sobrieties, we must beg a small corner of the Review for a far different matter, before we bring to a conclusion our observations on Walpole. "I was lately delighted (says that writer) with an article in the 'Abac-dario Pittorico,' in the article 'William Dobson : ' it says, 'Nacque nel quartiere d'Holbrons in Inghillterra?'—Did the author take Holborn for a city, or Inghillterra for the capital of the island London?" Perhaps it may be thought that we have cited this extract as a parallel to the Persian geographer's description of our island, as a country in the far west, whose capital was Scotland, and the queen's name Hibernia ; or the French pamphleteer, who, during the Rebellion in '45, described Scotland as an island, whose principal city was York. Far from it. We wish to introduce to our readers, and especially to our clerical friends, a specimen of the accurate knowledge which the French clergy had of our religious state towards the end of the seventeenth century ; and, at the same time, to illustrate the danger of taking information second-hand.

The writer from whom we are about to quote, a French ecclesiastic, proposes to give an account of the state of religion over the whole world ; and in so doing, is naturally led to notice the heretics of England. "In the archbishopric of York (says the writer) there are *nine sees* ;" and having so said, he proceeds to enumerate them : Cestrel, Dunelms, Corlisle ; clearly Chester, Durham, Carlisle. Then comes Ruinsm, en l' Isle de Man ; which is either the remnant of the cathedral there, or more likely Rushin itself : making the fifth of his *nine sees*. Then come these extraordinary names : *Camdan, Brit, Jo, Spud, Theas*. Whence these extraordinary sees had come from originally, or gone to eventually, we were at a loss to know, until a friend suggested, that if written at full length and corrected in their orthography, they were no other than "Camden's Britannia" and "Joseph Speed's Thesaurus," the au-

thorities whence the writer, from whom the Frenchman had borrowed at second-hand, had elicited the four first sees, to which, in his great generosity, the new ecclesiastical historian had added the other five, in due consideration of the spiritual wants of the archiepiscopate of York.

After such a mass of extracts as we have offered, and we hope in all fairness—and many as they are, they are but a little of what we had marked, and with which our note-book teems—can we congratulate those who have shared in the production of these volumes? Can we feel grateful to those who have drawn from their hiding-places these new letters, the great attraction offered by the edition, which do but strengthen and confirm the errors of their elder brethren? Can we feel thankful to the editor for the care with which he has illustrated these records of the low tone of morality of a leading man among the fashionable, the noble, the learned of his day; and who, so far from registering his disapproval of their leading errors, has taken the opportunity of a mere hint in one of the letters to Conway, about C. Fox's selling annuities to repair his losses at play, to introduce a long and virulent attack of Gibbon's on the Articles, we cannot see for what other reason than to show how careful he has been to rake together, whenever he had an opportunity, a cotemporary sneer at, or libel on, the Church, her articles, or her ministers? We should not be doing our duty as critics, Christians, or Churchmen, were we so to do. And as for the publisher of these volumes, "her Majesty's publisher in ordinary," and also publisher in ordinary to the author of "Jack Sheppard," we do not hesitate to tell him, that there are many more acceptable presents which he might have offered *us*.

And now, as an antidote to all this scandal, satire, and libel, we will quote the opinion of one of those bishops, on whom no inconsiderable portion of it has been vented by its author. "One person (says Secker) raises an idle story to divert the company, at the expense of a person, who, it may be, hath not given the least ground for it. A second catches what he hears, perhaps believes it too hastily; perhaps does not believe it, but notwithstanding tells it. A third fills it up with plausible circumstances; the general voice repeats it; and then what everybody says passes for certain. If the composition be seasoned with a small spice of wit, it is universally relished; but there is almost always, at the bottom of this practice, a malignity of heart against our fellow-creatures."—*Sermons* vol i. 158.

ART. IV.—*Charles Lever ; or, the Man of the Nineteenth Century.* By the Rev. W. GRESLEY, M. A., Prebendary of Lichfield. London: Burns. 1841.

2. *The Chartist ; or, the Life and Death of James Arnold ; shewing the Progress and Results of Chartism.* London: Painter. 1841.

MR. GRESLEY is one of the most popular writers of our time. It would seem, indeed, as if the high intellectual powers which he possesses, his talents, nay, more, his genius—for it may with truth be said he exhibits striking indications of the latter gift—had been called forth by the circumstances of the age. In proportion as evil principles and opposition to the good old institutions of our country have manifested themselves, so in like degree has he come forth to wage war with these enemies of our peace and welfare. Nor is the conflict by any means unequal, for he has proved himself fully able to cope with the most dangerous of them. Indeed, the more hazardous the contest, and the greater the difficulties which it has presented, the more vigour and resolution has he displayed. His courage rises with each successive attack upon the ark of our strength ; truly may he be said to go forth in the spirit of the Christians of ancient time, having put on the whole armour of God, that he may be able to withstand in the evil day, having his feet shod with the preparation of the Gospel of peace, and bearing on his arm the shield of faith, wherewith to quench all the fiery darts of the wicked.

And let it not be thought, by those who are yet unacquainted with his writings, that we have haply indulged in too confident a tone when speaking of their merits. Let them lose no time in judging for themselves, and we are well assured the results will bear us out. Let them read “The Portrait of an English Churchman,” the first of Mr. Gresley’s works in what may be called his own peculiar class (although he had previously distinguished himself in branches of composition more directly connected with his own profession), in which he has described with so much feeling, earnestness, and truth, the conduct to be pursued by an upright and consistent member of our Holy and Apostolic Church ;—“Clement Walton,” in which he has delineated the same character, in a still more direct and particular manner, and in a wider and more extensive sphere of action—one, indeed, which embraces almost every possible combination of circumstances in which such an individual can be placed ;—or “The Siege of Lichfield,” where, in a very delightful fiction, a great part of which is more or less connected with the events of

the great Rebellion against the martyred Charles, he has displayed, in the most graphic and lively manner, the effects of those evil principles which produced the civil war, and overturned the Monarchy and the Church, and which, springing into existence again in our own time, through the arts and machinations of crafty, designing, and wicked men, have been combated with so much force and vigour, as we have said, in his previous works. Let them study these with attention, and they will soon become convinced of the sterling value which belongs to the writings of Mr. Gresley, and of the important, we do not hesitate to say, the inestimable service which he has rendered to his countrymen, by creating, as it were, a class of composition in which a very charming fiction is made to embody lessons for the guidance of the mind in every character and station which its possessor can assume ;—whether as a statesman, engaged in the conduct of political affairs ; as a man of business, occupied in the employments of the world ; as a man of letters ; in the more useful station of a country gentleman ; or in the most important of all characters, the member of that most pure and apostolic branch of Christ's Holy Church which is planted in this land ;—and all with the greatest skill, and the most nice and accurate adaptation to the feelings belonging to every station and situation of life.

In “Charles Lever,” Mr. Gresley has added a new feature to his original plan, and very judiciously, as we think. In his former works he was contented, in a certain degree, with acting on the defensive, with regard to those great moral and religious principles which he advocated ; but in the volume before us he has assumed an offensive position, and has gone boldly into the enemy's camp. He has detected and exposed the wicked and execrable doctrines of Chartism and Socialism, which are passing over the land, and withering and blasting up the surface wherever they touch, whether in the goodly city, or in the fair and pleasant fields of our country. He has dragged them forth from their secret recesses, and has held them up to the loathing and abhorrence of his countrymen. The object of this tale cannot be better explained than in the language of the author in the Preface :—

“The following tale is designed to set forth in their true colours the dangers to which our ill-cemented social system exposes the most numerous and important class in society—dangers to which they become victims, not so much from natural causes as from defective education, want of access to sound religious instruction, popular fallacies and prejudices, never more abundant than at present ; all which are fostered by a corrupt and venal press, by the harangues of the infidel lecturer

and the false liberal, and the numerous other destructive tendencies which are rife in the nineteenth century. It is not meant that inducements to good are not also abundant: on the contrary, the word of God is spread through the land; the Church is putting forth her powers; education is assuming a sounder and deeper character; the press is extensively employed by the agents of good as well as by those of evil; we have much cause for hope as well as fear. The scene will be laid in various departments of life, with a view to shew the mutual bearing of different classes on each other; how ambition and laxity of principle in the rich lead to the demoralization of the poor; how the demoralization of the poor reverts most certainly and perniciously on those above them; nay, how even good men, if unfortunately biassed in their judgment by prevailing errors, may most unconsciously promote the general evil; and, lastly, how in God's revealed religion, and in his Catholic Church, the only remedy or palliative of these evils is to be found."

There is a great deal of truth and justice in this statement, and the promise held out in it is amply fulfilled in the tale itself. It is, indeed, a tale capable of teaching every class, and we only hope that a willing disposition may be shewn to receive the lessons which it conveys. The introductory chapter is very much to our taste. The author (or rather the relator of the tale, who speaks in this section in the first person) pays a visit to an old college friend whom he had not seen for many years, Mr. Merton, the Vicar of Laxington. On the morning after his arrival he accompanies his friend to the daily prayers in his church. "Is it not your hour for prayers?" I asked. "Yes; will not you accompany me to church?" "To church? most willingly; but that is a new arrangement." "Rather, an old one revived," answered my friend. "Well, we will talk about that afterwards; it is a *good* custom, at any rate." We agree with him; it is, indeed, a good custom, and one which cannot fail to produce the best results. It gives us infinite pleasure to observe the rapid manner in which it is spreading through the country. Let not the parochial clergyman be disheartened if at the first revival of this ancient custom of our Church he views around him, perhaps, but few persons to mingle in prayer and praise to the Most High. The number of worshippers will increase, he may be assured, in the course of a very short time, when the apparent novelty has subsided, and his parishioners have begun to accommodate their habits and occupations in such a manner as to allow them to partake of this act of worship.

"On entering the church I was much struck with the extreme beauty and propriety of its arrangements, which I afterwards learned was chiefly owing to the taste and zeal of my friend. Basil Merton was, in truth, a most zealous *church-restorer* in every sense of the word;

not only of its tone and spirit, and of its forgotten or neglected usages, but of the smallest points of order or decoration. He would often use the expression of George Herbert : ‘ There is nothing little in God’s service.’ On first obtaining the living he had laid out a considerable sum in restoring and beautifying the church, before he had spent one shilling on his own parsonage ; and, by the example of his continued liberality, had induced his parishioners to take a pride in their place of worship, and endeavour to make it more worthy of Him whose it was. Many pieces of beautiful moulding and tracery, and a handsome roof of carved oak, which the ignorance of former churchwardens had plastered up, were brought out and restored to view ; several tall unsightly pews had been lowered to the height of the rest ; a beautiful gothic window, of the best stained glass which could be obtained in these degenerate days, shed a calm and rich lustre from the east end.”

After describing the manner in which the service was performed, and the various classes of which the congregation was composed (we wish we had room to extract the passage), he says there was one group which engaged his particular attention :—

“ It consisted of a young man, who supported the tottering steps of an aged woman, apparently his mother, and led her to her place with a mixture of respect and affection which much delighted me. The young man’s features were intelligent and strongly marked—the sort of features which, when once seen, are not easily forgotten. Grief or passion appeared to have made deep furrows ; yet was there a mild and subdued lustre in his eye, which spoke of storms subsided and a heart at rest. In outward appearance he was decent and respectable, seeming, by his dress, to be a better sort of mechanic. I made particular enquiry respecting him. ‘ That (said my friend) is my most regular attendant at the daily prayers : he generally brings his aged mother with him ; but when she is prevented from coming by her infirmities, still he himself is always punctual. He is a man who has seen great changes in life. In early youth he had been led into deep errors, but is now, if any man ever was, a sincere penitent—a lost sheep brought back to the fold.’ My friend gave me some further account of the young man, which so much interested me, that, during my visit at Laxington, I made acquaintance with him, and learned the history of his life from his own lips. On my return home I wrote down the particulars of his story in the following narrative, which may be described as the life of *a man of the nineteenth century*.”

Our readers will, of course, have discovered that this person is Charles Lever, the subject of the tale which follows. This individual was the son of a respectable tradesman in the town of Laxington. Both his parents were members of the Church of England at the period of his birth, and continued so for some years afterwards ; but after a time the father—as he professed, from a dislike to the manner of preaching of the clergyman of

his parish, the predecessor of Mr. Merton, but in reality from an impatience of any check or restraint, and a sort of restless appetite for change and excitement, not uncommon, we fear, amongst persons of his class, more particularly when, as he was, they happen to be inclined to *liberalism*—left the Church, in opposition to the wishes of his wife, who was attached to its worship, and became a Dissenter:—

“And so (in the emphatic language of Mr. Gresley) these poor uninstructed people separated themselves from the Church of their country, the true branch of Christ’s Apostolic Church in England, in sheer ignorance of their danger and sinfulness. They cut themselves off from the prayers of the Church universal, from the holy sacraments, the communion of the faithful—and what for? Just that John Lever might be gratified with having his ears tickled by a more agreeable preacher, and be a more consequential person than he was before.”

With regard to the last reason, it seems that at a vestry meeting he had proposed a resolution which was not seconded. What a reason for becoming a schismatic! Mr. Gresley’s observations on this subject are excellent; we only wish we could give them at length. Charles Lever, who was a quick, intelligent lad, was by no means unobservant of his father’s proceedings, and although disposed to think his mother in the right in her opposition to her husband’s separation from the Church, yet was a strong impression made on him by his father’s conversation on the subject, which, as we shall see, produced such consequences as might have been expected. One of the most immediate effects resulting from the change of faith in the parents of Charles Lever was exhibited in the change which took place in his associates. Among the most intimate friends of John Lever was Joseph Franklin, a respectable farmer, who was also related to his wife. Mr. Gresley is so successful in his delineation of the character of this person, and it is one which we look upon with so much respect, moreover, he bears so important a part in the tale, that we cannot deny ourselves the pleasure of extracting the description of this old-fashioned yeoman:—

“Franklin was a good specimen of an English yeoman—of what English yeomen once were, and what, I verily believe, many still are. [We think we can vouch for this from our own experience]. For it is in this class, more than in any other, that, as it would seem by a merciful arrangement of Providence, the old national character is preserved. There it is that much of the real strength and stamina of the nation still dwell. Call their feelings and notions prejudices, if you please; but they are of a thousand times more value than all the new-fangled nonsense of modern days. Franklin was honest, upright, independent, industrious; his character was known and respected in

all the country round. If a dispute arose between a landlord and tenant, Franklin was the man to settle it. When Franklin valued an estate, both parties were satisfied ; or if one was not, everybody was quite sure that he was in the wrong. In one respect, Franklin differed from many of his brother yeomen, and farmers in general ; though it was not anything in which another may not do just as well as Franklin. He had been accustomed all his life to employ much of his leisure time in reading, and was well acquainted with many of our English standard authors and divines. This, of course, greatly softened and improved his character, but without making him in the least conceited ; for, with all his practical shrewdness and acquirements, Franklin was a humble-minded Christian. On the next market-day after Lever changed his religion, he received a visit from his friend. ‘How now, John?’ said Farmer Franklin ; ‘why, they tell me you have turned meetinger ; it is not true, I hope?’ ‘It is, though,’ said John, doggedly, at the same time half ashamed. ‘I am heartily sorry for it, then,’ replied his friend. ‘Why?’ said Lever ; ‘why should not I go to worship where I choose?’ ‘Go where you choose?’ said Franklin ; ‘that is a bad principle to act on. We ought to worship God as *He* chooses, not as *we* choose ; and, to my poor judgment, He has appointed his Church for us to worship him in.’ This conversation had a considerable effect upon Lever’s mind, but he was too proud to confess himself in error. ‘He had left the Church, not because he believed the Church was wrong, but *because he chose* ;’ and the same temper now made him stick to what he had done, though his conscience strongly remonstrated against it.”

The consequence of Lever’s obstinacy in continuing his separation from the Church was, that the friendship between him and Franklin was broken up ; for Franklin was a man who acted strictly according to what he believed to be the will of God. He remembered, as he thought, several very strong texts in Scripture respecting the sinfulness of dissent, and the duty of Churchmen with regard to those persons who are guilty of it.

“Accordingly, as soon as he got home, he took down his Bible and looked for the passages in question. In the second Epistle of St. Paul to the Thessalonians (c. iii., v. 6) he found the following solemn admonition :—‘Now I command you, brethren, in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, that ye *withdraw yourselves* from every brother that walketh disorderly, and not after the tradition which ye have received *of us*.’ Again, he read in Romans (c. xvi., v. 17), ‘Now I beseech you, brethren, mark them that cause divisions and offences, contrary to the doctrine that ye have received, and *avoid them*.’ ‘If these texts mean anything,’ said he to himself, ‘they must apply to the behaviour of Churchmen with regard to Dissenters. I verily believe the Church of England to be the true branch of the Church in England. Its doctrines and services are according to Scripture ; its discipline, under the three orders of bishops, priests, and deacons, is like that founded by the apostles, as we read in the Acts and the Epistles ; our clergy have received authority to teach and

administer the sacraments in regular succession, from those whom Christ our Lord commissioned: surely, therefore, those who separate themselves from the Church, and so cause divisions, teaching things contrary to the doctrines which we have received, are the persons whom St. Paul warns us to withdraw from and avoid. If we associate with those who are guilty of the sin of schism, we shall be liable to fall into the same error, or, at least, to the danger of believing that difference of religious belief is of no consequence—a feeling which has a direct tendency to infidelity. Besides, we shall make *them* suppose that we do not consider their schism to be sinful, and that we think just as well of them as of those who worship God as he has commanded; and, seeing other people as good friends with them as ever, they will, of course, be the more confirmed in their error.’ ”

This passage is well worthy of consideration by all those members of the Church who are in the habit of mixing, on intimate terms, with Dissenters without bearing witness against their schism; and we fear there are many who are in the habit of doing so, perfectly unconscious of harm. We should be very unwilling to give utterance to anything which could be called illiberal; but surely, to say the least of it, such a fellowship as this can scarcely be regarded as consistent with a true profession of Church principles. To pursue such a subject further, however, after the admirable reasoning of Mr. Gresley, would be quite superfluous.

Not only did Franklin drop the acquaintance of the elder Lever, but one by one others of his old friends quitted him, and a new set sought his company. These were of a very different character; “they were dissatisfied and dogmatical; great arguers and politicians—men who thought they could put all things to rights, who set themselves against all authority, spoke disrespectfully of the Church and her ministers, retailed every story which they heard to their disadvantage, at the same time making much vaunt of their own wisdom and enlightenment.” Bred up among such associates, it is not to be wondered at that Charles Lever imitated the dogmatism and confidence which he observed in those around him, and, encouraged by his father in the habit of expressing his opinions on every subject, without any reserve or control, that he became self-willed and arrogant. His education also, which was conducted for the most part at a school where, according to the most approved *liberal plan*, no religious system was enforced, but the pupils were left to pick up what knowledge they could on this most important of all subjects by mere chance, increased the bad habits which he had acquired; and although his mother, who it would seem had never lost her old feelings of attachment to the Church, endeavoured to instruct him in religion, the effect of her lessons was always counteracted by the influence of his father, who had

become by this time a narrow-minded and bigoted sectarian. About the time at which Charles Lever was starting into manhood, a change was working its way through the land, the effect of one of those numerous blessings with which the *liberal kindness* and *genuine impartiality* of the Whigs have favoured this once happy country. The Municipal Reform Act was doing its work at Laxington, as well as in other places. How well does Mr. Gresley describe the consequences of such a measure—

“ Instead of these old church-and-king men, who united with their regard for the laws a due proportion of English independence, a set of persons of entirely different habits and feelings were now brought into power. They were chiefly men who had made themselves conspicuous as noisy agitators ; many of them Dissenters ; some of no religion whatever ; almost all persons of no consideration ; new settlers in the town, who might be gone to-morrow ; speculators, who might be rich one day and bankrupts the next ; men with no hold on the present affections or past recollections of the community over whom they were placed, their sole support being the power which they exercised by force or flattery over the votes of the lower sort of electors. What was the consequence of this change ? Why, that all the old hereditary respect for authority was annihilated ; the moral influence of good principle and respectability, coupled with office, was taken away. Men saw the influence of office lodged in improper hands, and exerted to promote the worst principles ; and they learned to despise and dislike the office, on account of the unworthiness of those who filled it.”

The next step taken by the Radicals in Laxington, after their new acquisition of power, through the means of the Municipal Reform Bill, was to establish a newspaper on *Liberal* principles. But a large outlay was necessary to accomplish this purpose, and funds, as it is well known, are not always very abundant amongst the Radicals. What did they do in this strait ? Mr. Gresley shall explain it in his own words, every one of which tells with effect. We recommend this statement to the attention of our readers, as a most correct delineation of the *Liberal* course on these occasions—

“ In this dilemma they applied to a Whig lord, who had considerable property and influence in the borough, and nominated one of the members. True, they hated his politics almost as much as those of the Tories, and had been the loudest to cry out against his unjust interference with their representation. But at the present time it suited both parties to enter into an alliance offensive and defensive. His lordship, on his part, was most anxious to retain his influence in the borough. He had uncles, and brothers, and sons, and other relatives, either holding Government offices, or hoping to hold them ; and their emolument, as well as family importance, depended on the maintenance of the existing Government, for they were a needy, extravagant family, and not over scrupulous as to the means which they took to recruit their wasted finances. It was, therefore, worth his

lordship's while to contribute a good round sum towards setting up the *Laxington Chronicle*. And so this noble Whig was made the means or tool of establishing a violent Radical paper, of the worst possible principles."

How true a picture this of the *admirable impartiality*—the *exact love of truth, and justice, and freedom of opinion*, and—the utter recklessness of any consequences, however dangerous, which distinguishes many a Whig and self-styled Liberal! Surely our readers can draw many such a sketch from their own experience. But the conclusion of Mr. Gresley's picture of a *Liberal* newspaper is too true and accurate to be omitted:—

"The newspaper served the purpose of the Radicals in many ways; first, it furnished a dish of Liberal politics every week, well-seasoned with abuse of the Tories, for the edification of their fellow-townsmen, who, if they were so unwise as to read the paper, were likely to take their complexion from the food on which they fed. Then it intimidated many quiet or weak-minded persons, who could not bear to be dragged out into notoriety, and have their sayings and doings laid, in an exaggerated shape, before the public. It disseminated calumnies with impunity; for a person attacked, or misrepresented, could not defend himself with the same weapons with which he was assailed. He was sure to come off with loss, like a well-dressed man fighting with a chimney-sweeper. If he sent a moderate answer, it was inserted with ostentatious impartiality, but did more harm than good; for, to the morbid taste of the readers, his moderate style appeared mere milk and water, and gave the impression that he was unable to defend himself with spirit. Besides, it laid the unfortunate writer open to a reply, in which his strong points were passed over, and any minor position which he had left unguarded was assailed with advantage, and gave the appearance of a triumph to his opponents, as well as subjected him to a new volley of vituperation. Another mode of annoying the Church-and-King party was to publish, at full length, and make the most of every Romish or Protestant Dissenters' meeting, and either pass over or speak slightly of every similar demonstration on the part of the Church. Even the statements which clergymen made in their sermons were misquoted or garbled, and commented on by a host of anonymous writers, signing themselves 'Churchmen,' or 'Friends of the Church;' as if friendship for the Church consisted in blazing to the world her imperfections. I have already said that this paper was established mainly from funds contributed by a Liberal lord: his object being to strengthen his interest, with a view to the representation of the borough. The paper was supported and taken in by many respectable Liberal families in the neighbourhood. Liberal attorneys invariably sent their advertisements to it, with a view to its support and continuance; and will it be believed that the ostensible editor and manager was the Mayor of Laxington?" (p. 49).

So it is, that persons holding erroneous and mischievous

political opinions, but otherwise of good character, and who, in their general conduct, are accustomed to preserve a respect for morals and religion, frequently, without the least compunction, countenance and encourage periodical publications of the most noxious and injurious description, and allow works to be placed on their tables, and to enter into their households, which are full of moral poison, to open the pages of which is to run the risk of imbibing corruption—and all for the sake of supporting their political party ! Strange, and worse than strange inconsistency ! Will people never learn to distinguish between right and wrong—never pursue the straight and even path of duty, guided by principle alone, and not permitting themselves to be swayed by the influence of a base and wicked expediency ?

We fear this mode of conduct is not confined only to those parties who have been named, but extends itself occasionally to persons of very different principles. Alas ! that we should be obliged to confess it. These persons will not unfrequently take in newspapers, for the sake of the amusement, or, what is still worse, the scandal which they may contain, perfectly regardless of the shocking and wicked opinions put forth in the remainder of their pages ; and when questioned and reasoned with on the subject, will reply, “ Oh ! what does it signify ?—no one thinks of what a newspaper contains ; it is all forgotten the next day.” Never was there such a mistaken notion. *They* may not think much of what they read in such a publication ; *they* may be well educated and well principled, and therefore secure against contamination ; but does it follow that all the members of a household are equally fortunate, equally gifted with information and the power of judging between right and wrong ? Are there none who, observing their betters reading such a paper, will imagine that there can be no harm in reading it themselves, and will thus insensibly, perhaps against their better feelings, imbibe the noxious venom which it contains ? We repeat it, and we say it advisedly, too much caution and watchfulness cannot be exercised by the heads of families and masters of households more particularly, in regard to publications of every class, especially those of an occasional nature, which are allowed to enter within the families over which they preside, or in which they exercise influence. Who can tell the incalculable evil, the infinite mischief, which may be produced, even by the single perusal of one page of a work of dangerous character ? The happiness, not of one only, but of many human souls put at hazard, and, dreadful thought ! destroyed not only in time but in eternity !

“ Such were the influences under which the early youth of Charles Lever was trained. A dissenting father, a latitudinarian schoolmaster,

a radical magistracy, and a revolutionary and atheistical press! can we be surprised that young Lever grew up in politics a democrat; in religion—it is difficult to say what?”

Among other evil influences which now began to work in the town of Laxington, what was called a *Civil and Religious Liberty Club* was established. We presume these associations obtain their name in fulfilment of the old adage, *Lucus a non lucendo*; for it would seem, by their practice, that they countenance anything rather than freedom, either in politics or religion. Mr. Gresley now brings upon the scene a totally opposite character from that of the hero of his work, in order to show the effect produced by a religious and moral education, and a culture and training of the mind in the fear of God, and obedience to the sovereign. This character is brought forward in the person of George Franklin, the son of the excellent yeoman, whom we have already described. He was about the same age as Charles Lever, and not unlike him in natural generosity and boldness of temper; “but, as may be supposed, entirely different in acquired sentiments and principles. As their characters more and more diverged, George Franklin grew up a manly, true-hearted Englishman; Charles Lever, *a man of the nineteenth century.*” The latter, as our readers will naturally imagine, becomes a member of the Civil and Religious Liberty Club, and makes himself very prominent at its meetings. He endeavours to persuade his friend, George Franklin, to join the society, as the respectability of his character would have been a great addition to it. All his efforts prove vain. One evening, however, in his way to the society, meeting Franklin, and telling him that he is going to open the debate, which is to be on the subject of Hampden and the ship-money, he urges him to accompany him. Franklin tells him that “his opinions on these matters are totally different from his own; and that if he were to go, he should only hear what he did not like, or else say what the meeting would not wish to hear.” After a little more urging, however, Franklin agrees to go, much to the joy of his friend, who was weak enough to imagine that he might possibly make a convert of him. The preliminary proceedings are admirably described:—

“The president took his seat in due form; the minutes of the last meeting were read; two new members balloted for, and duly elected; *and another expelled, on account of not having paid up his subscription.* The grand debate of the evening was somewhat impeded by an incidental discussion on the propriety of endeavouring to obtain a new room, the mistress of the house having made a most unreasonable extra charge of sixpence a night, for cleaning the room after it had

been used by the club. The debate was opened by Charles Lever ; Franklin could not help remarking, however, that the debate on the conduct of Hampden did not cause half the real interest and excitement as that respecting the payment of sixpence a night to Molly Turnpenny, for sweeping the room ; the reason being, that the latter question was one of present interest, and within the compass of the understanding of the speakers ; whereas, in the former, they were all wide of the mark."

Lever, after the conclusion of his speech, begs to propose Franklin as a member of the club : the latter, however, declines the honour, for reasons with which he did not think it necessary to trouble the meeting ; but on being told that they should be happy to hear his reasons, he rises, and in an open, straightforward manner, which at once gains him the attention of his audience, states his reasons for not joining the club, and his objection to it, in an admirable and unanswerable speech. It is so good that we wish we could give it at length ; indeed, this character is so applicable to every part of this work, that the only difficulty in making selections from it, is to know where to stop. This is not a common fault in modern publications :—

"Your club is formed (says Franklin), if I am rightly informed, for the promotion of civil and religious liberty. From which it would seem that, in the opinion of its members, the people of England either are not in possession of civil and religious liberty, or are in danger of losing it. I confess I cannot, for the life of me, see that either of these evils is in the least degree to be apprehended, provided only we keep to our present laws and constitution. *I have never in my life found myself prevented from doing what my conscience told me was right ; and what was wrong I do not wish to have the liberty of doing.* There is nothing which I am prevented doing, except what is contrary to my welfare, or that of my neighbours, or repugnant to the divine law. So, again, with regard to what is called *religious* liberty. I go to church, because I believe it is according to the law of God ; others go to the dissenting meeting-house, and some nowhere at all. In my opinion they are wrong. Still I do not wish to force them by any compulsion to worship God contrary to their own conviction. I do not think that human rulers have a right to do this ; nor do they in England. Therefore I really do not see in what respect my liberty, or the liberty of any man in England, is interfered with—at least, in the manner in which you seem to suppose. To say the truth, I am inclined to think that the fault is on the other side, and that some people have *too much liberty*. It appears to me that persons are left at liberty to do things contrary to the law, which they ought not to be allowed to do. It would be well, therefore, for us to consider whether, instead of being unduly controlled, men are not left *too much* at liberty to do that which is contrary to law, and most injurious to their neighbours. However, let that pass. What I mean to say is, *that*

every one amongst us is at liberty to do what he chooses, except when he chooses to do wrong."

The effect produced by the speech from which we have made these extracts was such, that several members of the club withdrew themselves from it. An admirable conversation on the subject of this speech takes place between the elder Franklin and the Rev. Mr. Morton, which we particularly recommend to the notice of our readers. Charles Lever still pursues his unhappy course, and, among other modes of making himself conspicuous, becomes a writer of articles in the *Laxington Chronicle*, and a leading member in the Reform Club of that town. Mr. Gresley concludes this chapter with some just and excellent observations on the degree of knowledge possessed by the people:—

"The people, we are told, are destroyed for lack of knowledge. True; but of what knowledge? Is it for lack of a smattering in the arts and sciences? or of the stores of knowledge contained in newspapers? or the information conveyed through a set of orators, probably more ignorant than those whom they address, inasmuch as their moral sense is more inveterately and hopelessly depraved? Is it knowledge such as this that is to save the nation? No; it is the knowledge of the truth—the knowledge of the word and will of God—the knowledge how to live soberly, honestly, and godly in this present world, and to obtain an eternal inheritance in the next. *Give them as much of other knowledge as you please; but if you do not give them this, you give them nothing.*"

A contested election shortly takes place at Laxington. The Whig-Radical candidate is returned by a very small majority, through the use of the most scandalous means, in the employment of which Charles Lever is particularly active: among other vile modes, three voters are made drunk by him, and locked up in a barn until the election is over. The whole proceedings of the election are drawn to the life; so much so, indeed, that we fear most of our readers will be able to supply the details from their own experience in those elections where *Liberals* have been candidates. Mr. Gresley concludes his account thus:—

"The return was, of course, petitioned against, on the score of intimidation and illegal practices; but a majority of the members of the committee being Liberals, the evidence was thought not to be conclusive, and Mr. Wigley was reported as 'duly elected;' the only consolation which the other party received being the unanimous decision of the committee that the petition against the return had *not* been frivolous and vexatious." (p. 90).

Not very long after the election, as if to complete the mea-

sure of evil in which the town of Laxington was involved, a Socialist lecturer, one of those emissaries of blasphemy, atheism, and abomination, who go about spreading their noxious venom through the land, visits the place. This person, on his arrival, calls on the mayor, to ask for the use of the town hall, in which to deliver his lectures. The reasons which he brings forward in order to induce this functionary to comply with his request are somewhat peculiar. We think our readers, when they read this portion of the work, will be able to draw on their own experience for the truth of some circumstances mentioned in it. The Socialist's request is granted without difficulty by the mayor, who happens to be a Liberal of the first water.

"We need not (says Mr. Gresley) record the rest of the conversation which passed between them, but only beg the reader to observe the concatenation of events. It was owing to the good offices of the mayor that the Socialist obtained the use of the town hall for his meeting. The good offices of the mayor were afforded in consequence of the appointment of his friend Mr. Hare to the registrarship at A——. The appointment of Mr. Hare to the registrarship was made by the Right Hon. Fox Wigley, member of her Majesty's most honourable Privy Council; that gentleman having determined to make another attempt to secure the representation of A——, and being anxious to obtain the support of so influential a man as the president of the Socialist Lodge. Thus unconsciously was the thoughtless Liberal doing the work of Satan, and prostituting his talent and station to the vilest uses; and thus, in the selfish pursuit of power, was he spreading abroad the most pestilent doctrines of anarchy and atheism, and contributing to ruin the souls of hundreds of his fellow men." (p. 104).

This pestilent wretch delivers several lectures in the town hall, and, from the morbid curiosity which is so rife in many persons, to large audiences, composed, of course, chiefly of individuals who attended merely from a desire of novelty, without any intention of becoming converts, but who nevertheless, by their presence, not only exposed themselves to the contamination of a deadly poison, but were the means of leading astray the weak and unwary, by inducing them to suppose that they approved of these detestable abominations. In one quarter, however, this lecturer meets with a most signal discomfiture. Having introduced himself at the farmer's dinner, on the market-day, he was expelled with indignation by the whole company, the honest Farmer Franklin acting as their spokesman, and delivering their opinions to him in that plain and forcible manner which should always be adopted in the case of persons who are enemies to every law, both human and divine. Such a scene, if we mistake not, actually occurred at a town in the west of England, where a large party of farmers being intruded on, under

similar circumstances, by a Socialist lecturer, expelled their unwelcome visitor in a very unceremonious manner, after delivering their sentiments in the most plain and direct terms.

Charles Lever, however, becomes a convert to these horrible doctrines, and is led on step by step in his course of iniquity by the Socialist Suttle, until he gives himself up entirely to his guidance, and altogether deserts Christian worship, "to the great distress of his mother, and against the earnest entreaty of his father, to whom he was prepared to give the obvious answer, that *if they thought fit to leave the Church, he had an equal right to leave the chapel*; if they had chosen for themselves one form of religion, he had an equal right to choose another. And thus, free from all the restraints of religion, he fell, by natural consequence, into a course of living to which the unrestrained will of youth will inevitably lead."

Mr. Gresley thus proceeds, and let the reader mark well what follows:—

"Meanwhile the state of affairs throughout the country conduced to the daily increase of all sorts and forms of liberal opinions. Strange to say, the Government, instead of attempting to check the progress of revolutionary doctrines, seemed anxious to give them all the countenance they were able, by placing in offices of trust and power the persons who were most active as demagogues. It was not likely that such opinions as were now spread through the mass of the people should long remain without their natural fruit. When the notion that society must undergo a great change was embraced by hundreds and thousands of people, and no check was placed on their meetings, but, on the contrary, encouragement given by the highest official authorities, what could prevent the natural result, that the people should proceed to the attempt to put their fancied reform into effect? It was not long before a Chartist conspiracy was complete throughout that part of the country, the leader of which was one Craven Bullyer, a vain, ambitious person, who had been appointed by the ministers one of the magistrates of Laxington, notwithstanding the notoriety of his revolutionary character." (p. 138).

It is almost needless to say that Charles Lever became involved in this conspiracy. Mr. Morton, during this period of confusion and disorder, it is gratifying to relate, did not lose a single member of his numerous flock; whilst many members of the various dissenting sects joined the ranks of Socialism, "which, in truth, was but another form of heresy." Thus things went on for a time at Laxington; the Church losing nothing, but rather gaining strength; the Dissenters, vexed and mortified at the success of the Socialists, who, if they could but have discerned it, were only carrying their own principles of unlimited private judgment, and the right of choosing a religion for themselves, to

its natural result. Meanwhile, the principles which were at work proceeded onwards to their natural effects. Insubordination and rioting increased to a fearful extent ; large bodies of working men and artisans paraded the streets, entirely unchecked by the magistrates, until at last, encouraged by their impunity, they began to organize themselves in bands, to arm themselves with pikes, and discharge fire-arms in the streets. "All this they called a demonstration of *moral force* !" One method which they took, in order to demonstrate their *moral force*, was by assembling in large bodies, on a given day, in the church. Having given notice of their intention to Mr. Morton, he not only prepared to encounter any act of violence on their part, by summoning a large body of constables, but he also met them with the more peaceful and spiritual weapons of a solemn and affecting remonstrance, which he delivered to them on this occasion in the form of an admirable sermon, which Mr. Gresley puts into his mouth. The effect produced by this address was such, that scarcely any interruption was experienced by him throughout, and considerable impression appeared to have been made on the minds of some of these lawless persons by his solemn and awful appeal. Among the persons so affected was Charles Lever, who, indeed, waited on the vicar that same evening, in order to state some of his religious doubts to him, and to ask for advice and consolation. These were tendered to him with the greatest readiness and kindness, and although they did not produce that immediate result which Mr. Morton could have wished, yet was he very much shaken in his evil principles. Unhappily, however, he was so much involved in the wicked and abandoned schemes in which he had begun to take part, that it seems he had not courage, at this period, to endeavour to extricate himself from them. About this time a dark and fearful crime was committed in the town of Laxington. A peaceful and inoffensive workman, who, with several others, had come from a distance to supply the place of those artisans who had engaged in a "turn out," and had refused to work any longer, was found cruelly murdered. Charles Lever, from the circumstance of being found near the spot, with arms in his possession, and refusing to give a proper account of himself, was taken up on suspicion of having committed the horrid deed. The bad reputation which he had acquired strengthened the suspicion against him, and he was in consequence, after examination, committed to prison until further enquiry could be made. Fortunately for him, the officers of justice got scent of the real murderer. A most diabolical conspiracy was brought to light : and it appeared that hundreds of men, not only at Laxington,

but elsewhere, were banded together, many of whom had been guilty of a criminal knowledge of the intended murder—that a stranger from a distance had been deliberately hired to commit the bloody deed, and had been paid a stipulated sum out of the funds of the union. “It makes one’s blood run cold to know that such a horrible system should exist among us. One can scarcely believe that Englishmen, to whose character such baseness and atrocity has hitherto been abhorrent, should have become so degraded; yet such, alas! are plain *facts* in the nineteenth century—too certain to be denied. Truly it is the business of all who love their country to consider what is the real cause of these horrible evils, and lend their aid to remove them.”

Unhappily for himself, Charles Lever, instead of being checked and deterred from proceeding in his fearful career by the arrest and imprisonment which he had suffered, and which it might have been supposed, had he permitted himself to reflect, would have been viewed by him as one consequence only of the wicked principles which he had taken up, was so irritated by his seizure, and by the just rebuke and warning given to him in kindness by the magistrates, that he fell back a bitter partisan into the hands of the disaffected, whose execrable schemes were now becoming ripe for execution.

Not long after this, Charles Lever forms one of a mob of desperate insurgents under the command of Bullyer, who our readers will recollect had once been appointed a magistrate, notwithstanding the notoriety of his revolutionary character. This mob moves at night to the attack of Laxington. The scene is most forcibly described by Mr. Gresley; and who can doubt that he assigns the true cause for such atrocious proceedings?

“Alas! (he observes) are these the men whose forefathers were England’s bold peasantry, their country’s pride—the loyal, honest, and industrious dwellers in our villages and hamlets; the men who worshipped God in their parish churches, and there learned their duty to God and man—learned to respect the rights of their neighbours, as well as to protect their own? What can have thus changed their character and very nature? What but Liberalism?—Liberalism, which, if God check it not, will ere long efface all traces of virtue and civilization from our land.”

The mob, as they are about to commence their march, discover a yeoman in his uniform outside the barn in which they were assembled. This proves to be George Franklin, once the friend of Charles Lever. How great the contrast! One is encountering great danger in the execution of his duty to his

country, having been ordered by the magistrates to watch the motions of the insurgents ; the other is engaged in a murderous conspiracy to destroy the land of his birth ! Young Franklin, however, is saved from the fury of the mob by the exertions of Charles Lever, who had not yet quite lost all his better feelings. He is, however, detained a prisoner by the mob, who now begin their march, but are very soon stopped by a party of yeomanry and soldiers. They attack these, but are put to flight at the first volley, so cowardly always are those who are engaged in what they know to be wrong. The town of Laxington is attacked by another mob coming from a different quarter. Great violence is committed by it, many houses are broken open ; among others the house of the elder Lever is attacked by the mob. This man had vainly imagined that, being a Liberal like themselves, and a friend to their proceedings, they would respect his house. Foolish infatuation ! All those who had anything to lose were regarded as enemies by the mob, who distinguished neither between friend or foe, but thought only of robbery and plunder. He had hidden himself and his family in the cellar, but observing from thence the glare of flames issuing from the town hall, which had been set on fire by the mob, he is alarmed for fear his own house should take fire ; he therefore resolves to leave his hiding-place.

“ At that moment a thundering noise was heard at the entrance, and the crashing of the timbers told him that his door was burst inwards. He gave himself up for lost, and prepared to meet his fate ; but to his surprise the mob seemed to pause. A few moments of suspense, and then he heard the sound of horse-hoofs galloping up the streets, and a cry rose from the mob—‘ The soldiers ! the soldiers ! ’ ”

Never was John Lever more delighted than to hear the approach of the soldiers, whom he had been used so often to rail against as the tools of tyrants and oppressors. A complete change had come over his feelings. He blessed God, who had given us rulers, and placed the sword of power in their hands—*“ and from that moment John Lever was a Conservative.”* How instructive is this passage !—what a lesson does it read ! But we must now pause ; we have already, we fear, exceeded our limits, and must therefore hasten to the termination of the tale. In the chapter entitled “ Causes of Discontent,” which immediately succeeds, Mr. Gresley has put together some most admirable reflections and suggestions, which are worthy of the most attentive consideration. To return to the hero of the story. Charles Lever, who was dangerously wounded in the conflict, had been carried into the farm-house of the elder Franklin, where for

three weeks he lay hovering between life and death. He finally recovered, however, and although the principal of his associates had suffered for their offence on the scaffold, or had been transported, he was permitted to remain unmolested, on account of the severe bodily suffering which he had already experienced, and from the younger Franklin having stated to the magistrates that he owed his life to the interference of Lever. But although relieved thus from the fear of man, the fear of a higher power returned upon his mind during the hours of his sickness, and the words of the preacher, the solemn declaration of God's word, "*Verily there is a reward for the righteous, doubtless there is a God which judgeth the earth,*" which even before had sunk into his heart, now presented themselves to his mind with redoubled force. The advice and spiritual counsel also of the excellent Mr. Morton, the Vicar of Laxington, who came to visit him as soon as his mind was sufficiently recovered to give attention, produced their proper effect, and he rose from his sick bed an altered man, sensible of the infinite mercy of God, who had permitted him to escape in the day of visitation with a punishment so much lighter than the dreadful nature of his sins had called for. He becomes a sincere penitent, returns to the Church to which he had belonged in his earlier years, and is one of the most attentive and devout members of the congregation of Mr. Morton. In the words of our author—and the picture he draws is too pleasing to be omitted—

"He has resolved to devote his days to God. Each morning, as the single church bell rings, you may see him leading his widowed mother to the house of prayer. He is a regular attendant at the table of the Lord, and finds a holy consolation in the Church's alternate round of fast and festival. Each Sunday sees him a constant and able assistant to Mr. Merton, in his school; and his labours in the parish, under the guidance of the worthy pastor, are invaluable. In short, he is resolved that, if the example of his early years may have led many into sin, that of his maturer age may, by God's grace, be such as to induce those who behold it to walk in the way of godliness."

But this change of character was not confined to himself alone; his father also sees the error of his ways, abandons the ranks of Dissent; and enters again, with a truly penitent spirit, the communion of the Church of England.

"Such (observes Mr. Gresley) is a picture of the life of a man in the humbler classes, who has fallen under the evil influences of the nineteenth century; but, through the mercy of God, has been saved, as it were, by fire, and 'plucked as a brand from the burning.' It is believed that the whole presents a portrait of real life, without the least exaggeration. The dark side of the picture is too plain to be

mistaken. God grant that the brighter portion of it may not be without its original."

We do not hesitate to say, that the "portrait of real life" which Mr. Gresley has drawn is one of the most impressive which we have ever met with; and the lessons which it is made the vehicle of inculcating, are so important in themselves, are stated with so much truth, force, and energy, accompanied with such an earnest and affectionate attachment to the Church, and such a deep and fervent piety, that they should be read and pondered over by every one who is anxious for the temporal and eternal welfare of his country, and who is desirous that the dwellers in this beloved land should become faithful and loyal subjects of their sovereign, and "inheritors of the kingdom of heaven."

We have placed the little work, entitled "The Chartist," immediately after "Charles Lever," at the head of this article, from the similarity of subject which exists between them. Nor, indeed, is it at all unworthy, from its own merit, to stand in the neighbourhood of Mr. Gresley's admirable work. Although it is confined to a portion only of that extensive field of enquiry which Mr. Gresley has selected for investigation, yet has the author (or the authoress we believe we ought to say, for we have understood that it is the production of a lady) done full justice to this branch of the subject, and has described, in a striking and forcible manner, the horrors of *Chartism*, and the dreadful consequences resulting from it, to the wretched victims of its vile and wicked delusions. In the history of James Arnold, originally an honest, sober, and industrious peasant, but who, unhappily for his own peace and that of others, had been induced to listen to the lectures of an itinerant Chartist, the authoress has traced out, with considerable force and power, the progress of one of the followers of this system of revolution, sedition, and treason, through each successive step of crime, until he puts the finishing stroke to his horrible career by committing a most foul and atrocious murder. Some of the situations and incidents in this tale are drawn in a very touching and affecting manner, particularly in the latter part, in which the agony and remorse of the criminal, and the whole scene of his trial, condemnation, and execution, are described.

ART. V.—*The Sermons of the Right Rev. Robert Sanderson, D.D., Lord Bishop of Lincoln; with his Life, by Isaac Walton, and a preliminary Dissertation.* By the Rev. ROBERT MONTGOMERY, M.A., of Lincoln College, Oxford, and Minister of St. Jude's Church, Glasgow. London, 1841.

WE have long been of opinion, that all that was necessary to set the minds of the clergy at rest, as to the orthodoxy of the body to which they belong, was a medium of communicating their sentiments. There are a very large number who consider that the clerical body is divided into Tractarians and Calvinists—the one headed by Mr. Newman, and speaking through the Tracts and the *British Critic*; the other under the direction of Mr. Baptist Noel, and speaking through the *Record*.

Unable to join either of these parties, the persons in question imagine themselves insulated, and lament over the extremes to which their brethren proceed. This opinion derives additional force from the fact, that the members of the latter party brand with the offensive and unchristian nickname of "*Puseyite*" all who have any reverence for antiquity, who have been convicted of studying the fathers, or adhering to the rubrics; while the former stigmatize, as ignorant Low Churchmen, all who venture to think that Tract No. 90, goes a little too far. Thus, as each member of either party shuts up, among the extreme of the opposite one, all who do not give in a distinct adherence to his own, the *via media*, and those who walk in it, are practically forgotten.

We would say *were* practically forgetton—for the dawn of a better day has already arisen. It has been our endeavour, since April, 1840, to give the required medium of communication to those who thought themselves thus isolated—the EVANGELICAL HIGH CHURCHMEN, the genuine followers of our martyrs and reformers;—nor have we done so without success: every day has added strength to our belief, that the majority of our clergy *are* thus minded, and every day has more widely diffused the knowledge of this important fact. The circulation of the *Record* is one of those anomalies that have hitherto tended to conceal it; for it has been supposed that the subscribers to that paper did so because they approved of its ecclesiastical principles. We have no right, neither have we any inclination, to condemn the *Record* for advocating the extreme views of the Low Church party; nor do we propose to criticise either the manner or the spirit in which that advocacy is exhibited. Our present business is only with the fact, that a very large proportion of the subscribers to the *Record* are so, because they cannot in any other

paper obtain the information they require, about the movements of what is called the religious world ; while, at the same time, *they do not like* the ecclesiastical principles advocated by the paper. It is contrary to our usual practice to notice any other religious periodical ; nor should we have done so in the present instance, had we not known that the non-explanation of the circumstance to which we allude has greatly tended to weaken the confidence of many of the clergy in the orthodoxy of their own body.

We are quite aware that the course we have taken ourselves must be very perplexing to party-spirited men. We do not expect that they should be able to understand how we could speak with tenderness of the Wesleyans, and yet designate them schismatics. How, in the same number, we could earnestly commend Mr. Gladstone's book on Church principles, and yet unhesitatingly condemn Tract No. 90. How we can reverence Dr. Pusey, and yet differ with him. How we can look coldly on the Grecian architecture of St. Paul's and despise Exeter Hall, and yet wish well to the Pastoral Aid Society—more especially now that our hind have been acted upon, and the obnoxious lay-influence abated. All this is perfectly intelligible to the EVANGELICAL HIGH CHURCHMAN, but must necessarily be a sore puzzle to the Tractarian and the Ultra-Protestant, or, if they like the term better, the Semi-Dissenter.

These observations lead us to express our pleasure at seeing a new edition of that holy and eminent divine, Bishop Sanderson ; nor is our satisfaction decreased at finding it brought out by a man of the bishop's own college. We have already spoken of Mr. Montgomery as a poet ; and while we by no means closed our eyes to the faults of his style, we felt great pleasure, in awarding to him one of the highest places among the poets of our day. As a divine, however, we look upon him with still greater satisfaction ; for, by editing the sermons of Sanderson, and by prefacing them with a most eloquent and masterly essay, he has rendered no slight service to the Church and to the world.

Minister of St. Jude's Church, Glasgow—how delightful are the feelings which rush across our minds at the aspect of Scottish episcopacy. How triumphant is the answer which she affords us to those who would argue the *necessity* of an establishment to the existence of the Anglican Church. No, it is necessary for the welfare of *the country*, that the Church should be established ; but *she herself* is founded upon a Rock, and the gates of hell shall not prevail against her. In Scotland, we have a non-established Episcopal Church ; a discipline strictly apostolic, a doctrine purely evangelical. We have bishops, pious, active, zealous, and learned ; priests, such as the editor

of Sanderson : need we say more ? Churches rising here and there, and gathering converts out of the very heart of Presbyterianism ; and this in a country where the fiercest prejudice prevailed, when “ black and bloody prelacy ” was the best title for God’s Church—where priests were persecuted and bishops were murdered, and the “ cloud of witnesses ” esteemed, only not *quite* so sacred as the Bible. Now, hundreds of Presbyterians attend, in the afternoon, to hear Mr. Montgomery, and what kind of doctrine he gives them may be gathered from the volumes before us :—

“ The doctrinal glory of the Reformation consists in that superb achievement of evangelic mind, even the lifting of the arch truth of the Gospel, justification by faith, out of the rubbish of self-righteous delusion, under which for centuries it had lain prostrate. Surely no man whose eyes have been opened to behold the terrors of a coming eternity, and who has been taught from above to feel the claims of Him, who is ‘ a consuming fire,’ to the full and perfect obedience of his creatures, and to find those claims adequately, gloriously, and triumphantly met in the Lord our righteousness—no man thus influenced can refuse to laurel the memory of the Reformers with an unfading wreath of praise and love ! Let him contrast *his* religion with that which the scourged and groaning conscience of a priest-ridden devotee in the apostate Church of Rome professes, and he will learn to appreciate the costly labours of men who ransomed ‘ the truth, as it is in Jesus,’ from Papal darkness and defilement, and caused it to march through the lengths and breadths of the human spirit, in all the majesty of light, and in all the freedom of heaven.”

How true is this, and how admirably adapted for the too eager and forward-pressing temper of our times is the quiet devotion, the calm, rational, but not rationalistic, spirit of such a writer as Sanderson. Mr. Montgomery did well to reprint the life by Isaac Walton. Its truthfulness and its beauty make it a most delightful piece of biography : in it the episcopal character is so beautifully portrayed that we almost instinctively take it as a kind of standard, and think the best of that living prelate who most resembles Robert Sanderson. Nor were the qualifications of this eminent man less remarkable as a moral philosopher than as a divine. So striking did he adapt his searching discourses to the minds of his congregation, that Charles I. no mean judge, either of theology or casuistry, is reported to have said—“ I carry my ears to hear other preachers, but my conscience to hear Sanderson.” His humility and his patience, his benevolence were alike exemplary. But we have taken up this book not so much on account of Sanderson, as on account of Montgomery : the former is enshrined in the sanctity of his reputation, and it is now as an admirable expositor of Church

principles that these Sermons are edited by the latter. Those who have read the "Omnipresence of the Deity" may be able to judge of Montgomery as a poet; and it can hardly be expected that a success so continued and so increasing as that which he has met with would readily be forgiven him. Now, therefore, that he has come forward and given us a beautiful edition of one of our soundest divines, we find occasional growls from those who have really no solid complaint to make against the book. Robert Montgomery is a poet, and those who could not deny the fact invented with exquisite humour the pleasing fiction that he was the son of a theatrical clown, named Gomery, and that he had added the *Mont* for the sake of euphony. Nor would the critics in question give up the amiable fable till he wrung from them an apology by producing an extract from the baptismal register. In the present instance he appears before us as a High Churchman. And lo! the Semi-Dissenters discover that he is a man of some little fancy, and fond of flowery imagery, but quite incompetent to grapple with questions of divinity, and, moreover, sadly in the dark as to the vital truths of religion. See, however, the views of this fanciful and flowery writer, as to the office of the Church:

"And here, in the outset, we may observe, that if the Church of England be indeed a true branch of Christ's Holy and Apostolic Church, then, by her very spiritual constitution, she must emanate, both directly and indirectly, throughout the heart of the nation, a corrective influence and transforming efficacy, which, though the filmed eyes of political utilitarians may choose not to see, are nevertheless deep, subtle, pervading, and in many ways spiritually and morally victorious over all the opposing elements of corruption with which they come in contact. For, experimentally defined, what is Christianity but 'the salt of the earth,' and 'the light of the world?'—and in proportion as the Church of England retains the one in its full savour, and the other in effective clearness, her divine privilege is to act, under God, chiefly in the way of contrast and correction to the Christless world around. As *the salt*, her office is to preserve mankind from spiritual death and moral putrefaction; and as *the light*, her duty is to irradiate and dissolve the clouds of unbelieving darkness that sin has gathered round the soul in reference to God's character and its own condition. Here it is that the Church of Christ is realized in that lofty position to which she was predestinated from everlasting; she miniatures the living character of the Redeemer on earth, by 'doing good,' both to the bodies and souls of men; and therefore to quench her saving principles, would be virtually to bury mankind in the blackness of a moral eclipse, and in the blight of moral death."

Here we have the truth of the Gospel and the authority of the Church defended in the same page, and most ably and

eloquently defended: but the advocate is no tractarian, and accordingly we are informed by the other party that he is a very flippant person, ignorant of theology, but remarkably full of conceit and egotism—qualities which are inconceivably offensive to the juvenile tractarians, by reason of the marvellous modesty and almost incredible humility which they display themselves.

But we must address ourselves to our task. Sanderson lived in very eventful times: the Church had then to pass through a most fearful ordeal. The sword of judgment was suspended over her, and one by one her staunchest defenders were cut off. He attended Charles I. at a very late period of his life, and was a witness to that remarkable confession of the king's, that there were two things that did greatly trouble him—the one was, that he had assented to the death of the Earl of Strafford, and the other, *that he had abolished Episcopacy in Scotland*; and that if it should ever please God to restore him to his crown and kingdom he would perform a public penance for the same in St. Paul's Church. Well, then, might Sanderson, remembering the king's distress, give advice and warning to rulers and magistrates.

“Receive now, in the last place, and as the third and last inference, a word of exhortation, and it shall be but a word. You whom God hath called to any honour, or office appertaining to justice, as you tender the glory of God, and the good of the commonwealth; as you tender the honour of the king, and the prosperity of the kingdom; as you tender the peace and tranquillity of yourselves and neighbours; as you tender the comfort of your own consciences, and the salvation of your own souls, set yourselves thoroughly, and cheerfully, and constantly, and conscionably to discharge with faithfulness all those duties which belong unto you in your several stations and callings, and to advance, to the utmost of your power, the due administration and execution of justice. Do not decline those burdens which cleave to the honours you sustain. Do not post off those businesses from yourselves to others, which you should rather do than they, or at least may as well do as they. Stand up with the zeal of Phinehas, and, by executing judgment, help to turn away those heavy plagues which God hath already begun to bring upon us; and to prevent those yet heavier ones, which, having so rightly deserved, we have all just cause to fear. Breathe fresh life into the languishing laws by mature, and severe, and discreet execution; ‘Put on righteousness as a garment, and clothe yourselves with judgment, as with a robe and diadem.’ Among so many oppressions, as in these evil days are done under the sun, to whom should the fatherless, and the widow, and the wronged complain but to you?—whence seek for relief but from you? Be not you wanting to their necessities. Let your eyes be open unto their miseries, and your ears open unto their cries, and your hands open unto their wants. Give friendly counsel to those that stand in need of your direction;

afford convenient help to those that stand in need of your assistance ; carry a fatherly affection to all those that stand in need of any comfort, protection, or relief from you. ' Be eyes to the blind, and feet to the lame ; and be you instead of fathers to the poor.' "

Would that his voice might be heard, which, "though dead, yet speaketh ;" and that those in authority in our day would no longer avoid the duties and responsibilities which cleave to them.

Among many good signs of the times, there are also some very bad ; and we scarcely know a worse than that growing dislike to responsibility which so characterizes men of influence of the present day. The great business of the Christian is not to avoid committing himself, but to do good to his fellow-creatures, to promote the glory of God, to avoid sin, and to secure salvation.

We have a regard to the past and to the future, as well as to the present : history is not to be an old almanac ; nor is an hereafter to be a matter of cold and fruitless speculation.

There is not an event in the whole compass of God's providence which is not calculated to give us some solid, though perhaps stern information ; nor can any period be imagined more crowded with matter for profitable contemplation than that in which Bishop Sanderson lived. How severe a commentary on the words, "For I the Lord thy God am a jealous God, visiting the sins of the fathers upon the children to the third and fourth generation," is to be read in God's dealings with the Church during the rebellion against King Charles the Martyr and subsequently. The Reformation, under Henry VIII. and Edward VI., had been carried on by those who thought rather of the property to be confiscated, than of the abuses to be remedied. Funds which had been piously left for religious and charitable uses, were given to private, too often to profligate, individuals. The Church was crippled by those who talked the most loudly of purifying her ; and we find that, in the very next reign, the anger of God descended upon the nation, and the very name of the Reformation was rooted out. Again, in the reign of James I., we find a *Liberal* Lord Archbishop of Canterbury (Abbott) encouraging the dissent of his day, promulgating Erastian views, and, by the whole of his conduct, sanctioning the unchristian doctrine of expediency ; and his successor, after an arduous and stormy government of the Church, saw at last the fall of her institutions, and laid his own head on the block in his old age. Sanderson, like Laud, was an advocate for the forms as well as for the doctrines of an Apostolic Church ; nor did he scruple, in very turbulent times,

to express his opinion with force and freedom. Isaac Walton tells a story concerning these sermons, that when, in the year 1655 they were printed, a certain Independent minister, who had obtained possession of a sequestrated living, read them, and was by them convinced, though not converted. He felt that he ought not to retain his wrongfully obtained living; and, on the other hand, he felt very unwilling to give it up. He took an extraordinary course. He went to the printer, and assured him that the book was a very bad one, and that it contained false divinity. "It is not my business (was the reply) to judge of divinity, but to print and sell books; nevertheless, if you like to answer it, I will print your book, and do what I can to promote the sale." His style, as a writer (so far as his printed sermons are concerned), is occasionally stiff and involved, harsh in its allusions, and interspersed largely with learned quotations. It is probable that to his parishioners at Boothley Pannell he preached in a much simpler style, though even they would hardly be likely to say of their vicar as the learned Pococke's people said of him, that he was "a very good man, but no *Latiner*."

"Sanderson's mind literally overflowed with classic allusion, and that, too, at times when his rustic audience must have been too ignorant to have known Latin by sound, or Greek by sight! And yet, as a counterbalance against all this, we may justly say, the sermons of our author are, in their kind, among the most vigorous, instructive, and logical which our controversial theology can boast. Reason and learning, piety and faith, loyalty and liberty, together with conscience and candour, all meet together in his profoundly cultured mind, and throw the charm of their effective combination over pages which will cease to be useful only when the pride of intellect shall cease to stumble, or the perversity of the will shall no longer desire to be its own law."

His learning was employed in the cause of Christ, and of Christ's Church, and the closing scene was such as might have been expected. After a short episcopate of two years he was called to his rest; and though the circumstances of his death have been sneered at by Dissenters as Popish, because he asked his chaplain to give him the absolution of the Church, and by "*Liberal-minded religionists*" as superstitious, because he believed that the absolution service was not quite destitute of meaning; yet no humble Christian could read the simply beautiful narrative of old Isaac Walton without feeling that—

"The chamber where the good man meets his fate,
Is privileged beyond the common walks of life."

“He continued, (says Walton,) during the remaining night and day very patient and thankful for any of the little offices that were performed for his ease and refreshment, and during that time did often did often say to himself the 103 Psalm—a psalm that is composed of praise and consolations fitted for a dying soul, and say also to himself very often these words ‘My heart is fixed, Oh God, my heart is fixed, where true joy is to be found;’ and now his thoughts seemed to be wholly on death, for which he was so prepared that the King of Terrors could not seige him as a thief in the night, for he had often said, he was prepared and longed for it. And as this desire seemed to come from Heaven, so it left him not till his soul ascended to that region of blessed spirits, whose employments are to join in consort with his and to sing praise and glory to that God who hath brought him and them into that place into which sin and sorrow cannot enter.”

Thus died Robert Sanderson, in the seventy-fifth year of his age, and after having seen more of “the changes and chances of this mortal life” than are likely to fall to the lot of any in this generation. He beheld three sovereigns of England, and then three forms of government; after the death of Charles I., he saw the Church apparently destroyed, and afterwards, Phoenix-like, rising again, and raising with her the monarchy; he saw Charles II. on the throne of his father, and was himself, in his seventy-third year, persuaded against his will to undertake the office of a bishop; and then, after two years, he departed, leaving behind him a name not likely to be forgotten, and writings not likely to be neglected. Well might his excellent biographer exclaim—

“Thus this pattern of meekness and primitive simplicity departed this life. It is too late to wish that mine may be like his (for I am now in the eighty-fifth year of my age, and God knows it hath not,) but I most humbly beseech Almighty God that my death may. And I do as earnestly beg, that if any reader shall receive any satisfaction from this very plain and as true relation, he will be so charitable to say Amen.”

Such was the man whose sermons are now presented to us; and whether we contemplate him as the student whose wonderful memory and extraordinary abilities attracted the notice of the master of his college,—or the fellow whose learning was the admiration of the University,—or the Professor of divinity lecturing in such a manner as to delight at once and to instruct his pupils,—or the active and zealous parish priest at Boothley Pannell,—or the divine solving at the king’s command cases of conscience,—or the bishop presiding over an extensive diocese; we find him, in all these situations, alike a fit object for imitation.

We are bestowing no light praise on Mr. Montgomery, when we say that his introductory essay is worthy of the Bishop's Sermons. We are glad to see that he has taken up in *prose*, a subject he once ably treated in *verse*. The absurd notion of making men happy and purifying their nature by teaching them the physical sciences—a notion which is consistent enough with the principles of that eccentric nobleman, Lord Brougham, but which sounded strangely indeed from the lips of Sir Robert Peel—is thus ably exposed:—

“And this brings us to a few remarks on the passion for physical science which now infects with feverish blight the entire frame of our popular literature. *Matter is more cultivated than mind*; and a spirit of subtle materialism directly or indirectly wields a palsy influence over the free movements of all that is high, holy, and ethereal in our being. Above all, the facts of creation are beginning to be lifted into a rivalry with the principles of revelation, as though exhibiting a counterpart view of godhead; so that if we adopt the fashionable creed of certain philosophers, the earth itself is a species of responsive scripture, out of whose syllables of matter science may spell the complete name and nature of the Invisible God. Now, in opposition to all this, let us observe that the character of God never was, and never can be, interpreted on the mere principles of natural philosophy. For notwithstanding the boasted march of physical science into the secrets of material creation, and the constitution of man, we are as far off as ever from a practical knowledge of the Divine will and purposes, if we exclude revelation. The truth is, natural science has lighted its torch at the sun of revelation, and then waved it over the heads of mankind in the boastful attitude of a light self-discovered. Or, we may otherwise assert, that philosophy has plundered the Bible of its costly principles, and then, from the height of doctrinal sacrilege, attempted to demonstrate the adequacy of reason to the overthrow of spiritual averments in the Bible. But, after all, what is the amount of fair conclusion, drawn from ‘the things that are seen?’ Why, that man is encircled with one huge mystery of materialism, without a single gleam of moral explanation to illuminate the whole! If God (as philosophic sentiment exclaims) be simply merciful and wise, why this disorder and death? How can the philosopher reason his way, by logical ascent, from an imperfect and polluted creation to the all-perfect and all-holy God?”

And what, then, is to be done? to what *are* we to have recourse? Why, to the Catholic and Apostolic Church; which, by setting, as Mr. Montgomery well observes, a PERSONAL GOD, in mercy and in mystery, before our eyes, in all her ordinances, prevents that self-worship to which that mere intellectualist is so naturally prone. A whole volume might be elicited from a single sentence like this, “While the Church of England does homage to reason, as a glorious FACULTY, she never trusts the presumption of its

feeble ACTS." This is EVANGELICAL HIGH CHURCHMANSHIP, or, in other words, this is Christian philosophy.

There is one subject to which our commentator refers in a note (page xvii.), on which we shall make a few brief remarks, on account of its connection with apostolical succession—a subject on which we find many valuable observations. We often hear Dissenters defend their proceedings on the ground that God has blessed their ministry; and Isaac Taylor boldly declares that this is a sufficient proof of their apostolical commission. Now, Mr. Montgomery says:—

“On the subject of spiritual authority, in what relates to the outward and visible medium of conveying the inward and invisible grace of Christ, by far the most difficult point in the controversy is passed over, even in this day of daring investigation. The case, perhaps, may be stated thus: Paul asserts it as an inviolable truth, whereby membership with Christ can alone be attested, that Christianity consists in the soul's mysterious possession of the Spirit of Christ. ‘Now, if any man *have not* the Spirit of Christ, he is NONE OF HIS:’ the converse, therefore, will be logically true, if any man *have* the Spirit of Christ, HE IS ONE OF HIS. The question, then, to be resolved appears to be this—*how far do the manifested realities of the indwelling Spirit, as operating in the varied forms of professed Christianity, authenticate the media of administration through which they are conveyed?*”

To this we would reply, that without doubt good was done through the exertions of those, who, in St. Paul's time, “preached Christ of contention, thinking (as he observes) to add affliction to my bonds.” We say that, doubtless, good was done through their exertions, or, in other words, that God blessed their ministry, because we find the apostle, inspired too as he was by the Spirit of truth, refusing to interfere when called upon to stop their proceedings; and not only so, but declaring that he rejoiced; “yea, and *would rejoice.*” It is not to be supposed that an inspired apostle would rejoice at that which was not only spiteful in its intention, but also useless in its execution; yet it is still more improbable that preaching, which originated in motives so unholy, was either authorized or approved by the Holy Ghost. This is, therefore, we think, a safe and scriptural reply to the question, viz., that success, in this respect, even though it extend to solid and sincere conversion in the minds of the hearers, is, *per se*, no criterion whatever of an apostolic commission.

And this leads us to notice some very judicious remarks on the apostolic succession, in which Mr. Montgomery very ably distinguishes between what is essential to a valid ministry, and what is essential to salvation. That a Dissenter may continue a

Dissenter, and yet be saved, there are few, very few, would dare to deny. God, when he has announced certain modes in which he will work, has certainly not tied himself to act by no other; and if any man chooses to build on the true foundation, wood, hay, stubble—that is, if any man, on the doctrine of Christ's atonement, chooses to build up an erroneous system of discipline and secondary doctrines, though his work be destroyed, he himself shall be saved, yet so as by fire. The Church is in no respect more necessary than as the authoritative interpreter of Scripture. There was a time when the Puritans refused to do anything, or to believe anything, for which they could not find a direct scriptural warrant. Sanderson thus exposes their folly:—

“Fourthly, let that doctrine be once admitted, and all human authority will soon be despised. The command of parents, masters, and princes, which many times require both secrecy and expedition, shall be taken into slow deliberation, and the equity of them sifted by those that are bound to obey, though they know no cause why, so long as they know no cause to the contrary. ‘*Delicata est obedientia, quæ transit in causæ genus deliberativum.*’ It is a nice obedience in St. Bernard's judgment, yea, rather troublesome and odious, that it is over curious in discussing the commands of superiors, boggling at everything that is enjoined, requiring a why for every wherefore, and unwilling to stir until the lawfulness and expediency of the thing commanded shall be demonstrated by some manifest reason, or undoubted authority from the Scriptures.

“Lastly, the admitting of this doctrine would cast such a snare upon men of weak judgments, but tender consciences, as they should never be able to unwind themselves thereout again. Men's daily occasions for themselves or friends, and the necessities of common life, require the doing of a thousand things within the compass of a few days, for which it would puzzle the best textman that liveth readily to bethink himself of a sentence in the Bible, clear enough to satisfy a scrupulous conscience of the lawfulness and expediency of what he is about to do, for which, by hearkening to the rules of reason and discretion, he might receive easy and speedy resolution.”

This folly is by no means extinct in the present day, though it now exhibits itself under a phrase more adapted to the times: it is now called the right of private judgment, and means, in fact, that every man's fancy is to be his creed. Nay, like the miser's multiplication table, “his creed, his paternoster, and his decalogue.” It has been said that in joining or rejoining himself to the Church, a man is exercising his private judgment; true, and he is exercising his reason when he is examining the evidences of Scripture inspiration: but when his reason has convinced him that the Scriptures are really inspired,

then, in consequence of that very conviction, his reason dares not reject anything which is in those oracles directly asserted. Just in the same manner does the man use his private judgment, to decide whether he ought to submit to the authority of the Church, or not; but when he has decided that he *ought* to do so, his private judgment has then done its office, and merges henceforward in the voice and judgment of the Catholic and Apostolic Church. If, on the contrary, he decides that he *ought not* to submit, it is at his own risk. The practical infidelity, the materialism of our age, may develop itself in many ways! it may make one man a Chartist and another a Socialist, and another a Socinian, and another only a political *philosopher*; but the spirit is alike in all; and our author, in the preface to the fifth edition of "Satan," has admirably exemplified its action:—

"As the tendency of our age is to *materialize* every subject with which its sleepless energies come in contact, so every production, whether of art, science, or literature, which is calculated to etherealize the mind, by withdrawing its regards from what is gross, earthly, and sensual, and centring them on what is spiritual, eternal, and unseen, may contribute, however faintly or remotely, to purify the heart of the nation from its intense and growing sensuality. Supremely ours may be called the *age of facts*. Expediency is our authenticated Moloch; and every effort of the mind must pass through his idolatrous fire, before it can venture to be recommended for public service. All this while the foundation truth,—that utility itself is a relative thing, and therefore a pregnant term capable of almost boundless application,—is practically forgotten. In pronouncing our verdict on what is useful or useless to man, how much would it tend to lift us out of the blinding materialism in which we are so content to grovel, if we dilated the finite into the infinite, and so allowed our judgments to run parallel with the eternity to come, during which the moral elements of character, now forming, will be expanding themselves in everlasting illustration! It is *this mortal* which is to put on immortality: the now and the hereafter of the conscious spirit are destined to act and re-act on each other with never-ending recoil.

"Meanwhile, the humble Christian, 'taught of God' to *submit*, though not to *sacrifice* his reason; and convinced, moreover, that all the marchings of physical science can never of themselves conduct the mind into an acquaintance with those moral purposes of the Almighty which pertain to him as the offended legislator of a fallen and guilty creation, clings to his Bible with as much holy confidence as ever. With him simplicity is strength; and in all the acquiescing docility of childhood he receives every announcement of truth that comes to him from a religion round the throne, where, assuredly clouds and darkness dwell, but where also righteousness and judgment have their seat. *His texts are his philosophy*; and, throned on the secure

eminence of scriptural light, he can look down with the undisturbed eye of faith, and behold the storms of infidelity contending harmlessly at his feet."

"His hand the good man fastens on the skies,
And bids earth roll, nor feels her idle whirl."—*Young*.

Mr. Montgomery must not stop here—he must go on, and give us the remaining works of Sanderson; he will be thereby doing good to the Church at large, reflecting especial honour on the Episcopal Church in Scotland, and adding another leaf to his own laurel.

ART. VI—*The Palace of Architecture: A Romance of Art and History*. By GEORGE WIGHTWICK, Architect. London: Fraser. 1841.

THE object of this very beautifully illustrated volume is to promote the cultivation of architectural knowledge, among well-educated persons—to give it a place with poetry and painting in every scheme of polite instruction. Its importance, with relation to monumental remains; its impressiveness, as the leading agent in pictorial romance; the charm of its associations; and the poetic richness of its decorations—these form some of the features of architecture upon which Mr. Wightwick dwells with particular enthusiasm. Architecture, he says, affords information when history is silent, or confirms the facts which history relates. "It promotes speculation, and facilitates belief. It teems with the oracular inscriptions of entombed empires. Within its mighty temples yet live the echoes awakened in ages long past." The Edom of Idumea is a commentary upon Isaiah. The intellect of a nation has four aspects under which it commonly presents itself to posterity—literature, painting, sculpture, and architecture. Perhaps the last exercises the quickest influence on the *many*. The "Parthenon" can be *read* by those who will never understand a line of Sophocles. There is, moreover, something in a magnificent building which endears it to the hearts of all who live under its shadow. "The obstinate valour of the Jews (is the remark of Sir Christopher Wren), awakened by the love of their temple, was a cement that held together that people through the changes of a long succession of years." Whether, as Mr. Wightwick supposes, the supreme splendour of St. Peter's has aided in perpetuating the Romish

Church, we shall not venture to say ; but we certainly entertain no doubt, that the holier cathedrals of our own happy land are frequently made the instruments of good to the feelings of men, and that they contribute to raise the mind above the clouds of sense, by embellishing and refining the imagination. Persons who visit cathedral cities often have occasion to remark the feeling of honourable pride, with which the inhabitants allude to their gorgeous churches.

We agree with Mr. Wightwick in thinking that much might be said, and profitably said, on the charm of architecture as a *study*, and on its value as an *accomplishment*. The characteristics of the various styles, the laws of their composition, the beauty of their arrangements, may engage the hours of relaxation from severer pursuits. "The mere act of acquiring a knowledge of the elementary principles, would involve at least a beneficial exercise of the youthful memory and observation. In riper years the philosophy and poetry of the art, would become the subjects of willing attention. If the plays of Sophocles and Euripides are standard subjects in college education, why not the works of Ictinus and Phidias, which are equally exponents of the Greek mind? If the mathematics are imperative at Cambridge, why not combine with them the geometrical principles of design? If the reasoning faculties are exercised by the one, are not those of the imagination chastened by the other?" In such a study the fancy would be awakened, and poetry herself might hold the lamp. Without a knowledge of art, travelling frequently degenerates into a mere corporeal excitement. Every reader may say, in the lines of Addison, in Italy :—

"Fain would I Raphael's godlike art rehearse,
And show th' immortal labours in my verse,
Where from the mingled strength of shade and light
A new creation rises to my sight ;
Such heavenly figures from his pencil flow,
So warm with life his blended colours glow.
From theme to theme with secret pleasure tost,
Amidst the soft variety I'm lost :
Here pleasing airs my ravish'd soul confound,
With circling notes and labyrinths of sound :
Here domes and temples rise in distant views,
And opening palaces invite my muse."

The first illustration in "The Palace of Architecture" is an exquisite specimen of an Indian gate, charmingly engraved by Brooke ; it is followed by an Indian garden. The architecture of India might furnish a very pleasing subject of meditation. How graceful, for example, is the Portico at Canjeveram. One

circumstance connected with the Hindu pillar deserves notice—its diminishing in diameter, as it rises in height. This is a mark of great architectural refinement. The Cavern Temples are very happily illustrated by the pencil. “It must not be supposed (says Wightwick) that there existed any fixed or conventional form of cavern front; for it can scarcely be said that any two are similar, even in outline. The same feeling, nevertheless, pervades all, and the character of the decorations is coincident, however varied their form. The Rock Temple, first isolated and afterwards excavated, is comparatively rare; the temples having been generally formed by cutting away the *declivity* of a hill, until a sufficient surface was obtained for the height and width of the front. The interior was then excavated, and the whole sculptured according to the fancy of the architect. The caves of Ellora exhibit considerable *external* display; but that of Elephanta is only remarkable for its internal beauty and extent.”

Through the Indian, the architect conducts us to the Chinese gate. The only work that we remember—upon the architecture of this wonderful people is by Sir William Chambers, a writer often remembered only for the writhing lashes which Mason inflicted upon him. The design of a Chinese garden is engraved by Cates with great delicacy and taste, and will recall to the recollection of the reader the hall of Yuen-min-yuen, in which the Earl of Macartney was received by the emperor. Architecture, in the nobler sense of the word, is unknown to the scientific scholars of Peking. Theirs is the architecture of childhood.

“It will be noted (writes Mr. Wightwick), that in the Chinese, as in the Hindu, there is a frequent recurrence of the bracket capital. You will further remark, that the same feeling for the pyramidal, which we have already seen exemplified in the Hindu temples, declares itself in the pagodas of China; and that in the buildings of both countries is displayed a marked favour for the projecting cornice or canopy. In both instances, also, we observe the same habit of piling, one above another, a series of compartments similar in form, and of course contracting as they successively rise, so as to bring the whole within that pyramidal outline of which we have just spoken.” This is ingenious. The difference between Chinese and Indian buildings, Mr. Wightwick defines to reside principally in their canopies: the Indian hang ponderously towards the earth, and are chiefly *convex in their profile*; the Chinese, on the contrary, spring lightly upward, and are, with very few exceptions, *concave in their profile*. The temples of China are illustrations of the inhabitants; intricate, ingenious, and fragile—*sophisms*

carved into ivory. The Chinese garden is followed by a clear sketch of the great wall, which, commencing with the large stone bulwark to the east of Peking, terminates near the little city of Chwangtan. The foundation of the wall, according to Sir George Staunton, is composed of large stones, which project two feet beyond the superstructure, which is of tempered earth or clay, cased with brickwork. This fortification of a great nation, extending fifteen hundred miles, may well be called one of the wonders of the world. Yet the remark of Gibbon, that it has never contributed to the safety of an unwarlike people, carries with it a philosophical moral. Some of our readers may have forgotten the enthusiasm which this famous wall once awakened in the mind of Johnson, even in the tranquil period of his sixty-ninth year. He expressed to Boswell a fervent desire to visit the wall of China; and his companion, catching some of the fire, exclaimed that the necessary care of his children alone prevented him from setting out on the journey. Johnson fanned the flame. "Sir, by doing so, you would do what would be of importance in raising your children to eminence. There would be a lustre reflected on them from your spirit and curiosity. They would be at all times regarded as the children of a man who had gone to view the wall of China. I am serious, sir." The assurance of the doctor's gravity was certainly required.

The fantastic richness of a Burmese temple is happily transferred to paper by the graver of Brooke, who has also succeeded in delineating the grander architecture of Egypt. His Egyptian hall, with its mysterious hieroglyphic tracery, is very vivid and truth-like. And here we may notice a remark of the poet Gray, in a letter to his friend Dr. Wharton, that the Egyptian style was apparently the mother of the Greek. "There is (says Gray) such a similitude between the Egyptian ruins and those of Persepolis, that Diodorus affirmed the old buildings of Persia to have been reared by Egyptian artists." Nor must we withhold the same praise from Mr. Le Keux, who has engraved the specimens of Greek temples, and more particularly our glorious cathedrals, with exquisite grace and precision. The Greek Museum, a miscellaneous collection of architectural features, is a triumph of art; every line is clear and harmonious. In passing from the architecture of the Greeks to that of the Romans, we seem to perceive, at the same time, the difference of their genius and of their disposition. In the first, all is elegance, refinement, and ease; in the second, all is energy, massiveness, and strength. The mouldings of their columns alone might exemplify the remark—

“ Here pillars rough with sculpture pierce the skies ;
And here the proud triumphal arches rise.”

The following criticism of Mr. Wightwick appears to be just, and well expressed : “ The ingenious restoration of the Roman Forum, by Cockerell, will inform you, at a glance, that the imperial city was not less rich in prostyle and peripteral temples, on the Greek plan, than Athens itself. The main distinction between the two cases was this—the Greeks more especially affected the grave majesty of the Doric portico ; the Romans, the florid splendour of the Corinthian ; and, it must be acknowledged, in this Order, and this Order only, did they excel. The capitals and entablature of Jupiter Stator, and several other examples, might be particularized, among very many that are worthy of adoption. The Roman versions, however, of the Doric and Ionic, are sad specimens of degenerated feeling. The masculine character of the one, and the refined grace of the other, as they are seen in the Parthenon and Erectheion on the Athenian Acropolis, are totally wanting in the few remaining examples of Rome ; and as to the Composite and Tuscan Orders, which have been pedantically added to the original three, all that need be said of them is a word in ridicule of any such distinction. The Composite is, in fact, the Corinthian capital, with its angular volutes enlarged and its smaller ones omitted ; and the Tuscan is merely a simplification of the Roman Doric, adapted for occasional use in cottage or village architecture, but not worthy of taking standard rank with the three Orders.

“ Rome, then, may be said to have successfully emulated Greece in her Corinthian temples, and to have exhibited her chief triumph in the arch and the cupola. In the immense ruins of her palaces, baths, triumphal arches, and monumental columns, we read the evidences of private luxury and public ostentation ; while an analysis of her buildings in detail will afford equal proof, that she rather *employed* the arts as servants than honoured them as queens. Contemplate the Parthenon at a distance, and you are arrested by its simple grandeur ; approach nearer, and you are fascinated with the individual grace of its leading parts ; look closely into it, and you find every moulding, however minute, and every enrichment, however secondary, expressing—we may almost say breathing—a sentiment of beauty. Contemplate the Pantheon, as a whole ; you are struck by the depth and columnar richness of its noble portico, and astounded by the expanse of its lofty vault. Look more critically at its component features, and at the manner in which they are combined ; you find several of them faulty in themselves, and carelessly

connected. Examine minutely the decorative details, and you discover them to be well executed, but inferior imitations of Greek originals. The exquisite contours of the Greek mouldings, and the studied elegance of their enrichments, have been alluded to as expressive of careful thought and delicate sentiment. The contours and decoration of the Roman mouldings, on the contrary, express little save the compasses and chisel of the mason, and a regard for general *effect* upon the part of the architect. In many instances the result is admirable; and in one instance—the example of Jupiter Stator—pre-eminently so. Still we must, in conclusion, assert, that the buildings of Rome manifest rather the ostentation of display than the love of art; and that, however we may emulate the pictorial splendour of the city of Augustus, we must still worship the spirit of the beautiful in the temples of Pericles.”

However delightful to our own feelings to follow Mr. Wightwick into his illustrations of *Christian* architecture, it is necessary for us to abstain. We have hitherto been considering the progress of architecture under the influence of Paganism, and we may well turn with an eager eye to contemplate it in the rays of a purer and a brighter sunshine. “The new religion (it is justly observed by Mr. Wightwick) had not only to make, but to unmake; not only to contrive, but to reconstruct.” The dazzling blazonry of the courts of Jupiter, or of Diana, still beamed before the converted heathen. We discover the struggling remembrance of profane art in the composition of the Constantinal arch. Long years of peril, of sorrow, and of darkness, were to roll by, before the genius of Gothic architecture was to arise from his slumber; before York was to be sanctified, to the most heedless eye, by its magnificent minster; or Cambridge decorated by its most beautiful of chapels; or the dreary waste of fens round Ely to be illuminated by the magnificent pile of its cathedral. It is good for us, whenever we walk in these holy aisles,

‘While the dim windows cast a solemn light,’

to remember those illustrious and devoted servants of truth, into

‘Whose labours we have entered.’ ”

We regret that we cannot linger upon the cathedrals, or the exquisite illustrations which embellish that portion of “The Palace of Architecture.” We will only write down an observation of Horace Walpole, which occurs to us at the moment, and seems worthy of remembrance: “One must have taste to be sensible of the beauties of Grecian architecture; one only wants passions

to feel Gothic. In St. Peter's, one is convinced that it was built by great princes. In Westminster Abbey one thinks not of the builder." The distinction, briefly stated as it is, is worth a volume of essays. We will add one remark of Wightwick, which appears to deserve attention. Alluding to his sketch of a Norman-Gothic church, he says, "The genius of Greek architecture was purely *horizontal*. Pagan Rome preserved the same feeling; and though Constantine banished the entablature from the columns, he still preserved the conterminous horizontal cornice of the heathen temples. In the Gothic specimen, however, you see the *horizontal* giving way to the *vertical*. An aspiring feeling for *altitude* is evidently beginning to displace the habit of *expansc*. The mathematics of art are being supplanted by the poetry of nature: and the sentiment, revealed amidst the stillness of the oak grove, supersedes the rules of the academy."

And here we terminate our hasty and rapid observations upon "The Palace of Architecture." It is, we think, in the light of an illustrated volume that its principal value is to be sought. It contains two hundred and eleven illustrations; some exquisitely full and suggestive; others slight and explanatory; all elegant and well executed. Perhaps they might be detached from the text and sold in a portfolio. We make the suggestion from no feeling of disrespect to Mr. Wightwick, who writes with enthusiasm and taste. But the *succulence* of his style overgrows and obscures the knowledge which he desires to impart. Nor can we approve of the frequent extravagance of his manner, or of the conversational tone of many of his remarks. The volume is splendidly decorated and beautifully printed; and we regret to be obliged to modify, in *any* degree, the expression of our admiration. The reader, who turns to it with a desire of information, will not often be disappointed; the extracts we have given will show that Mr. Wightwick is familiarly acquainted with his art, and that when he fails, it is not from ignorance, but from vivacity. We should have preferred to receive more of *instruction*, and less of *romance*. With this slight restriction, we recommend "The Palace of Architecture" very sincerely to our readers.

ART. VII.—*History of the Great Reformation of the Sixteenth Century in Germany, Switzerland, &c.* By J. H. MERLE D'AUBIGNÉ, President of the Theological School of Geneva, and Member of the "Société Évangélique." 2 vols. Second edition. London, 1840.

2. *Historical Sketch of the Rise, Progress, and Decline of the Reformation in Poland, and of the influence which the Scriptural Doctrines have exercised on that Country, in literary, moral, and political respects.* By COUNT VALERIAN KRASINSKY. 2 vols. London.

3. *A History of the Reformation on the Continent.* By GEORGE WADDINGTON, D. D., Dean of Durham, and Author of a History of the Church. In 3 vols. London, 1841.

WE are somewhat tardy in our review of the second of the above works, because, in simple truth, its title awakened *so much* reflection on a great change which is taking place on the continent of Europe. Our mind has become more and more impressed with the connection that subsists between the subject here treated of, and what is going on at the present time; nor have we been able to disjoin the idea of *Reformation* on the continent from the future destinies of Europe, as we are called upon to weigh them in relation with what is doing deliberately and safely in Germany—energetically and more rapidly in Spain, at the present moment. It will be difficult for the attentive observer, who patiently waits for the visible manifestation of the workings of God's providence, and who has been led to look at His work in the world as a whole; who is disposed to embrace in one glance the ages past, together with the present elements, and to apply the teaching of past events to future probable results; it is difficult, we say, not to feel persuaded that the question of an Apostolic and truly CATHOLIC EPISCOPACY, in opposition to the Romish corruptions, will ere very long become THE GREAT QUESTION IN EUROPE.

The political framework of society seems now to be settled; we mean, that the institutions which, through so much blood and intestine warfare, have established themselves with more or less of similarity throughout the greatest portion of south-western Europe, might seem, so to speak, to call for a period of breathing time, on the part of the populations, in order to get elaborated and adapted to their respective wants and characters, to their relative positions and exigences. So that no very *new* modification of the members of the great European family

seems likely to arise, to unsettle what has been thus established. For as to *Republican* institutions, there remains in Europe no possible chance of success for them : their anarchy-engendering power has *awakened* to civil courage and to civil firmness all those who have anything at stake—either property, or position, or name to lose ; all, in short, who feel lawfully desirous of transmitting an inheritance to their children, and who would wish to escape the wretchedness of a state of savage, unceasing warfare.

But while already the reign of these institutions has evidently brought on and preserved, during a quarter of a century, the blessings of peace, and with peace, much material well-being and prosperity to the nations ; yet it is impossible not to recognize a certain feeling which prevails very extensively in the continental countries, that something yet remains wanting—that the sanction of high principle, the loftiest which the favour and mercy of God has vouchsafed to man, is deficient. And *that* it is which is silently, often unconsciously, sought for as a crowning matter to what has already so far been achieved—this sentiment it is which produces those indications of religious feeling that are very generally recognized in countries where political changes and convulsions have especially taken place, and where heretofore they did not exist, or were the least discernible. What is now wanted is to place the key-stone of the arch to secure the whole fabric, in order that it may possess strength and permanency.

We took this work into our hands strongly impressed with respect for whomsoever endeavours, according to his convictions, to do *something* towards the advancement in the world of the Gospel of man's salvation ; at the same time, with a deep and painful conviction how often harm is done where good might have been intended : and how long and disastrous are the consequences which flow from the operations of *uninformed zeal* ; although we would not let go our trust and confidence in that Divine Power, whose time for working is the course of ages, and which can overrule all things for good, and (even to our short-sightedness) *does overrule* what is done from right motives. We are sensible how difficult it is for man to stand still and see the salvation of our God. We know it is difficult to be still, and do nothing whereby we may ourselves be brought into notice—to be willing to watch, and to follow, as it were, in the wake of God's designs, and be content ourselves to be altogether eclipsed in the glory of His doings ! How often is it thus, in the spiritual kingdom, that man is found to mar God's work ! Nor does this remark fail to apply to much of what happened at the period

of the Reformation ; and be this said without any violation of Christian charity, but from a desire of drawing instruction out of the experience which we see that others have had to pass through. Pure though was, doubtless, the love of truth, of holiness, and of eternal things, which animated numbers during that period of God's vast and mighty visiting ; yet how do we see the beauty and glory of God's work impaired by man's unhallowed passions ; man presumptuously intermeddling, and setting himself up ; not enlarging his regard to what God was doing, but confining his view to what he was himself effecting—to the changes which an individual imagined he could bring about ; until at last the unity of God's vast plan and purpose was lost sight of in the personal operation, whereby each individual might be brought into notice, or exalted ; or furthered in the gratification of pride, vanity, ambition, or even of some baser passion. If we look carefully into the causes which finally produced the extinction of so many courageous efforts to establish God's truth, we shall find that it was when man lost sight of the unity of Christ's visible Church, and let go from the means and instruments which secure it. Our Saviour's prayer to the Father was, " May they be one as we are one." This prayer is left for our instruction, and we shall uniformly find, that in proportion as this Catholic feeling has been lost sight of, and the body of Christ rent, there have sprung up the germs of future dissolution among those communions which have forsaken it. Self-complacency and mutual gratulation—though they may blind and delude for awhile—can not set aside the result, neither do they afford any proof of the contrary. That test is supplied by the sanction of the Divine approbation, which can itself be read only through the succession of generations and of centuries. This is the test which the Reformation, in the countries here treated of, Germany and Switzerland, has to withstand ; and which it is the duty of *every* Christian, anxious for the extension of the Saviour's kingdom, and especially *our* duty in the present age, *carefully* to weigh and to consider.

What resulted from the Reformation in those countries, remains connected principally with the names of Luther and of Calvin, a circumstance which must at once be felt as indicating a departure from that principle held by the apostles, not to belong to Paul or to Apollos—a violation, therefore, of the unity then bequeathed, and which it must be evident, even to the superficial observer, is very precious to be maintained. And it is but too common to find, among those who are thus called after these names, that, whatever those Reformers embraced in their labours, all that *they* did and established is adopted and taken

account of; whereas, whatever was primitive and apostolic, and existing long before them, is ignorantly or blameably overlooked. Thus those two great institutions—Liturgies and Episcopacy—the stays and bulwarks of universal belief, are lost sight of. Thus, too, disregard is had to the thought of that universal body of believers, the visible Church, with which every individual believer is, or is not, living in a bond of communion; that either each one is, or is not, outwardly as well as spiritually, connected with; that BODY CATHOLIC which has subsisted upon earth since the time of its Heavenly Founder and his apostles.

It is an acknowledged fact, and, indeed, a matter upon which it is very easy to be satisfied, that separation from this body was *not the spirit* in which LUTHER himself proceeded. He did not wish to separate from the communion of the Church Universal. At the very time he made that bold appeal from the Pope to the authority of a general council (a proceeding, be it observed, quite accordant with the practice even in the Romish system), we find him solemnly abjuring any intention of “departing from the *sentiments of the Church!*” and subsequently adding, that he would not trouble the Church for trifling matters, and would “submit to all that was required of him for the sake of peace.” This will afford proof how loath was this man of robust faith to originate any separation from the Universal Church. The Lutherans presented, as a body, their Confession of Faith to the Emperor Charles V., at Augsburg. In that Confession they declare they do not wish to transmit to their children and posterity any doctrine different from that of the word of God and Christian truth. “None of the articles of our faith differ from those of the Catholic Church, but only abuses have been omitted,” &c. (Pars. ii. præm). “According to the Gospel, or *jure divino*, bishops, as such, *i. e.*, those who have the ministry of the word and sacraments, have no other jurisdiction than to remit sins, to take cognizance of doctrine, and to reject doctrine different from the Gospel, and to exclude sinners of known impiety from the communion of the Church, without human force. Hence the Churches ought necessarily, and *jure divino*, to obey them.” (Pars. ii. art. 7).

Filled with the same sentiments, Melancthon, in his celebrated “Apology of the Confession,” says—“Moreover, we here again wish to testify that we will willingly preserve the ecclesiastical and canonical polity, if the bishops will only cease from persecuting our Churches. This our wish will excuse us, both in the presence of God and of all nations, to all posterity; so that it may not be imputed to us that the *authority of bishops* is overthrown, when men shall read and hear,

that we, deprecating the unjust cruelty of the bishops, could obtain no relief." Elsewhere, also, the same devoted man says—"For I see what a Church we shall have if we overthrow the ecclesiastical polity." And Luther, at the Assembly of *Smalcald*, having to draw up the articles to be presented to a General Council, which was then expected would be held, deliberately wrote as follows: "The Church can *never be better governed and preserved* than when we live under our head, Jesus Christ; and all *bishops*, equal in office, though unequal in gifts, are most perfectly united in diligence, concord of doctrine, &c. The apostles were equal, and afterwards the bishops *in all Christendom*, until the Pope raised his head above all." (Pars. ii. art. 4). And soon after, some conciliatory steps having been taken, Luther and his party showed themselves very desirous of submitting the articles in debate to a *National Synod* of Germany, in case a General Council could not be obtained.

We have gathered these few testimonies to show that Luther and his cotemporaries were NOT ANTI-EPISCOPALIANS, but that they were, on the contrary, in their hearts, deeply attached to the Church Catholic; that they discerned the great evil of separation, and its culpability in the sight of God: whence the efforts they used, and the concessions they were ready to make, in order to preserve union. But they were unjustly cut off from the Church; they were iniquitously thrust out by excommunication; they were at once considered as heretics, and cruelly treated and persecuted as such. We find them at first receiving the CREEDS of the primitive Church, and professing to be guided by Scripture *and* tradition. The principle that every man is to take up the Scriptures and to judge for himself, as if no one had ever read them before, certainly never came into the minds of those Reformers; they never thought that each individual, who was brought by their instrumentality to a better knowledge of divine things, should be thrown upon examining the Bible, as if no one had ever opened it before himself; and be enquiring into its meaning now, in the nineteenth century, just as if he were living in the first! It is plain they never meant to establish such an order of things, any more than that any body of believers should be known by their name. But though the Reformers themselves maintained these doctrines, their successors have not been animated by the same sentiments; and as there did not, unhappily, exist any transmisson of authority which would, *de facto*, have formed a connexion with the primitive Church—nor in another way *by practice*—by means of formularies derived from these early sources, the Reformed fell away, and by degrees have taken another position. They have fallen

into asserting an unbounded freedom of private judgment ; some by degrees took boldness, and, throwing aside the wise moderation of their predecessors, *proclaimed*, as the *essential principle* of the Reformation, the liberty of interpreting Scripture according to the suggestions of their own private judgments, without any reference to the judgment and opinions of the Universal Church in all ages. And we have the grief of beholding, at the present day, communions as well as individuals acting as if there had never been any Christianity in the world before, and thinking themselves authorized to hold whatever doctrines they please to devise ; who even are found speaking and acting as if there were no other Christians existing besides those who compose their own small bodies. And that order of Episcopacy which from the beginning—that is to say, for the period of fifteen centuries—had never been called in question, was first set aside and dispensed with at Geneva ; the Reformer Beza being himself found ready, at the Colloquy of Poissy, to justify the unauthorized assumption of those sacerdotal functions, which, until that time, it had never been held could be exercised, except *by transmission* !

Thus a new system came to be established, which clearly placed its adherents out of the order and communion of the Universal Church. The unity of the Christian body has been lost sight of by numbers. The episcopal institution and original liturgies they have suffered to escape from them, and the connecting bonds with primitive Christianity have been deliberately and voluntarily surrendered ; and the vessel they have thus embarked in, damaged and weakened by this forcible severing from her primitive holds, through which she could be connected with the eternal immovable *Rock*, has drifted along among shoals and breakers, and has received such injuries as endanger her very existence.

It was an unhappy circumstance for the Continental Reformation that it came so much in the train of princes, and of the temporal power. It was the protecting chiefs, who, at that solemn act, the presentation of the Augsburg Confession of Faith to the Emperor Charles V., stood in the foremost place. The ecclesiastics did not even appear, but were spoken of as being in the suite of the princes. In the Articles themselves the protecting chiefs, when they speak of the theologians who accompanied them, call them “our doctors.”

Had the proceeding been viewed in a *proper light*—had it been *conducted as what it really was, as an ECCLESIASTICAL MATTER*, the result might at this day have been very different.

It was not so that things proceeded in England. Here the

clergy themselves took the initiative; and in convocation agreed upon the *first manifesto* for reforming the abuses which the British National Church had contracted in passing through the corruptions of Rome. After *much deliberation* and *long* debating (*vide* Burnet), they agreed upon a set of articles about religion, which thereupon were set forth by royal authority. Wickliff had lived, and many a Lollard martyr had sealed with his blood some portion of scriptural Catholic truth; but the great efficient step taken towards the Reformation proceeded from the whole body of the clergy regularly assembled in their two Houses of Convocation: as well Henry VIII. as his successors taking care, whether, in abolishing the Pope's usurped authority, the suppression of monasteries, or the reformation of discipline, to keep themselves and their realm within the pale of the Church Catholic; constantly asserting the *unity* of the whole body of Christendom, and maintaining and observing inviolably the same. The Church of England (and this is a point which, because of ignorant or wilful misrepresentation, need continually to be reasserted in the face of the whole world)—the Church of England established nothing *new*; she introduced no *new doctrines*, nor can she be justly made chargeable with the vices and errors of the temporal princes with whom her reformation was cotemporary. The Church of England was *not founded* at the Reformation; but, proceeding with measure and exemplary moderation in restoring both doctrine and discipline to a primitive state, she did no more than assert the privileges she had a right to as a *National Church*, according to the decisions and canons of general councils, and according to what she originally possessed.

Thus it was that, by the good providence of God, a sound branch of Christ's visible Church was maintained in these lands, without interruption of that Church which was founded by the apostles and their successors, the Saviour himself the true corner-stone; while successive reforms released her from all the pollutions she had contracted in passing through Popery, and brought her back again as near as possible to the primitive model. Thus were that succession and transmission of offices and of doctrine preserved, without which no claim to the title of Church can be made good; since no satisfactory authority can be adduced for administering the sacraments or for sending forth men into the ministry; without which, as the pious Bishop Horne observes, we can be certain of nothing—we are open to imposture, and know not that our sacraments are realities!!

It is certainly with something like a sentiment of awe that, recollecting we nowhere in Scripture read of any one who ordained himself, who took upon himself the office of the ministry, we contemplate those communions which have cast away the idea of Catholicity, and who reject Episcopacy, without sufficiently considering how far any one can be authorized in setting aside an institution of so much authority, merely because some of those appointed to it have at any period fallen into corruption and abuse, and so venture to institute a new ministry, unauthorized, unsent ! What though a degenerate branch of the Universal Church, like that of Rome, be foremost in proclaiming its necessity, going even so far as to pretend it exists only within its own pale ? Can we be justified in rejecting it, any more than we should be in rejecting so many points of Catholic truth which she still holds, because she has in many cases perverted them and covered them with rubbish ? Shall we throw away the grain because of the chaff ? Shall we lose sight of the body of Christ, and have our view so far perverted that a man shall see the Church of Christ among all manner of persons, and even imagine a Church to be incorporated in a single individual ?

Such are the blessings which have been conferred on our National Church of England ; such are the dangers she has been preserved from. To her pertains that *afflatus* which our gracious Lord bequeathed with the commission, "As my Father sent me, so send I you ;" and she feels herself, therefore, in a position to be in communion with all those, who, having received from the FOUNTAIN HEAD OF TRUTH, through the *apostles* and *their successors*, the pure doctrine of the Gospel, desire to preserve it unalloyed, and so keep themselves in communion with lawfully appointed governors and pastors. "And lo ! I am with you always:" not with yourselves personally, for I go to prepare the place, that where I am, you may be also ; therefore the world cannot long possess you : but *with all* those to whom you shall intrust my doctrine, and who shall be keepers of it in the same manner *after you*, until the end. "Even Christ glorified not himself to be made an high priest," says the apostle, but came *commissioned from the FATHER*, even a voice from heaven proclaiming, "Hear ye him," and the Holy Spirit descending in a visible bodily form as the great Bishop and Pastor of his Church came up from the waters of John's baptism. The fundamental principles of our Church are not, therefore, such as cannot stand investigation. They result, in the clearest manner, from the authority of Scripture, with the undeniable confirmation of the practice from the time of the apostles through all

the subsequent centuries. And since all that pertains to truth and godliness, we must expect, will be impugned and arraigned, can it be wondered at that the great adversary, finding that the Church of England (let us not be backward in declaring it) embodies the most perfect ensample of scriptural, apostolic truth, should stir up the bitterest enmity and opposition against her, on the part of those who have either corrupted those principles, or who have spurned them? The maxim, "*Divide et impera*," has been too successful, a portion of the great tempter's strategy, to be abandoned *now*, when, by a very sensible effusion of God's Holy Spirit abroad, so much of his empire is being shaken.

We have been led into this train of thought from a sense of those fearful evils, *Rationalism* and *Socinianism*, that have deluged divers reformed portions of Europe, which are still distilling their fatal venom over the present generation; and whose mortiferous stream can be traced up to a departure from Catholic doctrine, Catholic discipline, and Catholic worship.

We need not here trace over again the oft-drawn picture of the lamentable state of what is called Protestantism on the continent. Who has not heard of the deplorable perversion of Christian belief in Germany and in Switzerland?

"But nothing (says Krasinski, after noticing the evils which sprung from disunion among the Reformed, the jealousies and ill-will which animated the Lutherans against the Helvetian and Bohemian confessions, on matters of minor moment)—nothing did so much harm to the same cause as the Anti-Trinitarian doctrines which were among the Helvetian Churches of that country. The errors with which they infected many Reformed Churches not only altered the purity of their doctrine, and increased dissension among the Protestants, but they deeply injured the most powerful arm by which the cause of the Reformation was and always will be promoted—the searching of the Scriptures. Many persons, terrified by the boldness of the Anti-Trinitarian speculations, were seduced by the Romanist doctrine into the belief, that the study of the Scriptures ought not to be allowed to all Christians, as being dangerous to the purity of their faith; and consequently remained in the Roman Catholic communion, which they were on the point of abandoning; or even, having already abandoned that Church, returned into its pale, preferring that persuasion, in spite of its acknowledged errors and abuses, to a philosophical school, which reasoned away revelation itself, and reduced Christianity to a mere code of ethics. It is almost superfluous to add, that one unavoidable consequence produced by such a school was religious indifference, and that such indifference was destructive to a party, whose followers were constantly tempted to desert it by every kind of seduction on one hand, and persecution on the other, as was the case with the Protestants in Poland." (Preface, p. xii.)

Nor need we, alas ! travel quite so far, either in time or in space, to learn the fearful effects of a departure from the primitive paths : we have only to call to mind the darkness which passed over our own Protestant Ulster. At the present moment, every heart warmed with true Protestant charity—beating with a sense of Catholicity, must be saddened at beholding the peril into which prolific Dissent and Separatism are bringing the Christian faith in the Swiss Canton de Vaux, and especially its chief town, Lausanne—what strength accrues therefrom to infidelity and Romanism, besides the support which the most levelling democratic principles are drawing from the so-styled *Protestant* principle of *libre-examen*. One among the last sad fruits of the system, is that which has lately shown itself in France. It is well known that the Protestantism of France is not Episcopal, or even Presbyterian, but each consistorial church is governed by a consistory of laymen. No *standard of doctrine* is enforced, nor any *superintendence* exercised ; so that both pastor and congregation are left in a position to do that which seemeth good in their own eyes. After having been long carried away by the current of Neologism, the Protestant body there is exhibiting a most afflicting phase of Arian-Unitarianism.

On the 2nd of January, 1841, there appeared, in Paris, the first number of a new weekly religious Protestant newspaper, entitled *Le Lien*. It came out under the auspices of Pasteurs of the Eglise Reformée, and to the introductory address are appended the following signatures :—“ Les Pasteurs de l’ Eglise Consistoriale de Paris : Athanase Coquerel, Martin Paschoud, A. L. Montandon, Nelson Vors (de Versailles), E. Juventin (des Ajeux). Les Pasteurs de l’ Eglise Consistoriale de Lyon : E. Buisson, President du Consistoire, Æschimann, Illaire, Duminy (de Ferney), J. Viguier (de Clermond Ferrand), H. Courtin (de St. Etienne).” It is in the opening *exposé* of their principles that we find the most awful and undisguised departure from Catholic doctrines. According to the fundamental principle of Rationalism, which brings the credibility of revelation to the standard of what the human mind can understand, it begins with declaring, that before miracles are believed in, it must be decided what are miracles and what are not !

“ Nous croyons aux miracles de l’Ancien et du nouveau Testament, apres avoir examiné préalablement, selon les règles de la saine critique sacrée si tel ou tel fait doit être rangé dans cette classe.’ Nous croyons aux propheties sans admettre que l’Ancien Testament tout entier soit un long oracle et un type perpétuel du Nouveau.”

We will not transcribe the whole of this declaration ; that

were superfluous, since the most painful remains to be noticed in the conclusion, where that primary, all-important point, the Saviour's divinity, is thus treated :—

“ *Nous croyons à la Divinité de Jésus-Christ, comme Fils Unique de Dieu et seul Mediateur entre Dieu et les hommes—en rejetant l'idée Athanasienne de la Trinité et en admettant que la Foi sur cette doctrine doit s'arreter à la limite posée par le Seigneur lui même quand il a dit : ‘ personne ne connaît le Fils que le Père.’ ”*

Thus is the great doctrine of the Trinity summarily dealt with and discarded ! We have preferred transcribing the words themselves, and being circumstantial, lest any one should charitably think there existed some mistake, or at least some exaggeration. But the full and appalling fact is here before us : it has come out entirely to view ; and it is fitting it should be seen in all its nakedness, as well as that the speciousness should be known with which it presents itself to the public attention. It is upon such a confession of belief as this, that those founders of the journal appeal to the Pasteurs, whom they call their “ *Très chers frères,*” saying “ *nous nous tenons assurés de votre approbation et de votre sympathie.*” (p. 2). No wonder they declare themselves “ *les adversaires des confessions de foi obligatoires*” (p. 3). It must be very convenient for Arians and Socinians, every time they enter the pulpit, to be able to alter the Apostles' Creed—to reject altogether the Nicene—and, above all, the Athanasian ; in short, all standards and authorities derived from antiquity ; claiming openly the same right to depart from the doctrines of the Reformers which *they* had to work out their Reformation—“ *ils ont commence la Reformation, elle se continue et se continuera !!*” (p. 2.) As long as any regard is retained for the teaching of the Universal Church, and that Church is recognized, although expressions of individual opinion may break out into a sect or party, nevertheless there remains something to fall back upon, and to judge innovators by : even in the far-gone case of the Church of Rome, the members of that communion can still be called upon to return to what she acknowledges as Catholic doctrines, but which she has so disfigured and perverted ; the Scriptures abiding as the sole fountain head. But when, as among Reformed communions on the continent, no standard, no authority is acknowledged, all reference to what the Church, the universal body of Christians, had believed in all ages, is repudiated ; where no ecclesiastical officer, having charge to keep and to deliver, remains—the sacred transmission being rejected and despised, can it be much wondered at, taking into account human frailty, that the Christian faith should be

placed in so perilous a position? And we must remark, that in order that no speciousness may be wanting to their scheme, the French Arians have decorated it with the name of *orthodoxy*. We should call it curious, were it not more a subject for weeping than for the entertaining of any other feeling, to see how they strive to bear out the perversion of the word. Romanists, they say, have the term *orthodoxy* as well as Protestants, but they use it oftener. *Romish* orthodoxy, says the writer (not considering the anachronism he is guilty of, in speaking of times when Rome had *no* precedency), arose out of a plan to settle difficulties in doctrine, by an appeal to the majority: “Il vint à l’esprit de plusieurs de trancher les questions en consultant le plus grand nombre de docteurs.” And the Council of Nice is stated to be the first “in which truth became, in an official manner, a matter of numbers.”

This is the erudite manner in which the authority of the Church is propounded to French Protestants. The author does not seem to have a notion that antiquity may possess an orthodoxy which is not Roman! But now let us see what he has to say about *Protestant* orthodoxy: and here we must let him speak for himself.

“I. *L’Orthodoxie ancienne*, que l’on désigne improprement sous le nom de Méthodisme, et qui n’est que la théologie du lendemain de la Réformation, l’interprétation de la parole de Dieu, telle que la science du quinzième siècle pouvoit la donner. Ce système admet dans toute leur rigueur les principes de la confession de foi de la Rochelle, la prédestination, l’élection absolue, la Trinité Athanasienne, l’imputation du péché d’Adam, la damnation des enfans dès le sein de leurs mères, la corruption radicale de l’être humain dans sa volonté, comme dans sa raison, les régénérations instantanées, l’inspiration mot à mot de la Bible entière; et le caractère distinctif du parti qui professe ces opinions est l’exclusisme le plus prononcé. Il a Protestantisé à son usage la sentence Catholique: hors de l’Eglise point de salut! et de cet exclusisme résulte, qu’il est fatalement conduit à vouloir tout envahir et tout dominer. Quand il manque la domination, il se réfugie dans le séparatisme.

“II. *L’Orthodoxie intermédiaire*. Cette opinion rejette les points les plus rigoureux de l’orthodoxie ancienne, ou pour le moins elle les adoucit, les atténue, rend moins serré l’enchaînement logique qui les lie, les laisse à dessein un peu dans le vague, et leur ôte, avec la précision du raisonnement, la terrible amertume des conséquences. Cette opinion maintient intact le reste de la théologie contemporaine de la Réformation; cependant l’orthodoxie intermédiaire est à une distance immense

de l'orthodoxie ancienne, à une distance plus grande sans nul doute que de part et d'autre on n'en convient. Elle est amie de la concorde, même amie de la science, dont souvent les instrumens lui manquent, amie un peu timide du progrès, qu'elle cherche encore plus à modérer qu'à exciter; elle est en général adversaire de l'exclusisme, du séparatisme, des imprudences d'un prosélytisme effréné, et l'on peut dire qu'elle a renoncé encore plus franchement aux anathèmes de l'ancienne théologie qu'à ses principes. Mais si elle n'offre pas les dangers de l'esprit absolu de l'orthodoxie ancienne, on lui reproche avec justice de manquer de logique, et de rester en arrière des plus sages progrès que la science religieuse a faits en ces derniers temps; ce qui paralyse son activité et l'empêche de répondre aux besoins nouveaux de nos Eglises.

“ III. *L'Orthodoxie moderne*, qui par son respect pour toutes les opinions sincères, par son amour profond de la paix, par la vive tristesse que lui inspire toute importation d'un esprit d'exclusisme au sein de l'Eglise Protestante, est l'alliée naturelle de l'orthodoxie intermédiaire; mais qui a fait un grand pas de plus, celui de croire que les Réformateurs ont posé un principe dont ils n'ont pu déduire en même temps toutes les conséquences; celui de croire qu'ils ont commencé la Réformation, et qu'elle se continue et se continuera: celui de croire qu'en usant nous-mêmes *à notre tour du droit* qu'ils ont exercé et en conformant notre foi à l'Ecriture Sainte, nous sommes plus fidèles au véritable esprit de la Réformation, que si nous adoptons servilement leurs propres pensées; celui de croire que trois siècles d'études auxquelles se sont livrés tant d'hommes de foi, de science, et de génie, ont donné moyen de mieux comprendre le sens de l'Ecriture, la seule autorité en matière de dogme; celui de croire enfin que l'orthodoxie intermédiaire n'est pas le dernier progrès possible; que la chrétienté, dont le devoir est de rester toujours attentive et aux signes des temps et aux enseignemens de la révélation, *n'a pas dit son dernier mot*, et que le soleil de justice, qui éblouit quelquefois jusqu'à aveugler, a des rayons qui n'ont pas encore frappé tous les yeux.”

Such is the learning that is applied to teach and guide the Protestant body of France. We have considered it a duty to give these extracts, which, doubtless, will be information to many of our readers who have not possessed the means of judging into what a dilapidated state of belief Protestantism on the continent is come. And painful must it be to every faithful believer to see the doctrine of the Trinity mixed up with, and degraded to the level of, the views of modern Sectarians;

together with the cool indifference with which the most august and venerable topics are endeavoured to be brought low and divested of their dignity. We behold a body of persons separate, indeed, from Romanism, but who think they may live separate from *all Christian communion*, and *isolate each congregation*, and almost *each individual*; who, in resisting the Papal usurpations, have thought they might take occasion to throw off all kind of subordination connected with order and discipline. Nor is this all. We ought also to be acquainted with the manner in which this acts upon the Church of Rome herself; how it feeds her proud pretensions, and helps her in bolstering up her mendacious system. We of the Anglican Church ought not to remain ignorant what *consequences* Rome ascribes to the system of the Reformation on the continent; likewise the advantage which she takes of the state of the non-Catholic (Protestant) communions there.

The Roman Catholic writers pretend that the “*etat de malaise indéfinissable*,” which prevails in Europe generally at the present time, with reference, however, more especially to France, is owing to “*la raison de l’homme devenue folie à force d’orgueil*,” a state produced by the *principle of Protestantism engendering modern philosophism*: “*Le principe délétère qui a créé le Protestantisme, et à sa suite le philosophisme moderne*.” They ascribe to Luther that which we have shown he did not assuredly mean to establish, viz., the scheme of appealing from the *sense of the Universal Church* to the *judgment of every private individual*, and that individual without office or mission: in other words, substituting the *principle of independency* for that of *obedience which originates in God*; and they further ascribe to this principle that it was forcibly led, through its own weakness, to surrender a preponderancy in spiritual concerns to the temporal power. “*C’est enfin (say they), ce même principe qui franchissant les limites où ses adeptes avaient essayé de le renfermer, a produit ses inévitables conséquences*. Car. 1^o il a multiplié, à l’égal des sables de la mer, les sectes sorties de ses entrailles; 2^o il a réalisé à la lettre le proverbe si commun, *Quot capita tot census*, autant d’opinions que de têtes; 3^o il a autorisé chacune de ces têtes à changer d’opinion ou même de religion, autant de fois, si cela lui plaît, qu’il y a de moments dans un jour, dans un an, dans une vie entière; 4^o après avoir, par les mains du père de la prétendue réforme, ébranlé les principaux dogmes de l’Eglise catholique, il les a tous attaqués à la fois, au point de ne pas laisser intacte une seule des lignes du symbole; 5^o à force de protestations et de négations, il est arrivé logiquement aux conclusions les

plus diamétralement opposées entr' elles, et dont les dernières vont se confondre dans une incrédulité absolue."

It is represented that the more advanced in the ways of Protestantism have shown how they have been led from one system to another; until the entire edifice of Christianity has become shaken, *every sense of duty effaced*, and all notion of right and wrong subverted; and they have fallen, some into pantheism, others into materialism, and the remainder into indifferentism and utter scepticism: "se jettant les uns dans le panthéisme, les autres dans le matérialisme, d'autres dans le scepticisme ou dans l'indifférentisme, tous dans l'abîme sans fond de l'incrédulité." It is concluded from these premises that *Protestantism is dead*—positively defunct; seeing that not individuals only, but bodies of pastors "en sont venus à renier le Christianisme lui-même," are now found recusants from Christianity itself. "Si le corps (des pasteurs) n'enseigne plus ce qu'il enseignait jadis, si ce qu'il dit aujourd'hui est en contradiction avec ce qu'il disait à d'autres époques, si non content de n'être pas catholique, il a même cessé d'être chrétien, il n'y a plus à écouter ces prétendus pasteurs; leur Protestantisme n'est plus une religion, il est jugé, condamné, par eux-mêmes, *il est mort*." And thereupon they begin to quote, from the Protestant journals themselves, what has been happening in France and in Switzerland, representing as suicidal acts the decision of the "Vénérable Compagnie de Pasteurs de Genève," in M. Chenevière's case; the election of the too celebrated Strauss by the *Grand Council* of Zurich; the abolition of the Confession of Faith in the Canton de Vaud; and they fondly think they discover, in the processional entry of a Romish bishop into Geneva, whence a bishop had been expelled three hundred years before, as well as the liberty that has been enjoyed of having a public funeral procession in Lausanne, indications of a return to that religion which they pretend the ancestors of the Swiss professed 300, 1000, 1800 years ago!!

All this has appeared in a leading religious Romanist publication, in connection with a circumstance which, we believe, is not generally known in England, namely, that on the continent the Roman Catholic priesthood ushered in the year 1840 with the most gloomy forebodings; they and their adepts fomented among the credulous a belief that something remarkable was to happen; by mysterious whisperings and prophetic announcements, hopes and fears were excited, and they succeeded in creating a considerable sensation in the public mind. "Avant qu'il parût, et dans toute sa durée, l'on attendait avec anxiété des secousses, des bouleversements, des calamités sans nombre

pour la France, pour les sociétés Européennes, pour le monde entier : on specula pendant ses douze grands mois sur les catastrophes qui devaient s'échapper de son sein." And when the year had fully elapsed—when all the times of eclipses, and others that had been pointed to, had quite gone by, without producing any of the expected wonderful events—then the *death of Protestantism* was invented as a means of affording a triumph. All those mighty expectations were to terminate at the expense of Protestantism, and all those fearful prophecies to be realized *in its death!* "Interrogeons les faits, ils parleront assez haut : ils nous diront si l'année 1840, cette année dont on redoutoit généralement les malignes influences, le Protestantisme n'aura pas désormais à la regarder comme l'époque la plus fatale de sa déplorable existence, puis qu' il y a reçu ou plutôt qu' il s' y est donné lui-même un coup dont il ne se relèvera pas, et qui n'est rien moins qu' un suicide."

We do not know that it is worth while to stop to notice the many perversions of fact, of sense, and of reasoning, which these Romish speculations display; their fallacy is easy to be seen through, and it only remains for the reader and ourselves to entertain the charitable recollection, that the writers in that system, having their own view for the most part confined solely *to that system*, and reading only their own authors, see things through a perverted medium, their judgment becomes stereotyped, so that they remain incapable of admitting historical truth which would alter or affect that belief. Were it not for this, they might know that *infidelity* and *immorality* have been the twin offspring of their system; that it is their absurd, anti-scriptural practices and doctrines which repel men of mind and study, and *thrust them into doubt, indifference, and unbelief*, which the natural corruption of our nature soon converts into infidelity; while that peculiar point of their discipline, the *celibacy of the clergy*, will keep persons of principle, who know themselves, from entering the sacerdotaly, or from persevering in it. Were not Romish writers infatuated by the so-often reiterated misrepresentations of their party, even on this particular point, they might see, that tenets which can admit of religious libertinism on a throne and about the court, must produce most disastrous effects; and this was seen when the French nation, having first lost all respect for sacred things, and thence overthrowing every barrier, made the life of their sovereign answer for the vices of preceding monarchs, and decreed the abolition of Christianity out of hatred for the abominations and abuses of Rome! Let them not, therefore, any more turn to Protestantism to explain existing infidelity. Romanism, and Romanism alone,

produced all that was most fearful in the great French Revolution, for Protestantism was nearly extirpated in that country; all that was enormous in that offence lies at their door, and the “malaise indéfinissable” that now reigns, is their work; infidelity is the weed of their *own* rank soil, for Voltaire was their nursling! If they will deny this, let them now point to the country where *their system* has had the best chance, has been the most fully tried, to show us what they are capable of producing. Is it Italy, or France, or Portugal, or Spain, which they will hold up as the model country resulting from Romanism? We are well aware that by *a posteriori* views of the Reformation such writers can trump up a semblance of having the advantage when they oppose it: all the while, however, they are involuntarily closing their eyes to the fact, that *Christianity* was NOT Popery one thousand, or one thousand eight hundred years ago, as here spoken of; that the doctrines, reclaimed at the privileged period of the Reformation, owed *not* their origin to Luther nor to Henry VIII., but were the original doctrines of *the Church Universal*; that it was their own perfidious arts, love of domination, and unfaithfulness to revealed truth, that had prevented the nations of Europe generally from then enjoying them, and that have prevented our being all, at this very day, a pure Church, bound up together in the unity of the Spirit, and in the bond of peace. And further, the Church of Rome *does still actually*, as far as she is able, hinder her votary from obtaining light and instruction from the Scriptures; she prays for him in an unknown tongue, and proposes to his belief doctrines and traditions, to accept which, he must for ever silence his calm judgment and plain sense. And yet we find how *their* writers speak of Protestantism as “effacing every sense of duty;” *they* who blunt or extirpate every moral sense by means of their confessionals and their penances, set aside the most solemn duties by their dispensations, and overthrow every notion of right and wrong by their Jesuitical casuistry!

Nevertheless, this still abides, namely, that a disregard for apostolic order and the primitive Church is taken advantage of by Rome—that the divisions and dissensions of Protestants (so called) provide the abundant armoury whence the most usual and successful weapons of attack are drawn. What took place in Poland, so ably depicted above by Count Krasinski, may soon threaten, to a certain degree, to take place elsewhere. Persons get wearied at last of so much disunion; man cannot endure beyond certain limits having his sympathies cramped and circumscribed within the compass of a small communion, which successive splits and separations render still smaller; and those forms of Protestantism

which seem the farthest from Rome may, in fact, be the nearest to it. She of the Seven Hills lieth in wait ready to ensnare any weak, uninformed member of a Protestant body. She lavishes her blandishments, puts forth her high pretensions of being the only true Church, of being invariable, of having the sign of holiness; where she cannot succeed by such means, nor by subornation, she endeavours to affright the timid soul by a view of the dangers of anarchy, and tells the object of attack that he is hurrying into that grave which Protestantism has dug for itself, to be buried with it, and coolly proposes that he should seek refuge in her arms, that is—become Romanist! “Il n’y a plus qu’à l’abandonner pour redevenir Catholique—ou se resoudre au parti désespéré de le suivre dans l’abîme qu’il s’est creusé, et où il va s’ensevelir.” But, thanks to a God of Truth, Rome will soon be fully known in her true character. At the same time another knowledge is becoming widely spread and recognized—that there is a Catholicity which does not consist in connection with the Romish see, and which cannot. There is a communion with the Universal Church—a haven of peace and of love, wherein our hearts shall be enlarged to embrace the whole visible Church of Christ, through the community of faithful and scriptural creeds, formularies, and bishops. As long as the Church of England endures, she can exhibit what a truly national Church may be, that has retained and adheres to the primitive model; and let us likewise fervently pray that our beloved Church may long exemplify the blessings which attend a country that calls upon God, AS A COUNTRY, by means of a worship pure, fervent, “in spirit and in truth.”

On a view of the endless maze of error and novelty in which so many sections of the visible Church have been wandering, members of our Apostolic Church will doubtless have their feelings of thankfulness excited for possessing such safeguards and preservatives; we shall learn to *know* our privileges and duly to *value* them. There are many still among us, doubtless, who are not aware that the Reformed on the continent are not constituted as our Church, with a liturgy, articles, homilies, and a hierarchy. While *we* are able, through God’s favour, and with these helps, to enlarge our borders, and extend our framework, we see those Churches, through the absence of official discipline, adding anarchy in government to anarchy in doctrine. We see daily the smaller congregations in France separating themselves from the legal consistories, of which a late number of the “*Archives du Christianisme*” has presented us with a new instance. These dislocations in the Protestant body do necessarily throw out of all track the successive administrations which take the

direction of affairs in that country, and all this, we fear, to the apparent benefit of Romanism, which, resting upon its three primitive creeds (the Apostles', Nicene, and Athanasian), marshals its numbers, and makes a bold show of success, taking no account of the unbelievers which its *fourth* creed (that of Pope Pius IV.) is engendering. Nor can the French Eglise Reformée be much helped in its embarrassment, either by the English and American Independent Dissenters there, who animate the *Société Evangélique*, nor by the Swiss Separatists, the latter of whom, after exhibiting as sad a spectacle of confusion as it is possible for a body calling itself Christian to experience, has, it seems, at length thrown itself into the arms of Mr. Darby and the Plymouth brethren.

While such is the condition of those communions who have put themselves out of the pale of the Church Catholic, we see what was wanting for them to have remained in it, namely, the episcopal institution, with the apostolic descendancy. How far that feeling which so often broke out into the expression, "I, Martin Luther," impaired the fearless Reformer's work, by preventing him or his successors from keeping their eye fixed simply and steadily upon the interests of the Universal Church, can be known only to the Great Searcher of hearts. Certainly, we do not find an abiding, anxious concern for the maintenance of the visible succession. Humanly speaking, as a writer sufficiently versed in ecclesiastical polity has said:—"The great mistake of the Reformation on the continent was, that Episcopacy was not preserved." Whether it must be termed a mistake, a fault, or a misfortune, the sad consequences pervade everything, and are being constantly felt there. Nevertheless, some consolation may be found in the thought, that although communities, like individuals, may err, still there remains the means of profiting by those lapses, and, however tardily, to retrieve what has been lost, through the experience which has been acquired. It is very evident the Reformed were all secretly inclined to Episcopacy, nor were they urged on by the spirit of *parity* which is now so much put forward.

But the exuberant excitement attendant upon a Reform movement, the intemperate zeal of *many*, made them overshoot their mark. They found the Church clogged and beset with grievous errors, monstrous abuses, and all kinds of godless practices; and so they quarrelled with the constitution of the Church itself, instead of quarrelling with those abuses. So great was the odium which attached to all that was connected with the Romish corruptions, that moderation might with some have been considered as compromise; whence a reckless spirit of demoli-

tion and destruction arose, and unjustifiable violence often sought protection under this plea.

But though the Reformed may not have designed any separation from the Church, having once been expelled, they came subsequently to justify what through necessity they had at first done. Their successors have boldly set aside and dispensed with apostolic succession; they have done what the Reformers *never meant* should be done with the sanction of their name; the unity of the Christian body, so cherished and clung to, has been lost sight of. Temporal chiefs, and not the depositaries of spiritual power, were more willingly adhered to; there was a disposition to lean upon an arm of flesh, rather than rely upon the help of God. We find a tendency to preach in the castles of barons, and in the apartments of princes, rather than praying for and *with* the people; and the *people, deprived* of their public prayers even more effectually than by the use of Latin formularies, were cast, so to speak, upon the mercy of individuals: the old *liturgia* being left out of the system, the people, in too many cases, remained out with it. Doubtless the political character which the Reformation so often assumed, was a great cause of weakness, and of want of success. Perhaps it would not be very far from the truth to say that, in its general features, the Continental Reformation exhibited itself, first political, and secondly religious; whereas in England it was in the first place religious, and secondly political. It is impossible, we know, to disjoin the spiritual from the temporal condition. “*Siamo Venitiani e poi Christiani*,” said the too secular Venitians in their quarrels with the Papacy. Certain it is, however, that the individual who is ingrafted by baptism into the Christian community does not on that account forego his interest in his native soil; but the way in which he will endeavour to keep the two interests entirely distinct must be, that he will not let *temporal considerations* have influence over his *religious convictions*, but will call in his religious convictions to control and direct his temporal interests. In consequence of the violent measures taken by the usurping Romish Episcopate, in employing the secular power of princes who ruled over countries still in their obedience, the ecclesiastical character of the Reformed throughout the continent of Europe was merged and lost sight of in the political *Protestant* attitude which they thought it right to assume. In the meanwhile, the *title to Catholicity* was by them abandoned to Rome, who then falsely claimed it exclusively for herself. It is thus that we are enabled, in some measure, to understand how it is that, living amid the corruptions of Rome, her inveterate abuses, and extended domination,

the men who opposed that system should have pretermitted the thought of a Church Universal, to whose communion it is so essential every true believer should cleave.

The Anglican branch of the Church Catholic, seeing, indeed, the position fraught with danger, and daily producing such disastrous consequences, yet remembering how the Reformed were at first circumstanced, and how they suffered persecution, has always maintained a communion with them. She kept up her intercourse with them as organized bodies, although she did not recognize their orders. They were not held to be excommunicate, seeing they were *not* excommunicated by any lawful authority, but remained without bishops. They *were* excommunicated, it is true, by the Bishop of Rome, a *part* of the Universal Church, but never by any valid authority, namely, a General Council; therefore the Church of England, as an abiding branch of the true Church Catholic, has never withheld her communion from them. They were cut off from communion with a portion of the Western Church, *for maintaining scriptural truth*, and under circumstances so similar to our own, that the Church of England took into consideration their sufferings, and overlooked their defect of episcopal succession, and has ever received them with sisterly friendship. And when aiding the Protestant interest in Germany against the temporal strength stirred up to support it, the name of PROTESTANTS has passed *politically* upon the Anglicans, in common with all those who came to the aid of the Lord in that great struggle for religious freedom and revealed truth: although the Church of England has never had occasion herself to *protest*, in the strict sense of the word; for she had an imprescriptible right to resume her nationality (however long and sorely neutralized by Rome), according to the canons of the Church Universal. Our National Church was able to release herself from the trammels of Rome—to shake off that usurped and abusive domination—and yet to retain the succession of her officers, as well as the edifying scriptural forms of public prayer handed down from the early Christians. These she maintained, albeit through much peril and hardship—through the ordeals of temporal sufferings and of death; and was enabled, through the divine blessing, to stand forth to the view of the Universal Church, with her pure doctrines, her unbroken descent, and her *independency*, as a *national branch* of the Church Catholic, resting upon the deliberations and decisions of her own provincial synods, sanctioned and strengthened by the enactments of the Legislature, and in accordance with the canons of Œcumenic Councils, which authorize such Churches: neither, let it be remembered, does

it bear the name of *any man*, but is simply the CHURCH OF CHRIST existing in this portion of our habitable sphere. Therefore has she excommunicated no Church which has not been able to follow her own favoured example; and none more sincerely than ourselves sympathize with the disorganized condition, both of doctrine and of discipline, which, in so many parts, has flowed from their anomalous state. The term *Protestant* is, indeed, a very unhappy name, seeing it is but a negation, and not the expression of aught that is positive, and that it opens the door wide to every innovation. The Reformed, on the continent it is demonstrated, have not been able to stand against schism: in vain have they taken the name of Church; they never could be defended, either satisfactorily to themselves or to others, on that point of having abandoned the apostolic descent; for it is truly painful to see the loss of temper, as well as of dignity, which attended the discussion of that subject, more than any other, at the Colloquy of Poissy. Neither now, any more than at that time, are they in an attitude to offer opposition to schism, or to the Romish heresy. And this it is what seems implied by a decision which we have just read in a daily newspaper;* the Emperor of Russia having, as head of the Greek Church, deprived Prince Demidoff of his honours and estates because he married a Romanist, and is reported to have left the Greek for the Romish communion; while a Secretary of Legation, who was a *Protestant*, having been seduced into Romanism, has *not* been visited for his misdemeanor: a distinction being thus evidently made between a regularly constituted and established Church, and a more undisciplined connexion.

While there exists inability on the part of the Protestant system to make any way—the Reformed having too much followed the devices and desires of their own hearts and heads, and left those safe paths wherein God's favour is most surely found—the Romish system, from its immobility alone, the "*vis inertiae*," and its very stereotyped errors, seems to gain advantages. Its interests appear to be on the ascendant, while those of the Reformed seem to be in sufferance; and for this reason, that persons on the continent, whose opinion is of any weight, are not found ready to vindicate the system of independency in preference to the Episcopal framework of Rome—voluntary prayers, instead of the ancient liturgies—or personal undefined doctrines, instead of the orthodox creeds which the Church of Rome has from the primitive Church Catholic. How often are Bibles bought and laid by on a shelf, for want of a system that shall manifest the Christian

* *The Times* of 9th June, 1841: upon what authority is not stated.

scheme in action otherwise than the Church of Rome presents it; and otherwise, too, than continental Protestantism, whose unliturgical form of worship, lay government, and want of superintendence, furnishes nothing that can be accepted as a substitute. Meanwhile, the Church of Rome rallies all its resources, makes its utmost efforts by means of its highly trained militia—the different religious orders; and if they do not comprehend more *men*, it is because of the absurdity of so many of their doctrines, which are revolting to common sense, and because of the anti-national spirit which the adoption of their ultramontane, jesuitical principles commit men to.

When Dissenters throw away and slight the benefit of the transmission of doctrine and authority, they little consider how the position which they abandon acts upon the weak, or they would not abandon it so lightly. We speak more especially with reference to what must take place in continental countries. The unbeliever, who, through grace, conceives a desire to seek after truth, who knows as yet nothing of the agency of the Spirit, or of its witness within us, will, in his advances towards religious knowledge, first seek for an authorized teacher; just the same as in keeping aloof from its consideration whatever deference a man may grant to religion, will be bestowed preferably to a regularly commissioned priesthood; unless, indeed, together with his spirit of unbelief, such a man unite (by no means, alas! an unusual combination in these our times) a spirit of disorganization and rebellion; for then he will take up with any sect, any self-constituted ministry, and the more political, the more revolutionary and levelling, such self-styled ministers are, the more likely will they be to agree and to act together.

It must remain, then, a source of great and lasting grief, that, with right views of the Church, as the Reformers certainly had, the inheritors of their cause should have let go their hold on Catholicity. For Luther, in speaking of the signs of the true Church, gives as such—the faithful and uncorrupt preaching of the Gospel, the administration of baptism, of the Lord's Supper, and of the keys; *a legitimate ministry*, public service in a known tongue; together with tribulations, internal as well as external. We read likewise that Calvin was not afraid to declare, that *a separation from the visible Church* was a departure from God and Christ, wherefore we must beware from so wicked a dissent. We can view it only as a snare of Satan, in order to mar, neutralize, and endeavour to ruin the great work. The manner in which the want of an apostolic succession of ecclesiastical officers possessing an authority lawfully transmitted, and the absence of fixed formularies incorporating sound doctrines

in the public worship, has operated, is now too evident not to be acknowledged; at the same time that a plea is afforded for error to appear triumphant. Under these circumstances it will be asked, what has been done to remedy the evil? Has the Episcopal order been sought for? Has the restitution of primitive creeds and sound liturgical forms been resorted to? It is recorded of the Bohemian Church, that in its affliction, having lost the succession, it sent to the Waldenses *for the consecration of bishops*; and and in days almost cotemporary with ourselves, the Episcopal Church of America has been seen resorting to the Scotch Episcopal Church: thus sacrifices and efforts were made for preserving, direct and unimpaired, the line of apostolic succession.

This, then, is THE CAUSE OF THE REFORMATION ON THE CONTINENT AT THE PRESENT MOMENT—viz., that it be proof internally against the disorganizing power of schism, and that it be able externally to rebut the false pretensions of a deceptive system of usurpation and error: and this is what we have sought for in the two works whose names stand first and third at the head of this article, but which we cannot say we have had the satisfaction of finding. The point of departure in perusing any work on the Reformation, is to consider that great event as being destined to restore Christianity to what it was at first, and so to cleanse it from those corruptions with which it was overrun in the darker and later ages; to the end that *all* who profess and call themselves Christians may be brought into the way of truth and of peace. Therefore we do not look so much for an individual, personal work, as we endeavour to trace out the workings of a merciful Providence. We are not to seek for a romantic interest in that eventful process which restored so much of Europe to Gospel light, as we are to watch the cleansing and restoration of a disfigured edifice. We shall be called upon to weep and adore, looking upwards, much more than we can have to admire, looking only at man. Our joy at what was effected will always have to be tempered by concern at what there was yet to do, when we are not saddened at what has actually remained undone. And we must say that not only as Christians, but likewise as Britons, we are called upon to feel an especial interest in Germany. A British heart may well yearn after that Saxon "fatherland," which gave us an Alfred, the glory of this country, and of his age: and in these later times, after a neighbouring country, Holland, had first lent us a William of Orange, Hanover ceded to us the illustrious family of Brunswick, along with whose reigns our independence, our liberties, and our national greatness have entwined and flourished.

In M. Merle d'Aubigné's work we have an entertaining bio-

graphy of Luther ; in the Dean of Durham's, a good literary delineation of the Reformation. The latter work is a great advance towards what is called for, namely, a History of the Reformation on the Continent considered from the point of view of our own Apostolic Church ; this still remains to be written, unless the Dean, in his fourth volume, which he has here promised, intends in some measure to supply the deficiency. Curiosity has been catered for, information supplied ; but for the ardent desires, the longings after the entire emancipation of the great Germanic body, we have found but very little aliment. In looking for the happiness of that mighty people we have wished it through a higher and better bond than even a political union, or a commercial system of customs ; we have hoped it may be found in a return to *true, Primitive, Apostolic Episcopacy*. Ingenious remarks, highly critical thoughts, are here developed ; but we must confess our thoughts have been brooding over those who are yet sitting in spiritual darkness and death, with a view to extending towards them what would promote their liberation from a state of bondage, ignorance, and unbelief. We looked, perhaps, to have found more than we have found to keep us in this frame ; especially in M. Merle's work, from the tone and style it assumes. A book on a religious subject may be exceedingly interesting to believing persons, and yet may not have the slightest hold upon the mind or feelings of those to whom we should most wish it might be beneficial. There is a style of writing which leaves both the author and the reader mutually pleased with each other, when both remain dallying on the surface of things ; and this oftentimes is sufficient to give to a work a temporary popularity. But in these times of rampant Romanism, a work on the Reformation should have another mission ; it should present to the members of that erring communion helps as well as motives for coming out of it. We may not, at the present day, sit down on our lees, resting upon what *has been* done ; but investigate calmly and with charity what human causes may have intervened to prevent *more* from being done. And, alas ! how great is the labour which still remains to be entered upon. *We* may indulge in self-complacency ; but, meanwhile, what becomes of the single-minded enquirer, of the little one in faith and knowledge, who is just emerging from his thralldom into liberty ? Must he fall into the hands of any charlatan who publishes the loudest his *universal, infallible* nostrum ?

This, then, is the great reproach we have to make to Mons. Merle's work ; it is, that conscious, as he must be, of the power which *order* and *authority* must have over the clergy and people who still adhere to Romanism in the countries here treated

of, he has kept the subject completely in the back ground; he, indeed, has taken no account of it at all. He has served up an amusing entertainment for the Reformed believer, but seems to have disregarded the multitudes who still remain the dupes of error, the victims of arrogant pretensions! It is, no doubt, a comparatively easy matter to go on in a controversial, aggressive spirit, attacking everything; but it is quite another office to pour oil into the wounds, and apply a healing efficacy; it is, acknowledgedly, a far easier task to demolish than to restore the impaired edifice, or to reconstruct what is lying in ruins.

We are disposed, indeed, to find fault with the importation of the work altogether. There is not, that we are aware, any dearth in England of Anti-Church publications, that it should have been brought over and translated. It may be very well adapted to Switzerland, where levelling institutions exist, and are doing their work of demolition and anarchy; but it does not harmonize with our preservative feelings in this country. We have native elements enough of religious democracy and anarchy, without importations from abroad. The Republican spirit and institutions may suit Geneva; we have nothing to do with that; but we must be allowed to know what will best suit ourselves. Neither can it be with any good grace that the author, who takes upon him, as a title of honour, the name of "Membre de la Société Evangélique"—a Society which has always derived its chief support from England, receiving money from Episcopalians, and yet speaking ill of Episcopal institutions, and which now, under the new name of "Foreign Aid Society," is putting forth fresh claims for support,—we say it is not with any good grace that the author comes before the British public, attended by the particular views displayed in these pages. The aid that England has given to the cause of Christ on the continent has been in sincerity, as well as in faith: what she may further be called upon to do, in accordance with her apostolic institution and truly catholic views, has yet to be seen, and will best be judged of whenever the manner in which her help has been responded to shall be more fully made known, which we hope it will be, by those who, having resided long enough in Switzerland and other continental parts, are best acquainted with the proceedings of religious labours there.

We shall not now stop to notice the confusion there is in the use of the word "Church" (i. 72, L. passim); nor to show how the author's predestinarian views have led him to a sort of *fatalism* very dangerous to young persons, (p. 92-97, &c.) We cannot, however, pass over without notice the flippant manner in which the work of God in this land is adverted to (i. 100);

nor the ease with which the pious qualities of Staupitz, and other instruments in Luther's change of mind, are discarded, to make way for Luther's preponderancy as the hero—much in the same manner as, in some modern Lives of John Wesley, all that he learnt from the pious Bishop Taylor and others, and even from his own father, is sacrificed to the personal renown of the "Founder of Wesleyan Methodism." It had been far otherwise useful to show how all those elements of piety were lost and rendered unavailable to the cause of the Reformation, by pointing out what were the *real* defects of the hierarchical body in Germany at that time, instead of wholly condemning it, or else leaving it unnoticed. We find that writers frequently speak of Rome as if she had *fallen under the blows of Luther*; whereas she is still vivacious, and struggles energetically to make sure her footing.

The *present period*, when, after coming out of a long general contest, the nations are preserved in peace, is not without some analogy with the times of the Reformation. Having, therefore, the precedent before us, let us profit by it, and carefully avoid those democratic views in religion which have been the cause of so much division, error, and fearful revulsion. Under all the circumstances of the state of Europe, we might, indeed, see in Protestant—we would rather say *true* Catholic Episcopacy (in contradistinction with *Roman* Catholic) a *bond of union*, the strongest and the most durable, between the different nations, since it would be founded upon the moral elevation and spiritual instruction of the populations, and would be a means of retrieving the abasement attendant upon superstition, as well as curbing the bad passions which spring from unbelief. The Almighty's purposes far surpass man's ken: to us only it pertains to await in entire trust and confidence, hastening their accomplishment by our prayers, and doing whatsoever His providence may set before us.

ART. VIII.—*The Nestorians ; or, the Lost Tribes : containing Evidence of their Identity ; an Account of their Manners, Customs, and Ceremonies ; together with Sketches of Travel in Ancient Assyria, Armenia, Media, and Mesopotamia ; and Illustrations of Scripture Prophecy.* BY ASAHEL GRANT, M.D. London : John Murray. 1841.

KOORDISTAN was comparatively an unknown region, until it was explored by the late accomplished and justly lamented Claudius Rich; the accuracy of some of whose geographical

observations is confirmed by Dr. Grant, whose character as a missionary physician secured him a welcome reception wherever he went; and enabled him to explore tracts with safety, which would have cost another his life. His volume consists of three parts; first, a narrative of his journey to Ooroomiah, the capital of a province of the same name, which forms an important part of ancient Media, and is situated in the north-western part of the modern kingdom of Persia. Thence he proceeded to visit the independent Christian Koords—

“The province of Ooroomiah (says he), is separated by a lofty chain of snowy mountains from ancient Assyria, or Central Koordistan on the west; while on the east the beautiful lake extends about eighty miles in length and thirty in width. The water of this lake is so salt that fish cannot live in it: its shores are enlivened by numerous water-fowl, of which the beautiful flamingo is most conspicuous, and sometimes lines the shores for miles in extent.

“A plain of exuberant fertility is enclosed between the mountains and the lake, comprising an area of about five hundred square miles, and bearing upon its bosom no less than three hundred hamlets and villages. It is clothed with luxuriant verdure, fruitful fields, gardens, and vineyards, and irrigated by considerable streams of pure water from the adjacent mountains. The landscape is one of the most lovely in the east; and the effect is not a little heightened by the contrast of such surprising fertility with the stern aspect of the surrounding heights, on which not a solitary tree is to be seen; while in the plain, the willows, poplars, and sycamores by the water-courses, the peach, apricot, pear, plum, cherry, quince, apple, and vine, impart to large sections the appearance of a rich, variegated forest.

“Near the centre of this plain stands the ancient city of Ooroomiah, containing a population of about twenty thousand souls, mostly Mohammedans, and enclosed by a fosse and wall of nearly four miles in circuit. At a little distance on the east of the city an ancient artificial mound rises to the height of seventy or eighty feet, and marks the site, as it is said, of the ancient shrine or temple, where in days of yore the renowned Zoroaster kindled his sacred fires; and bowed in adoration to the heavenly hosts.

“The climate is naturally very delightful: but owing to local causes a poisonous miasma is generated, occasioning fevers and the various diseases of malaria, to which the unacclimated stranger is specially exposed; and the mission families have suffered much from this cause.”

Convinced that his character as a physician would procure him a safe passport to any part of the Koordish mountains,

Dr. Grant, passing through Mesopotamia, Diarbékir, and Mardîn, crossed the river Tigris into Assyria; he stopped at the ruins of Nineveh, near which are two villages of the Yezidees, the reputed worshippers of the devil. Here he was hospitably entertained, being a Christian; for the Yezidees cherish a settled aversion towards the Mohammedans. Of this little known people the author has given the following particulars :—

“ They are said to cherish a high regard for the Christian religion, of which clearly they have some corrupt remains. They practise the rite of baptism, make the sign of the cross, so emblematical of Christianity in the east, put off their shoes and kiss the threshold when they enter a Christian church; and it is said that they often speak of wine as the blood of Christ, hold the cup with both hands, after the sacramental manner of the east, when drinking it, and if a drop chance to fall on the ground, they gather it up with religious care.

“ They believe in one supreme God, and, in some sense at least, in Christ as a saviour. They have also a remnant of Sabianism, or the religion of the ancient fire-worshippers. They bow in adoration before the rising sun, and kiss his first rays when they strike on a wall, or other object near them; and they will not blow out a candle with their breath, or spit in the fire, lest they should defile that sacred element.

“ Circumcision and the passover, or a sacrificial festival allied to the passover in time and circumstance, seem also to identify them with the Jews; and altogether they certainly present a most singular chapter in the history of man.

“ Their system of faith has points of strong resemblance to the ancient Manichean heresy; and it is probable that they are a remnant of that heretical sect. This idea derives support from the fact, that they seem to have originated in the region where Manes first laboured and propagated his tenets with the greatest success; and from the coincidence of the name of their reputed founder or most revered teacher, Adde, with an active disciple of Manes of the same name and place of abode. If Adde of the Yezidees and of the Manicheans was one and the same, the circumstance at once reconciles their remains of Christian forms and sentiments, with the testimony of the Syrian and Nestorian Christians around them, to their Christian origin, and throws important light upon the early history of this remarkable people. Their Christian attachments, if not their origin, should at least plead strongly to enlist the sympathies of Christians in their behalf, while it holds out cheering encouragement for us to labour for their good.

“ That they are really the worshippers of the devil can only be true, if at all, in a modified sense, though it is true that they pay him so much deference as to refuse to speak of him disrespectfully (perhaps for fear of his vengeance) ; and, instead of pronouncing his name, they call him the “ lord of the evening,” or “ prince of darkness ;” also, Sheikh Maazen, or exalted chief. Some of them say that Satan was a fallen angel with whom God was angry ; but he will at some future day be restored to favour, and there is no reason why they should treat him with disrespect. It may be found that their notions of the evil being are derived from the Ahriman of the ancient Magi, and the secondary or evil Deity of the Manicheans, which was evidently ingrafted on the Oriental philosophy. Some of the ancient Nestorian writers speak of them as of Hebrew descent ; a question which I shall examine more at length in another place in this volume.

“ The Christians of Mesopotamia report that the Yezidees make votive offerings to the devil, by throwing money and jewels into a certain deep pit in the mountains of Sinjar, where a large portion of them reside ; and it is said that when that district, which has long been independent, was subjugated by the Turks, the pasha compelled the Yezidee priest to disclose the place, and then plundered it of a large treasure, the offerings of centuries. The Yezidees here call themselves Daseni, probably from the ancient name of the district Dasen, which was a Christian bishopric in early times. Their chief place of concourse, the religious temple of the Yezidees, is said to have once been a Christian Church or convent.”

The Papists in Mesopotamia assured our traveller that no effort would be spared to bring over the whole of the Nestorian Church to their faith ; for which purpose three bishops and priests had just been sent from the propaganda at Rome. We trust that the machinations of Popery will be frustrated, and that the Nestorians will be preserved in the pure faith of the Gospel. At length Dr. Grant reached the mountainous residence of the independent Nestorian Koords, among whom he met with the most hospitable reception. The following is his account of their worship on a Sunday :—

“ A thin piece of board was struck rapidly with a mallet, to call the villagers to church at the rising of the sun. Each person, on entering the church, put off his shoes, and testified his reverence for the sanctuary of God by kissing the door-posts or threshold, and passed on to kiss the gospels lying upon the altar, then the cross, and finally the hand of his religious teacher.

“The church, like all I saw in the mountains, was a very solid stone edifice, with arched roof, and might stand for ages. Others that I saw had stood for more than fourteen centuries, according to their ancient records. For the narrow door (which would not admit a man without much stooping) the usual explanation was given, ‘strait is the gate,’ &c., a truth of which they wished to be reminded when entering the sanctuary. The prayers and the singing or chanting of the psalms were all in the ancient Syriac language, and quite unintelligible to the common people ; but one of the priests read a portion of the gospels, and gave the translation into the vulgar Syriac spoken by the Nestorians ; and this constituted the preaching. Sometimes the reading is accompanied by some explanations or legendary stories, of which they have many.

“It was a sacramental occasion ; and the bread and wine were consecrated in the sanctuary or ‘holy place’ of the church, and then brought out by a priest and a deacon, while each member of the church went forward in rotation, and partook of a small piece of bread from the hand of the priest, who held a napkin to prevent any particle from falling, as he put the morsel into the mouth of the communicant : and then he drank off the wine, which was held with great care by the deacon, so that not a drop should be spilled. But there was none of that idolatrous adoration of the host, so characteristic of the mass of the Romanists and of the other Oriental Churches. On the contrary, there was almost a scriptural simplicity in the observance of this solemn ordinance.

“The priest who had officiated in the prayers and instruction of the congregation first partook of the sacred elements, and then invited me to partake. Hitherto I had never partaken of this ordinance with the Nestorians ; but to have declined under present circumstances would have done as much injustice to my own feelings as to theirs. For many months I had not been privileged with coming to the table of the Lord : God had in great mercy preserved me through many perils, and brought me among a people who had received the Gospel from the apostles and immediate disciples of our Saviour, and had preserved its doctrines with a great degree of purity ; and though there was painful evidence of a great want of spiritual life, I was encouraged to hope that some almost smothered sparks of vital piety were still burning upon these altars. I could not but regard it as a branch of the true Church of God, though immersed in the darkness of gross ignorance, superstition, and spiritual torpor, yet not of death. But there was still much in their character and circumstances of deep and lively interest ; my

heart was drawn out towards them in warm affection; and seldom have I commemorated the dying love of Christ under circumstances more deeply interesting than among these primitive Christians, in the wild mountains of ancient Assyria.

“There was a great stillness and propriety of deportment in the congregation, and all retired without noise or confusion. In passing out, each person receives at the door a very thin *leaf* of bread, rolled together, and enclosing a morsel of meat. This was the ‘love feast’ of the early Christians of the first and second centuries.

“Several of the people then went to the house of the church steward, and partook of a more substantial but plain repast, retiring soon after to their houses or calling upon their more immediate friends. The day was observed with far more propriety than I have seen among other Christians of the East. There was a general stillness throughout the village, such as I have noticed in few places in more highly favoured lands. There was no noisy merriment, no attention to secular business; and the social intercourse of the people was nothing more than what was practised in the ancient Hebrew Church.”

Among this simple people our author found abundant opportunities for exercising the healing art. These Nestorians cherish a high regard for the Holy Scriptures, which they have in the ancient Syriac version; but their patriarch alone possessed a complete copy—which, however, was divided into ten or a different dozen volumes. The Apocalypse, and two or three of the Catholic Epistles, which are wanting in that version, they did not possess until they were furnished with them by the (Presbyterian) American missionaries; but they readily received them upon the testimony of other Christian nations, and the internal evidence of their authenticity.

Property is left much more exposed than is common in the East—a circumstance which speaks highly in favour of the confidence reposed by the Koords in each other’s integrity.

After an absence of eight months, Dr. Grant travelled to Ooroomiah, the head-quarters of the American mission; whence he proceeded, at the end of about six months, to re-visit the independent mountaineers, at the request of their patriarch; thence proceeding to Erzeroom (where he found himself surrounded by a circle of Christian friends), he travelled to Constantinople, from which city he proceeded to Smyrna, where he embarked for America.

On his way to Erzeroom, Dr. Grant met with a pleasing instance of the value of foreign protection to the traveller in these countries:—

“While I was sleeping under the tent of a petty Koordish

chief, a horse belonging to my party was stolen in the night. I told the chief that he must see that it was returned, or I should make complaint to the English consul. The horse was soon restored."

The second and most curious part of his volume examines the evidence, to show that these mountain Nestorian Koords are the descendants of the long lost ten tribes. The following is an outline of Dr. Grant's discussions on this interesting subject. Common and perhaps universal tradition among the Nestorians claims the Jews as their ancestors. The places to which the ten tribes were departed, viz., Assyria, Halah, Habor, Gozan, Hara, and Media, are now occupied by the Nestorian Christians, among whom very few nominal Jews reside in those places. Historical evidence further proves, that the ten tribes have not been removed from Assyria. Their language, too, is the same as that which was spoken by the Jews in their region. They cherish, equally with the Jews, a deep abhorrence of the use of pictures and images in religious worship; while all other Oriental Christians, who are descended from heathen ancestors, still retain a strong attachment to idolatry. Additional proof of their Hebrew origin is derived from the names which are applied to the Nestorian Christians, who, however, disown the appellation of Nestorian :—

"They rarely apply it to themselves, and they are averse to its application by others, lest, as it seems, they should be thought to participate in the reputed heresy of Nestorius, a bishop of Constantinople, who was excommunicated from the general Church A.D. 431. But the reason which they assign for objecting to the use of this name is, that they never derived either their doctrines or their rites from Nestorius. They revered him for raising his voice against the worship of images, and against the prevalent use of the title *Mother of God*; which, as they affirm, virtually takes away the humanity of our Saviour, and thus leaves us without a *Mediator*. But having themselves never applied any other title than Mother of Christ to the Virgin Mary, and their worship having never been polluted with images; while, at the same time, they have ever held to the human and divine nature in one person in Christ; they ask, where is the propriety of calling their ancient Church after a bishop who lived in a comparatively late day, and with whom they never had any connexion? It is true they espoused his cause as the cause of an injured man, whom they regarded as a faithful servant of the Lord Jesus, persecuted for righteousness' sake; and on this account the enemies of Nestorius endeavoured to fasten reproach upon them by calling them after his name."

Throughout Protestant Christendom, however, the name of

Nestorian, Dr. Grant remarks, is justly honoured, and there seems to be no good reason for discarding it *now*, since it has been so long established by conventional usage, and is interwoven with the history of the Church.

To the preceding proofs of the Hebrew original of the Nestorians of Koordistan, may be added their observance of the Mosaic ritual, sacrifices, vows, first-fruits and tithes, observance of the Sabbath, regard for the sanctuary, fasts and festivals, &c.; their physiognomy, which bears so close a resemblance to that of the Jews of the country in which they dwell, that even the natives, who are accustomed to discriminate between various classes of people by the features, are often unable to distinguish a Nestorian from a Jew ; their names, tribes, and government, social and domestic customs.

On all these topics Dr. Grant has adduced very numerous facts, which we think fully substantiate the case he has made out, and which open new and important views to the minds of reflecting Christians. We select two or three of the more striking facts, and first with regard to vows :—

“Vows, or solemn promises made to God to do something for his glory, or as a token of gratitude for his favours, were very common under the Old Testament dispensation, (Judges xi.; Numbers xxx.) But in the New Testament there is no command whatever for observing them. Hence it is supposed that *vows* belong more to the ceremonial law than to the Gospel. Some of the vows made by the Jews were so peculiar, that we should not expect to find them among any other people. Such was the vow of Hannah, by which the unborn Samuel was devoted to the Lord, (1 Sam. i. 11). But among the Nestorians, such vows, made under the same circumstances, are by no means uncommon. They pray that God would grant them the blessing which (as was the case among the Jews) lies nearest of all others to their hearts, and they solemnly promise to devote the child to the service of the Lord all the days of his life. If a son, they vow to educate him for the Church, that he may serve God in his temple ; if a daughter, to give her marriage dowry to the Lord, or more rarely (as there have been cases in the mountains) devote her to celibacy and the service of the Church. When this is the form of the vow, the marriage dowry may be given as the price of her redemption, if she does not consent to the original terms of the vow.

“The most intelligent priest in the employ of this mission (Priest Dunka) was devoted to the service of his God by his mother, who, like Hannah, asked him of the Lord under a solemn vow. The right of redemption is acknowledged, as it

was among the Jews. I saw in Tiyâry a priest who had lived for years under the vow of a Nazarite ; allowing his hair and beard to grow, eating none but the coarsest food, and avoiding all ceremonial impurities, and whatever else is forbidden under this vow. A young Nestorian, who accompanied me in my late tour, on leaving home, made a vow that, if he were returned in safety, he would give a certain quantity of frankincense for the use of the Church in the city of Ooroomiah, and a present of corresponding value to another Church near his native village. At the same time, the young man's mother vowed that, if her son were safely returned, she would sacrifice a sheep, and divide it among the people of her village. Though special reference may have been had to the poor in the oblation, a piece was designed for every house in the village, about eighty in number ; while a second animal was provided as a feast for their more immediate friends, as in the case of the returning prodigal. While vows are made on many and various occasions, the paying of them is regarded as matter of religious obligation."

Their names are as strikingly Israelitish as their physiognomy : out of forty-five members of the American Missionary seminary, " thirty-two had Jewish names found in the Bible. Others had received names of significant import, in accordance with the custom of the Jews, and such as are common among those of Ooroomiah.

"The following are the names of the patriarch, of his five brothers, and other relations : Abraham (official name Simeon, Shimon) ; Zadoc, also Absalom ; Johánan, Benjamin, Isaac, Dunka (the same in signification as Kedemah, Gen. xxv. 15, *i. e.*, Oriental, or the East) ; Nathan, also Napthali ; Mark, also Ruel ; Elias, Jonah, Joseph, Jesse, David, Solomon, Nathaniel, Urias, Eleazor, Phinehas, Japheth, Daniel, Peter, Ananias, Melchisedec, Ishmail, Gamaliel, Jonadab, Ezekiel. The bishops of this province : Elias or Elijah, Joseph, Johanan or John, Gabriel, and Abraham (deceased). The names of all the patriarchs and prophets, and most, if not all, of the Jewish names mentioned in the Bible, are found among the Nestorians. While some of these names are found among other Christians, many of them appear to be peculiar to the posterity of Israel, or, at least, such as we should not expect to find except among Jews. The following are specimens of the Hebrew names that occur among the Nestorian females : Miriam, Martha, Sarah, Rebecca, Rhoda, Elizabeth, Rachel, Tamor, Hannah, Hagar, Susannah.

"The avenger of blood among the independent Nestorians is the minister of justice for capital crimes, as was the case among

the Hebrews. ‘The execution of the punishment which (in Gen. xi. 6) was decreed against the homicide, devolved on the brother or other nearest relative of the person whose life had been taken away. In case he did not slay the guilty person, he was considered *infamous*.’ This is just the state of things among the Assyrian tribes of Nestorians at this day. An indelible stain marks the character of the person who does not avenge the death of a relative; and so strong is the force of this long-established custom, that even the precepts of the Gospel fail to overcome it.

“Their *hospitality* to the stranger, and especially to their own people, is quite as primitive as the salutation with which they meet him. His every want is promptly supplied; water is brought for his feet; food is immediately prepared and set before him, and every provision is made for his comfort and repose. He goes not from house to house, but having found a shelter under one roof, he would do injustice to his kind host to leave it for another lodging in the same village. He salutes the house on entering; his peace rests upon it; and he departs with a blessing. I think I never saw the expressions of hospitality in such primitive simplicity as exhibited among the Nestorian Christians. Nor is their general kindness to the poor and suffering less remarkable. None are turned empty away; and those who have the means often lay up extra stores for the poor, and for months together provide them food and shelter, (Lev. xix. 34; Deut. x. 18, 19).”

The conversion of the ten tribes to Christianity is a subject of deep interest, and Dr. Grant has collected much important evidence to prove the truth of the fact, that the ten tribes received the Gospel in the apostolic age of the Church. Some of them (Parthians and Medes) were present and heard the Gospel preached at Jerusalem on the day of Pentecost. The apostles and primitive disciples made it their first business to preach the Gospel to the “lost sheep of the house of Israel.” The ten tribes, moreover, were in a state peculiarly favourable to the reception of the Gospel, inasmuch as they were not hardened by rejecting the personal ministry of Christ, or by aiding in his crucifixion. To which it may be added, that ecclesiastical history furnishes evidence of the conversion of the ten tribes to Christianity under the preaching of the apostles and their immediate successors. Besides which, there are intimations in the New Testament respecting their conversion. The details of evidence on this subject will both gratify and instruct the reader who takes an interest in the propagation of the Gospel.

The third part of Dr. Grant’s volume contains an investiga-

tion of prophecy with reference to the ten tribes, into which it is impossible to enter. This investigation demands, and (we doubt not) will receive, the attention it deserves from the numerous students of prophecy.

The Appendix contains an extended account of the Yezidees, together with a series of important historical facts, which show how widely Christianity was propagated in the East by the Nestorians—even into China—between the third and the sixteenth centuries; and some particulars respecting the unconverted remnant of the ten tribes.

Dr. Grant's volume is an important accession to our stores of geographical knowledge, and we hope it will receive—what it richly deserves—an extensive circulation and an attentive perusal. The work is illustrated with a map, of which the author (who is now on his way eastward, to resume his benevolent medical and missionary labours) modestly says, that, though it does not pretend to minute accuracy, it will be found to be more correct than any which has preceded it. May his pious anticipation be realized, that “a brighter day is about to dawn upon the remnant of Israel which is left from Assyria, and, through them, upon the Gentile world!”

ART. IX.—*A Winter in the Azores ; and a Summer at the Baths of the Furnas.* By JOSEPH BULLAR, M.D., and HENRY BULLAR, of Lincoln's Inn. 2 vols. London : Van Voorst.

FOR the first time have we an account of the Azores islands within ten days' sail of our own coast; beautiful in scenery, abundant in every kind of provisions, healthy in climate, most interesting as a spot where even yet lingering remnants of an earlier period of civilization are to be found in their unsophisticated simplicity—affording a trip by no means expensive; and yet no one ever thinks of going there. Few even know more of the islands than their name. One gentleman said he had touched there on his way to Rio Janeiro; another supposed they were near the Bermudas; and the islanders themselves retaliate with as profound an ignorance of Europe. “Who have you there?” said Dr. Bullar to an Azorean woman, who had stuck up against the wall of her cottage a vile print of Alderman Wood, and which had been still further uglified in the course of its adventures. The owner looked at the atrocious thing for some time in silent embarrassment, and at last, struck by a bright thought, she

solemnly replied, "He o diabo !"—It is the devil ! The venerable baronet was never taken for so mighty a personage before, and probably will not feel much flattered by it now.

The two volumes before us contain an account of the journeyings and voyages of two English gentlemen—one a physician, the other a barrister ; and as they have written from the impressions of the time, gone out without the set purpose to make a book, and appear to have been as good-humoured as they certainly were clear-sighted, they have presented us with a work upon which we feel that we may implicitly rely. We shall pass over their voyage from Cowes to St. Michael's, though by no means the most uninteresting part of the narration, and land our travellers fairly at Ponta Delgada, not without danger, however, of a ducking :—

"The first question we were asked on going into the custom-house of St. Michael's was, 'Has Mr. Thomson (or some such remarkably named individual) arrived in England ?'

"The propounder of this simple yet difficult problem was a grave stolid little man, of some forty years of age, who looked up for a reply to his question with all the confiding simplicity of a child ; and who, on hearing the unexpected answer, that we really could not say, seemed surprised and almost annoyed at so humiliating a confession of ignorance in the affairs of our own nation. But '*Humanæ etiam sapientiæ pars est, quædam æquo animo nescire velle.*'"

After the usual ceremonies at the custom-house, our travellers were introduced by the American consul to a ball, where they found the general aspect of things decidedly European :—

"There was excellent music, pianos, fiddles, flutes, and fifes ; there were glittering chandeliers, bright candelabra, vases of flowers, shining mirrors ; there were gay uniforms, bullion epaulettes, long moustachios, of black, sandy, or red ; young dandies with long locks, and old gentlemen with stars and orders ; there were judges, priests, and barons. What more could be wanted to make a ball all that a ball should be ?

"The hair of the younger ladies was turned up behind, and fell in front in large and luxuriant ringlets. So far they resembled my countrywomen ; but their complexions and cast of features were very different. 'Pretty girls,' light-haired, fair, airy beings, such as England is so abundantly blessed with, there were none ; but the proportion of really handsome women was great.

"Some would have made pictures ; their hair black, glossy, and luxuriant ; their eyes full, dark, and 'unfathomable,' (altogether different from the black sparkling eye, which seems to reflect at once the light which falls upon it). They had fine teeth, which their full lips easily disclosed, and were generally of middle height, well-proportioned, and rather tending to embonpoint. I saw none of those very small waists which so many English women attain to, by great endurance and much patient suffering.

"The ladies were lively, talkative, and good-tempered, with intelligent foreheads. They kissed acquaintances of their own sex, on recognizing them, and used the fan like the Spaniards, keeping it in incessant motion, opening and shutting it, and turning it in a thousand different ways, so easily, and, as it seemed, unconsciously, with such a concealment of their art, as was most graceful. Many of the younger ones had learned English, and speak it fluently. Their pronunciation was remarkably good; and there are few pleasanter things among strangers in a strange country, than to hear one's own tongue spoken by women without hesitation, and with only that slight difference in accent and in idiom which gives a freshness even to gossip and tittle-tattle.

"There were the usual proportion of ladies past their prime, with turbans, birds of Paradise, and shining silks, and a due sprinkling of conspicuous looking young men, who had happily not attained that age when 'man suspects himself a fool.' One custom differed from ours, and showed much kindness of feeling. A group of women-servants, with their heads covered with white kerchiefs, were lying upon a part of the staircase, from which they could look at the dancers over the heads of those who stood at the door: and thus they shared in the pleasures of the family."

A very graphic description is given of the little town, with its narrow streets and lofty houses. The shops must present a very peculiar appearance to eyes accustomed to the glitter of London or Paris; they are all without windows, and lighted from the door; and the mode by which the trade of the occupier is known, is the antique and simple one of suspending a specimen from a pole over the door;—thus, at one you see a dozen little strips of printed cotton, indicating that a linen-draper may be found within; a little further a bundle of faggots, a few candles, a root or two of garlic, and a bunch of onions, denote the dwelling of a grocer—the distinction between the green-grocer and the grocer, *par excellence*, not having as yet found its way to the abodes of this primitive people; like the London milkman, his Azorean brother signifies his trade by a red cow; and the barber by a bandaged pole. The wine shops are distinguished by a bush, and the addition of a sprig of box acquaints the passenger with the fact that spirits may also be had within. There was once a time when this same custom, as far as the first sign is concerned, prevailed in England; and the proverb "good wine needs no bush" owes to it its existence. The windows of the first floor are adorned with painted trellices, and sometimes neat iron balconies project before them. This circumstance, together with the dazzling whiteness of the plaister, gives a cheerful air to the streets, and serves in some measure to make up for the want of shops. The carriages are thus described:—

"A few vehicles, resembling somewhat the old race of hack cabs in

London, hung on a long carriage with upright springs, and drawn by two small, spirited horses, with postilions in jack boots, and men in dull liveries, swinging on behind, clattered through the streets with the rattle and jingle of empty post-chaises. Two ladies sat in some of these, dressed in by-gone European fashions; others had a single occupant. Some were closed in by heavy leather flaps and aprons, having two glazed holes, on a level with the rider's eyes.

"Pigs and donkeys there were in abundance; the swine unusually large and fat, and the donkeys varying from those wizened and wasted forms that ruddle-men, small green-grocers, and 'weary' itinerant knife-grinders, belabour and overload in England, to sleek and spirited animals of a size and strength they never attain in our colder climate."

Fountains, too, sparkle in the streets, some of which are very picturesque objects; and when blackened, as they sometimes are, by constant damp and splashing, they form, as Dr. Bullar remarks, an admirable back-ground for the gay figures of the thirsty men and graceful girls who drink and lean about them.

The politics of the island are far too diverting to be passed over in silence; and we shall, therefore, willingly quote our authors' description of the Azorean Radicals and Conservatives:

"Two newspapers are published in this town; and the islanders, it is said, are divided into two parties, which have respectively dubbed one another, 'the cats,' and 'the pigs;' the pigs being the Conservatives, attached to the constitution of Don Pedro—and the cats the Radicals, who want 'something more.' The etymology of these words is said to be, but with what truth I know not, as follows:—The name of the leader of the Conservatives is or was Carvalho; which, being at the same time the Portuguese for oak, which bears acorns, whereon swine feed, the Carvalhos were called pigs. The Radicals, on the other hand, adopt for their banner the bearings of the island, on some part of which are a hawk's talons, and thus they have been designated cats; not from their resemblance to this animal in pulling things to pieces, but from the supposed similarity of the cat's claw to the hawk's talon."

One of the most singular objects that meets a stranger's eye in the streets of Ponta Delgada is the island cap or carapuça, worn by the native peasantry; this is much more intelligible by means of the clever sketches with which the volumes abound; but as we cannot transfer them to our pages, and think, nevertheless, that a head-dress so singular, and, to our taste, so ugly, might find many admirers and imitators, we will let Dr. Bullar describe it:—

"In shape, the carapuça is somewhat like a jockey cap with an overgrown snout. Thus, the part which fits the head is low and coved, like the velvet cap of a huntsman, but is at the same time larger and more solid; the front projects in a long broad crescent, the horns of which are turned up at the sides to a height which, in some instances,

reaches far above the crown ; and a cape of the same blue cloth with which the crown is covered, overspreading the shoulders, and ending in a long ornamented point half way down the back, is fastened round the lower rim of the cap from one side of the front to the other. It seems as if the peasants might have originally contented themselves with a simple huntsman cap of blue cloth ; that they had then sewed on the shoulder cape, to protect them from the rain ; that they gradually widened and lengthened the snout or projecting front, until it became eighteen inches broad and nine inches deep ; that a fashion among the exquisites, not unlike the pointed-shoe dandyism of Edward the Fourth's time, had strained out the ends to their present extravagant length, and for convenience sake had turned them up into horns, until at length the extravagance ended in the present fantastic head-dress. It is in most instances a picturesque object ; becoming some young and well-made men in no ordinary degree, and contrasting well, and sometimes harmonizing with, the light frail handkerchief with which the weaker vessel covers up or foils her expressive beauty. But it varies in form, and appearance, and worth, in all kinds of ways. Two friends, for instance, from different quarters of the island, meet in the market-place of Ponta Delgada : one removes with grave politeness an ample and ponderous carapuça of the finest dark blue broad-cloth, clasped with a shining silver buckle ; and the humbler man bows to his wealthier friend with a lighter one of sky blue linsey-wolsey, so patched, and wasted, and wobegone, that the crumpled front can—like the present Portuguese nation—with difficulty support the crown."

It is pleasing to hear of the universal civility prevailing among these unsophisticated islanders ; the salutations, which walking or driving through the streets are not exactly a sinecure ; and the unvarying respect paid to the female sex—no man, even in a church, thinks of sitting down till every woman, even the poorest, is accommodated. The dress of the female part of the population, when walking, is strictly national ; and consists of a dark heavy blue cloak, with a hood stiffened over the head with whalebone or buckram, and which almost conceals the face, save when it is removed for a moment by the hand. A lady told the doctor, that when thus attired, they recognized one another by their shoes, and would stop or pass on, according as the passer-by was shod in black or primrose. Education is by no means neglected. The following sketch will suffice to show both the manner of teaching adopted, and the sources from which funds are derived :—

"In the outskirts of the city we stepped into a cottage, where a sickly man, with sharp pale features and large glistening eyes, was teaching about twenty boys to read. This was one of the schools established under Don Pedro's scheme of national education.

"By this scheme, all the poor of the island may, if they please, be

taught reading, writing, and arithmetic, free of cost.* It is said, that large numbers of children are now sent to school by their parents; and I was told by an ass-driver, that even some adults, and himself among the number, were very desirous of learning to read and write. The children learned their lessons as they do in our infant schools—the whole twenty chanting at one time in a loud and nasal sing-song. Some had books, and others read from sheets of paper and backs of letters, on which, as books were rare, the lesson had apparently been copied. They appeared to learn as cheerfully as children ever do, and looked quite as intelligent as an equal number of English boys, and less awkward. There were no very poor children among them; none in plain cotton shirts, with neither cap, nor shoe, nor stocking, but all were moderately well-dressed."

Nor are the sick neglected any more than the children. In every municipal district there is a public hospital, called the *Misericordia*, or house of mercy, for the reception of the sick poor. These institutions are supported by endowments of land and bequests of money from pious people long since deceased, and by voluntary contributions. The hospitals usually contain from two to three hundred sick, and are, generally speaking, well conducted by the governors, stewards, medical attendants, and nurses. In cases where the hospital is full, medicines are given to applicants, who are gratuitously attended by the medical men. Foreign seamen are also admitted on their consul's paying one shilling and sixpence a day for each. There are no alms-houses, or other institutions, for the reception of persons impotent through age, nor is any relief afforded them by the state; but if such persons have relatives capable of supporting them, they may be compelled to do so on application to the magistracy of the district. This obligation extends from grandchildren upwards in a direct line, and between brothers and sisters; but does not exist between uncles and aunts, and their nephews and nieces, nor between cousins.

There are no lunatic asylums in the island, nor any public provision or establishment for their reception, but lunatics are entitled to claim support from their relatives in the same way as the decrepid. Neither are there institutions for the deaf, dumb, or blind; but they may claim protection from their relatives. Deafness and dumbness are said to be very uncommon, but

* Public schools for teaching reading and writing are established in each municipal district, where the children of the poor are taught gratis. A small tribute on the wine-produce of the country is levied for payment of these schools, called the *Literary Subsidy*; and public professors are paid out of also, who teach Latin, grammar, rhetoric, and philosophy, to all who choose to attend. (*Read's Report to the Poor Law Commissioners, 1834, vol. xxxix., Appendix F. p. 643.*)

ophthalmia appears to be prevalent among the poor; who, as they live far from medical aid, and take no precautions, frequently go blind in consequence. (Read's Report to the Poor Law Commissioners, 1834, vol. XXXIX. Appendix F. p. 643).

Before we leave Ponta Delgada, we must take one more glance at the streets, and notice now, not the buildings, but the crowd of passers-by. The priest, with his scanty black petticoat, pea-green umbrella, and three-cornered hat; the boatman, with his scarlet cap; the showy horses, and still more showy riders, with black moustache and brass spurs; the English officer and the British tar, not unfrequently stumbling over the four-legged conservatives; the countryman, with his horned cap; the blue women, without any apparent face or arms—“*des manteaux qui marchent voila tout* ;” hogsheads, wheelbarrows, and every other kind of moveable and immoveable thing. Let the reader fancy all this, and then, bearing in mind the description given before of the buildings, he will have a correct idea of the capital of the Azores. While our authors are speaking of the churches, on which their remarks are equally just and entertaining, they make some also on the arts, as exemplified in the religious ceremonies and processions:—

“In a church in the suburbs, there is a full-sized wax figure of Christ on the cross, in the act of dying; and the modeller must have seen men die—with such truth has he represented the momentary change. He has caught the instant when the features suddenly relax, and lose their life, when the eyelid droops partly over the eye, not yet glassy, and the mouth falls somewhat open. If the last struggle has been painful, the expression instantly becomes placid; and this sudden change takes away from death much of the horror it would otherwise produce on a mere spectator, leaving him rather sad than terrified. This moment the artist chose, and, as far as I was concerned, he accomplished his object of producing a deep impression. It was infinitely more striking than several other figures, where the carver and the painter seemed to have studied to bring the sufferings of our Saviour forcibly before the mind, by exaggerating his bodily injuries, and covering him with hideous wounds and bruises. Other figures were feebly executed, and dressed in wretched taste. These were kept concealed, either in cases with curtains before them, or with glass doors, or in closets in the sacristy, and were used only in processions on saints' days. The sexton of one of the churches took great delight in exhibiting to us the wardrobe of the priests, and the garrulous old man put on the rich purple and white silk robes, the better to show them off, and to astonish us. In one cupboard was a large naked figure of Christ, like a colossal Dutch doll, made with moveable arms, to be placed, when dressed, in different attitudes.”

Christmas-day was a day of great festivity; nor have we often met with a more pleasing picture than that which sets before us

the inoffensive gaiety of these interesting islanders. The climate, too, is such as could hardly be equalled in any other part of the world :—

“December 25, (Christmas-day).—An incomparable day, as if purposely given, neither oppressively hot nor yet chilly ; like the cream of English weather towards the latter end of June. It is difficult to realize the fact that Christmas-day is come, for the elder and cuckoo-pint in the edges are bursting into leaf as in April, and within doors we have neither fires nor fire-places, and constantly sit with open windows.”

At Villa Franca, Dr. Bullar and his brother saw the whole process of preparing the oranges for the English market. This description we must, however, unwillingly pass over, and accompany our tourists to the Furnas, or hot springs, in the central part of the island: they set out with Mr. Hickling, the American consul, who had a house in the valleys. These crater-valleys, as Dr. Bullar emphatically calls them, are widely different from the laughing dales which characterize the rest of the island. They are desolate looking places, generally quite circular, and surrounded with abrupt and barren walls of rock ; lakes, grey sullen pieces of water, partly occupy them. The baths, or hot springs, are about a mile distant from the consul's house :—

“Before dinner we walked to the hot springs, about a mile distant, where the volume of white vapour, the sulphureous smell, the bubbling up of the boiling water, and the low grumbling sounds beneath our feet, showed that the same agent, which threw up this island from the bottom of the ocean, is still at work beneath it. The evening was so much colder, and everything so much damper than at Villa Franca, that it was pleasant to sit round our hospitable host's blazing wood-fire—an almost unique accommodation to the sitting-rooms of these islands.”

In their way they had to cross more than one broad stream, one of which is so strongly impregnated with iron as to dye every stone that it touches, and all the vegetation within its reach is of a bright orange colour. The “*caldeira*” itself is thus described :—

“The principal caldeira is a sulphurous one. The water comes hissing and boiling out of the ground into a basin about ten feet across, from which it flows through small channels of stone to supply the baths. It bubbles up through a loose bottom of broken rock ; and the column of water in the centre, like the small Icelandic Geysers described by Dr. Henderson, is usually three feet high, gradually lessening towards its edges until it merely ripples and undulates on the margin of the basin.

“Suppose a conglomeration of half-a-dozen London New River Com-

pany's fire-plugs, spouting up their water into a large hollow basin, well furred with white stony matter; and then suppose this huge basin set on some enormous hidden fire, and made to boil at a rapid rate, and you will have as good an idea as I can convey to you of the principal caldeira in this valley."

At a little distance from this caldeira is a circular pit, in the bottom of which is to be seen water boiling furiously, which had, when our tourists saw it in 1839, been only one year in operation. One day a loud explosion was heard, and when the villagers came to see what had taken place, they found this addition to the natural curiosities of their valley:—

"Clambering a little further, we came to the entrance of what looked like a deep and dark cave, and from the bottom of this is thrown up and down, without ceasing, boiling mud, of the consistency and colour of the creamy scrapings of Piccadilly.

"The ground is hot; every here and there boiling water and hissing steam ooze up through holes in the clay, like those made by worms on muddy English shores, and you stand in warm vapour, tainted with sulphureted hydrogen gas."

The buildings for the purpose of bathing seem very simple, yet sufficient, and the effect of the bath itself both more speedy and more pleasant than that of any of the European baths:—

"After looking at the caldeiras we took our bath, and it certainly was never my good fortune before to bathe in an *invigorating* warm bath. It produced a feeling of strength instead of lassitude, and the skin seemed not alone to have been cleansed and rendered most agreeably smooth, but to have been actually renewed."

After this follow many pages filled with sketches of the country and its inhabitants, with very expressive etchings: one represents the grate of the prison at Villa Franca; and truly, if to sit still and talk with one's friends, to have all kinds of luxuries that they can procure, to have a pleasant prospect and no loss of reputation, be a situation not *very* undesirable, then we may fully agree with our authors that "incarceration here seems to be both an amusing and a healthful condition." Civilities are freely exchanged between those within and those without, as though both were on the honest side of the grate. We should like to extract an account of the visit paid by Dr. Bullar (a professional visit to a "morgado," or squire), but our space forbids; yet we cannot, without doing our readers injustice, abstain from setting before them the great cheapness of these innocent isles:—

"March 23.—This is the place for cheap living, though not for an epicure. We live chiefly on poultry, fish, and eggs, so that our dinners have about the same variety as Harry the Fourth's suppers—

poulets à la broche, poulets en ragout, poulets en hâchis, poulets en fricassées. Poultry is very abundant: fowls, one shilling; chicken, sixpence; ducks, one shilling and sixpence, of the Muscovy breed, with a round and angry patch of red flesh, like the wattle of a turkey, encircling their eyes; they waddle in the streets and before cottages, looking like debauched, intemperate fowl; but the poor here are so anti-commercial in their notions, that they rarely will sell them. Bread is twopence a loaf, weighing about a pound; beef and mutton, such as they are, may be procured from Ponta Delgada at threepence a pound; hams, fourpence a pound; eggs, three and four a penny; milk, twopence a pint; butter, one shilling a pound. A fish, the size of a two-pound trout, is threepence or fourpence, according to the market; but the fish is washy and mediocre. Servants' wages are very low, so are porters', mes engers', and services requiring the mere human strength of arms or legs. We hire a woman-servant to officiate as cook, bed-maker, &c. (which consumes all her time), for four shillings a week. The hire of a man-servant in the house (who will live upon Indian corn bread), is eight shillings a month. Firewood is cheap. The wine ("vin du pays"—genuine juice of the grape, but not palatable or drinkable, except occasionally) is twopence a bottle; "a pot o' the smallest ale" would be more acceptable. A sweeter wine, called "passado," may be had from Fayal for a trifle. Good tea is more expensive than in England, but is very good; so is the chocolate. The common tea is bad. Coffee is very fine and reasonable."

A regular postage cannot be reckoned among the advantages of these islands. Some letters have been four months in reaching their destination from England; and the postmaster is, or was, not a little of a rogue. The people of the Azores, with all their simple-heartedness and good feeling, seem to have but imperfect ideas of the nature of moral rectitude. The boarding-house-keeper at Horta gave the Messrs. Bullar but a sorry account of his countrymen; and when he was asked whether the Portuguese *ever* told the truth, he replied, with the most perfect simplicity, "*Some...times!*"

The city of Horta is the capital of the isle of Fayal, and is remarkable on many accounts, but not the least so for the college and church of the Jesuits. It is built in the centre of the city, and possesses considerable architectural merit. Silver lamps of the most classic elegance are suspended from the roof of the church, and attract the attention as soon as you enter. The college, however, is now used for barracks and government offices. "Looking (as Dr. Bullar observes) on this monument of the Jesuits' designs, a magnificent college, built in an obscure island in the middle of the Atlantic ocean, it is impossible not to regret the ambition which prompted these men to be rulers as well as teachers of mankind."

Behind Pico lies the valley of Flemingos, said, as its name

implies, to be a colony of Flemings. "The scene is in perfect harmony with the quiet serenity of their character; and, in walking through the village which stretches along the valley, I noticed many girls and children with blue eyes and flaxen hair." Fayal must, so far as scenery and natural advantages go, be a kind of earthly paradise; and we feel a little disposed to laugh at the American sea-captain, who, having come there for provisions, was detained there by illness. He was a native of Nantucket, an island on the coast of New England, as bleak and barren as its name is harsh and cacophonous, with no more natural charms to recommend it than may be found in our own Isle of Dogs; so, with the image of this place on his mind, and the love of his great and independent country "strong upon him," he expressed his hope that he should recover; for (said he) I cannot bear the thought of dying upon *a desert island*. This man's feelings are well contrasted with those of the captain of the little schooner in which our tourists were brought to St. Michael's, and who employed his leisure time in reading and *understanding* Shakspeare.

Pico is a barren island, and we have some very interesting remarks here upon Miss Sedgewick's works, read to while away the time. She is evidently a person of considerable power and good intentions; but all her books, even those intended for children, abound with ill-tempered remarks about England, which are anything but creditable to her. Our own writers, male and female, have enough to answer for in making satirical remarks on America; but they have not adapted such remarks for the comparatively innocent mind of childhood.

Our travellers ascended the mountain (Pico, the Peak), and have given us a very interesting description of their exploits; they bore in mind the saying of Gray, that memory was ten times worse than a lead pencil, and one impression taken on the spot was worth a cart-load of recollections. We must not venture on the ascent, which concludes the first volume; but we will take a retrospect to the Caldeiras of Ribeira. We must premise, by informing our readers, that those who travel in the Azores do not go to an inn, for the sufficient reason that such places are not; neither do they hire furnished lodgings, inasmuch as nobody has any to let; but they borrow or hire a house, and furnish it in the simple style of the country. Now in this manner did the Messrs. Bullar locate themselves in the valley of the Caldeiras, and while they were unpacking, or causing to be unpacked, their furniture, a female voice was heard, and a mountain heroine was introduced to their notice; her name was Maria, and a greater contrast to Sterne's *Maria* can hardly be

imagined. She was called sometimes Maria of the Caldeiras, sometimes the Child of the Mountains, sometimes Maria the Shepherdess, and other such descriptive additions in great abundance. Young, lively, excitable, and very pretty, she was a most amusing companion, and a cheerful guide. It was with great pleasure that the travellers heard her voice and her guitar, and her laughable imitations of English and French comic singing. Her knowledge of the former language was not extensive, but it was sufficiently so to decline the offers made her by some "Senhor," to leave her native land and to come to England. In the house were a set of plates, imported from America, with "Poor Richard's" aphorisms printed round the edges. Among them some must have been perfectly unintelligible to the Azoreans—such, for instance, as this: "Time is money." This may be "a fact," though most degrading state, as our authors well observe—"a fact" in America, but in St. Michael's it is no such thing. The latter place would have much better suited the theories of old Gonzalo.

—— "No use of service,
Of riches, or of poverty ;
No occupation—all men idle—all,
And women too.
All things in common nature should produce
Without endeavour."

We have seen a Christmas-day at St. Michael's—we shall now see a Whit-Sunday at Horta ; and as the one was a scene of quiet enjoyment, so was the other one of lively merriment. It appears that many years ago an earthquake occurred which did considerable damage, and on its cessation the inhabitants offered a vow, that if it did not return they would annually, for a term of years, bestow a certain sum of money and certain portions of food on the poor. The earthquake did not recur, and the islanders performed their vow ; nor did they stop when the term of years was expired, for to this day is the same sum of money and the same quantity of bread, meat, and wine distributed among the poor. From an early hour the city was filled with country people, who came either as spectators or as partakers of the feast. A small chapel of canvass, and very gaudy in its colours, was set up in the middle of the town ; it was hung with crimson stuff, bound with yellow lace, and furnished with a tinsel altar, on which, however, was displayed a crucifix of silver and four wax tapers : from each corner of the chapel two rows of tables extended the whole length of the street (500 yards) ; the tables were covered with white linen, and the provisions were then placed in order upon them ; to each person was allotted

five loaves, two pounds of raw beef, and a pint of wine, which last was put into a bottle of red pottery, and had a bunch of flowers by way of a cork. Shortly after this, a priest, robed in the usual way, and preceded by a band of music, sprinkled the whole with holy water by means of a brush. The poor people are very anxious to obtain the food thus sprinkled—less, indeed, on account of the food itself, than of the blessing which it is supposed to involve: the distribution itself was managed by tickets previously given to deserving poor people; it was done in perfectly good order, without hustling or scrambling, each person carrying off his share to be eaten at home. Much was seen well worthy to be recorded in the voyage which the Messrs. Bullar took to the smaller dependent islands; but at Corvo they met with a worthy old man whose portrait shall be given in their own words:—

“We passed on to the house of the chief person in the island, the priest of Corvo, the Reverendissimo Senhor Joao Ignacio Lopes, Meritissimo Vigario na Ilha do Corvo, &c. (as a friend had written in one of his books), a man whose plain, honest, Wedgewood clay is perhaps more happily tempered than the most elaborate specimens of porcelain. His house stands just outside the village, and we found him in the yard before it. He welcomed us as if we had been old friends, although we brought no letter to him, having heard that it was entirely unnecessary, shook us heartily by the hand, and begged us to walk into his house, which he said was open to us. All this was done in right sincerity too. The very moment we entered the room, without waiting for us to unpack our own basket of provisions, or to ask or say anything more than that we would be seated, he took a chair in his hand, mounted it, and from a wooden tray which swung aloft, beyond the reach of mouse or rat, he handed down first one loaf, then another, of a holiday quality, then a cheese, and then another, begging us to eat:—

‘And, with blithe air of open fellowship,
Brought from his cupboard wine and stouter cheer,
Like one who would be merry.’

There were barrels on his floor, and wine-bottles in his cupboard. Wine-glasses he had not, but he filled some goodly tumblers with wine, and pouring the rest into a white jug, drank it off by way of example. He was a bulky man, of about seventy, six feet in height, and somewhat bowed with years. His head was bald, having a few white locks at the sides, his eyes were moist and dim, his features massive, and expressive of quiet contentment; and every one we met with spoke well of the good old man. The boatmen called him ‘the father of the island,’ and looked up to him with respect when he spoke to them. The villagers who came into his room seemed to regard him as the patriarch of the place; they bowed low, and kissed his hand, which he held out for the purpose.”

There are two more pleasant pictures drawn from scenes in

this little isle of Corvo, and we look at them with a quiet gratitude to Almighty God that he has made his creatures so dependent upon him and nature, which is but another word for his will—so independent (if they choose to be so) of all beside:—

“When we had seen Maurice’s treasures, Joachimo came up with a smiling face, to express his hope that we would walk as far as his door, to see his wife and bairns. These were scattered over the floor of his cottage in great profusion; some squatting, some crawling, crowing, laughing, and shouting at the return of their father, while their mother was quietly enjoying it all, on her knees, with bright glistening eyes. Poor Joachimo had, it seemed, little else than health and children; but these prattling wee things made the house more cheerful than the dead sides of salted hogs that hung silently in Maurice’s kitchen, proclaiming him the wealthier man. And Joachimo would have said so too, if he had been asked. He was walking up and down with the youngest in his arms, a happy creature of two years old, fat, comely, and brown, with bright eyes and long lashes, who, as Joachimo talked to him, looked his father gravely in his face, and at length laid hold of that pleasing toy in the hands of a young child—his father’s nose. Joachimo then turned to his wife and whispered with her; and presently the eldest girl was sent out with an empty bottle.

“She soon returned with wine and one glass, out of which we all drank each other’s health, down to some young girls, who were too shy to drink wine before strangers. One of these, whose shyness was at length overcome, was a charming specimen of womankind. She was just beyond girlhood, with a faultless figure, a clear brown complexion, and shining brown hair, simply braided over her forehead, a short curling upper lip, soft full eyes, with thin lids and long lashes, and there was about her features that placid expression of languid grace which gives the charm to many of the antique Grecian statues. She was dressed in a simple blue jacket, fitting close to her bust, and a full blue petticoat, and appeared utterly unconscious of her loveliness. Neighbours came in and sat about the floor, embraced Joachimo, said a word to the happy wife, and then turned their attention steadily to ourselves.”

At Flores, another of the Azore islands, and one peculiarly dangerous, in the night and in misty weather, to ships, our travellers saw many proofs of the fatal character of the coast, and in one instance “the smart green panels and black arched roof of the companion of one vessel had been joined on, by way of ante-room, to the black walls and dingy thatch of a cottage in the fields.” In many cases, in times past, the power of the priesthood had been useful in obtaining the restitution of property lost at the time of wrecks, or, indeed, otherwise:—

“An anchor, belonging to a wrecked vessel, had been missing. No one, of course, knew anything about it; and, after every search had in vain been made for it, application was made to the priest. On the

following Sunday, after mass had been said, he bade his congregation stop, as he had something serious to say to them ; and turning round from the altar to the people, he concluded in some such words as these with the following strong metaphor : ‘ I have heard (said he), with much sorrow, that an anchor, from the vessel that was wrecked upon our coast, has been stolen from the shore by some of my parishioners. I am informed, that search has everywhere been made for that anchor, and that hitherto it has not been found. There are among the people who now hear me, those who well know both the persons who have stolen it, and the place where this anchor is concealed. I do not wish them to come forward now and openly confess their guilt ; for that there is no necessity ; but I charge them, by the holy office which I hold, to return that anchor to the place from which it has been taken before seven days have gone by ; and I here announce to those deluded men who shall persevere in obstinate disobedience to my commands, that, in the last great day, *that anchor shall drag down their souls deeper and still deeper into hell.*’ The next morning it was returned.

“ It is said, that before the authority of the clergy was lessened by the Government, which confiscated their revenues, it was not unusual, about the time of confession, for domestic servants in this island, either to return the things which they had stolen, or to ask their masters’ forgiveness ; the priest insisting upon something more than the mere acknowledgment of their sins. But since the greater *civilization* of the people, this has been less frequent.”

We mention this, and extract this story, merely to show that the power here spoken of was not *wholly* evil, and that what is *called* civilization is not always so valuable. Another interesting investigation made in this island (Flores) is connected with the population. A statement was furnished by the governor, who is described as a handsome, well-bred, fresh-coloured man :—

“ The statistical returns of the population in this gentleman’s district (which included about half the island) were kept very methodically. The following was the table of the population, births, marriages, and deaths, for 1837 :—

Houses.	Males. Females.		Births.		Deaths.		Marriages.
			Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	
1057	2396	2615	72	77	88	100	38

This is worth attending to, as it relates to a people in an extremely inartificial condition,—residing in a temperate and equable climate, where extremes, either of heat or cold, are unknown ; who live on the simplest food (chiefly vegetable, with fresh fish), who are temperate, and only drink unadulterated and wholesome wines, and whose diseases are very little interfered with by medical art. The annual mortality is rather more than one in twenty-six persons, whereas in Great Britain it is one in forty-seven and a half, and in the healthiest counties of England only one to sixty-seven. Even in London it is one in forty-four ; in Geneva, one in forty-three ; in Paris, one in thirty-six ; in

Madrid, one in thirty-five. Among the causes of this mortality may be the total absence of efficient medical relief; for the only educated medical man residing on the island is an Englishman, who does not live in this district, and is rarely consulted by those at a distance until all domestic remedies have been exhausted, and the disease is become incurable. Besides this, the population consists almost wholly of poor, amongst which class the rate of mortality is highest, and there is no legal relief for the destitute."

"The men in Flores may be (says Dr. Bullar) divided into those who wear boots and those who do not;" the former are a somewhat conceited and rather graceless set, who also, together with their boots, wear calico dresses of light and brilliant colours; the latter wear the natural, pleasing, and picturesque dress of their class, viz., the peasantry. There is in all the Portuguese islands a species of foundling hospital; any person, without being asked any questions, may put a child into the revolving drum, which takes it into the receiving-house, and from that time it is provided for by the municipality. The island of St. George's gives occasion to some remarks on the volcanic formation of the Azores:—

"It must, indeed, have been a right glorious sight to have witnessed the creation of these islands, when the red-hot cone of Pico first flamed up into the sky through the midst of the Atlantic like a blazing beacon, and the rocks of Fayal and St. George's lay hissing on the waves, like vast floods of molten iron. But how awful and intense must have been the solitude of this distant spot upon the globe when the frightful fires of these now silent volcanoes first disturbed the calm blue ocean!"

In passing along a bed of recent lava—for so lately as 1808 has there been volcanic agency at work—Dr. Bullar saw a wild cat on the watch for prey, most probably rabbits, and not long afterwards he beheld one of those birds who give the name to the islands:—

"Being concealed from him by the bush, the bird, attracted by some smaller one, suddenly made a stoop so close to me, that I could feel the air from his wings and see the savage flash from his clear brown eye. The instant he caught sight of me, he drew up his yellow talons and soared down the mountain. He was larger than our common hawk, which in other respects he much resembled."

The descent of the mountain was accomplished by a different path, amidst vines and faya trees; the vines were just coming out into leaf, and their bright tender foliage contrasted very delightfully with the dark evergreen fayas on which they grew and the silver grey of their bark. While thirsty and tired with the wearisome walk, a little incident occurred, which we have here related

with the fascinating grace always characterizing these charming volumes:—

“A little fellow, who was coming up the mountain with a tub of water on his head, drew out the fresh stopper of green fern that he had put into the narrow mouth of his bucket, leaned forward and gave me a long and grateful draught. Thankful as I was for it, my thankfulness seemed as nothing compared with the expression of innocent delight with which he kissed his hand for the trifle he received in return. The exquisite joy of his eyes, as he looked me in the face at parting, I shall not forget. Pence he had hitherto thought of as having existence only in other people's pockets.”

The eruption of 1808 had very dreadful effects. A small chapel, visible from the water, was the retreat chosen, as much for devotion as from any idea of safety, during the commencement of that awful visitation. While thus filled to overflowing, a torrent of lava rolled down the mountain, encompassed the church, and the unhappy occupants were either burned to death or suffocated. Visitors were not common in St. George's, and formidable ones not desired, as will be pretty evident when we see in what condition were the fortifications:—

“The fort is harmless enough at present, being without available guns, or ammunition, or men. One or two dilapidated carriages and rusty cannon were collected under a shed; and a man and his wife, with their family of one, two, and three-year-olds, kept guard within the gate. Moreover, the good people of St. George's had planted their guns' mouth downwards in the earth, where they answered the peaceful and useful end of boat-posts.”

St. George's was the last island visited, and the party returned in a new schooner to Ponta Delgada. We can well imagine that time could hardly have been spent more delightfully than among these beautiful islands; now on the bright sea for two or three days together, with the nights as balmy as the days were clear:—

“The full moon rose at night like a vast red-hot globe issuing out of the ocean, but soon looked smaller, and showered down her silvery light. In this climate the moon seems actually suspended, not merely inlaid in the heavens: the eye reaches far into the infinite space beyond; and the shadows she casts are sharp and black, like silhouettes.”

The climate of the Azores has been frequently, though incidentally, touched on in the course of this review; but there is an Appendix especially devoted to it, and to the states of disease in which it may be beneficial. The diseases of the natives are such as might be expected in a mild, equable climate, and under a very inartificial state of society. They are generally rather of a chronic than of an acute nature, and the most prevalent is an

affection of the nerves of the stomach, arising from the almost exclusively vegetable food eaten. "*Consumption* (says Dr. Bullar) *is extremely rare*. I saw only two cases among four hundred and sixty-five patients who fell under my care." Indeed, proceeding, as consumption chiefly does, from vicissitudes of temperature, it is evident, that in a climate where the extremes both of heat and cold are entirely unknown, it must be proportionably uncommon. The remarks made in pp. 234, et seq. of volume ii. we would willingly transcribe; but we must here, once for all, make the observation, which we beg all tour writers to bear in mind and follow the present example, that there is nothing—not one sentence in the two volumes before us that could be omitted, or even retrenched, without injuring, more or less, the book.

It would seem that those persons to whom the climate of St. Michael's should be recommended are young persons having *consumptive tendencies*, and they should reside there not for a few months, but for a few years:—

"In diseases in which a soft soothing climate is indicated, that of the Azores will prove beneficial; in gastritic or inflammatory dyspepsia, in bronchial irritation accompanied with little secretion, and in affections of the skin attended with a dry irritable state of that organ. On the other hand, in a relaxed state of the system, in those morbid conditions of the mucous membranes attended with copious discharges, and in an enfeebled state of the digestive organs (atonic dyspepsia) it will decidedly disagree."

For cutaneous diseases, for plethora (which the Germans call "*unterleibsvollblütigkeit*"—what a word!), determinations of blood to the head—in asthma and bronchitis, the sulphur baths of the Furnas may be beneficially employed.

And now, supposing any person desirous of being boiled alive in the Caldeiras of Ribeira, how are they to put this laudable design into execution? Look to Dr. Bullar, and all the information you can desire is there set down. There is a chapter in the Appendix wholly devoted to this subject, together with ample directions as to outfit and money-changing.

The mode of return adopted by our tourists was as follows: they went to Lisbon in a fruit packet, and from Lisbon to London by steam. It is pleasant to hear of improvements in the former city, but cleanliness is indeed a change. The city of the Tagus and its environs have been described so often, that, though we could willingly have refreshed our reminiscences with Dr. Bullar and his brother, we are not altogether sorry that they have passed over them so rapidly. The cork convent is graphically but briefly described, and we are informed that

“the navigation of the winding passages and low door-ways, with their projecting knobs of cork, is far from easy. It would not have been possible for the man who contrived them to have lamented, as an assistant poor law commissioner is said to have done, while examining one of his modern union workhouses, that the place should have been built so much too comfortably. Ragged and awkward discomfort had been here attained with elaborate perfection.”

From Cintra our travellers proceeded to Mafra, and there examined that wonderful building, the palace, church, and convent combined, said to be the largest in the world. The library is a magnificent room, three hundred feet long, and filled with books admirably arranged, and the heavy French binding and red edges of the books reminded Dr. Bullar of the three glorious days of 1830, when he saw thousands of such books from the archbishop's library floating down the Seine. Of the church, he speaks just as we could have expected:—

“The church is built of marble, elaborately carved; costly, beautiful, but cold. The gothic architecture of our cathedrals spoils us for these Grecian temples. Who can enter Salisbury or Winchester cathedrals without stepping softly and speaking low, and feeling that he is under the influence of the “*religio loci*.” In their ruins they are still appropriate. The ivy which clambers over the broken arches of the windows of Tintern, or the tall and stately trees which have sprung up and replaced the antique pillars and high embowed roof of Netley seem almost to have sympathized with the ruins they replace, and have beautified it in its decay by a living architecture, in conformity with the original design.”

The young Queen of Portugal, with her handsome and amiable husband, a prince of the deservedly fortunate family of Saxe Cobourg, are very pleasingly described; they appear to live very quietly, with little—perhaps too little—ceremony, and to be much attached to each other. *This* sketch will, on many accounts, be pleasing to the English reader.

Nor is the picture of the English burial-ground—interesting as being the place of Fielding's sepulture—less to our taste. But we must close our extracts and our book, and we do so unwillingly, and, as we believe, to the regret of our readers. Nevertheless, we have no doubt that few who read this account will be satisfied without a further and fuller acquaintance with the volumes from which we have quoted so largely for their amusement.

- ART. X.—“*Want of Confidence in Ministers.*”—*Speeches of Sir Robert Peel, Sir James Graham, Lord Stanley, and Sir Robert Peel's Reply.* London: Painter, 342, Strand. 1841.
2. *Peel and the Premier; or, Power without Place, and Place without Power.* London: Painter, 342, Strand. 1841.
 3. *Sir Robert Peel's Speech on the Sugar Duties Debate.* London: Painter, 342, Strand. 1841.
 4. *What have the Whigs done?* London: Painter, 342, Strand. 1841.
 5. *What are the English Roman Catholics to do?* By ANGLO CATHOLICUS. London: Painter, 342, Strand. 1841.
 6. *The Cost Price of Producing Foreign Corn.* By a MERCHANT. London: Painter, 342, Strand. 1841.
 7. *Mr. M'Culloch's Pamphlet on the Corn Laws Critically Analyzed; with a Postscriptum on the Latest Fallacies of Radicalism.* London: Painter, 342, Strand. 1841.
 8. *Cheap Bread and its Consequences: a Plain Statement.* London: Painter, 342, Strand. 1841.
 9. *Is England's Safety or Admiralty Interest to be Considered?* By F. P. WALESBY, Esq., M.A., J.P., Barrister-at-Law. London: Painter, 342, Strand. 1841.

WHEN Hezekiah received a blasphemous letter from Assyria, threatening to lay low the towers of Jerusalem, he did not number his people, nor send conciliatory messages to soothe, or costly gifts to buy off, the barbarian at his gate, but he “received the letter from the hand of the messengers and read it; and Hezekiah went up unto the house of the Lord, and spread it before the Lord.” We deem it strictly consistent with the religious character of our publication to prefix a scriptural reference to the observations we are about to offer on the present aspect of political affairs; the contrast we purpose to exhibit between that public spirit which is based on Christian principles, and that party spirit which is merely actuated by parliamentary motives. If ever there was a season in which it is incumbent on all Christian men—the citizens of no mean city—to enter on any discussion in a serious mood of mind, surely that season is now present, when there is upon all the earth “distress of nations, with perplexity, the sea and the waves roaring”—those wild waves of lawlessness, beneath whose turbid bosom the mountain tops of royalty seem destined for awhile to lie buried, and from whose slime creeping things shall crawl over the pillars of the temple and the tapestry of the palace. We feel that we should do wrong to apologize for the more than commonly solemn

tone with which we commence a political review at this crisis, which looks, in our eyes, the very eve of commotion; for are not now "men's hearts failing them for fear, and for looking after those things which are coming on the earth?" Undoubtedly it is a very common occurrence for men to consider the scene in which they themselves are acting one of absorbing interest, and to exaggerate the sufferings they endure, or the perils through which they have to pass; but we think that existing and palpably coming events alike justify our assertion, that we live in times of no ordinary character. True it is, that Conservative prospects are brightening, and we see before us fields already white for the Christian harvest; but we still hear the moaning of the wind—we yet feel the heaving of the wave, the lowering clouds still darkly frown in the horizon. More especially is it incumbent on Christian citizens, "out of doors," to address themselves to the consideration of matters political, in a religious temper, since the Legislature have of late so sedulously laboured to abolish every religious distinction. It is a fearful saying, but one to be openly, and with contrition, confessed by Christian England, in order that, if possible, the guilt of her senators may not be visited on her population,—that God has not been in all their thoughts.

In 1828, the Government of England ceased to be exclusively associated with the Anglican Church; in 1829, it ceased to be even exclusively Protestant, though by virtue of that character only Queen Victoria sits upon the throne of these realms; and a recent attempt has been made to remove from England, as a nation, the badge of Christianity. Mournful were our hearts, nay, they sank within us, when we beheld a prelate making, as his first essay in the House of Lords, a speech in favour of abolishing all distinctions between *Jew* and *Christian*. But though our sorrow was profound at this painful spectacle, we candidly confess that our surprise was not great, for we remembered the same individual had made it a matter almost of boastfulness that he had never thought it worth while instructing his Cambridge pupils in theology; the book of nature, and not that of grace, was the volume by whose pages he laboured to discipline their minds. Need, then, amazement seize our minds should Pope's "Universal Prayer" be chanted in St. David's cathedral? It would be a liberal concession to the numerous fanatics with whom Wales has always, unhappily, so abounded, though her hills and dales have been blessed with an apostolical priesthood from the earliest age of Christianity, uninterrupted by the dark period when Saxon England was pagan.

Let us turn, however, from a Melbourne-promoted Liberal of

Trinity, to the remarkable contrast presented throughout all the changes to which we have adverted, from 1828 to the present day; or rather, we will say, from 1782, when the Legislature first began to tamper with Popery, by the Christian people "out of doors," to the worldly near-sighted politicians in Parliament. We proceed to note this striking diversity, in the hope that wisdom may be gathered from the past, and future errors avoided, by the exhibition of former failures. Wreck-buoys are sad to look upon, but they warn the mariner from the spot where his brother has perished.

At each of the epochs referred to the politicians parleyed with their enemies in the gate, instead of resisting them from the battlements, they paid Danegelt to purchase forbearance, thereby at once crippling their own resources, and stimulating the cupidity of barbarians. They mistook a party for a principle, and regarded the expediency of the hour and the comfort of a Cabinet, when they ought to have looked forward to generations and centuries, reposing on the sacred and immutable basis of Christian truth. On the other hand, the Christian people of England stood firm. They protested against giving legislative sanction to what they pronounced a forfeiture of allegiance to Protestantism; they brought the testimony of history to the political dishonesty, faithlessness, and frauds, of the Popish Church; and combated its tenets by the canons of the Gospel and the laws of the Constitution. Sir Robert Inglis and the faithful few appealed to the recollections of England for the clearly demonstrable connection of her prosperity and national grandeur with the ascendancy of Protestantism, and her equally palpable disasters whenever Popery was paramount. Have events shown that the Christian people or the Parliamentary politicians were right? The superiority, even in worldly wisdom, of the maintainers of principle over the promoters of expediency, has been proved beyond the possibility of dispute.

Has the concession of 1828 propitiated the Dissenters? No; the Baptist and the Independent, the bitterest and the sourest of the bitter and the sour, who railed even at the candid and sacred surplice as a rag of her of Babylon, are now openly leagued with the powers of Popery and infidelity, and, in their deadly animosity against the Anglican Church, join hand-in-hand with a murderous agitator and the persecuting priesthood of Maynooth. Do any of our readers deem our language unduly severe, let them listen to that of Mr. Sibree, a Dissenting teacher at Coventry: "The short and the long of the matter is (raves this liberal Christian), we *won't* have an established religion at all; one religion is as good as another. We will be

all put on an equality. There shall be no national Church." The opinion of another Dissenter, Mr. Binney, is thus mildly expressed, and gratefully, we may add, to the Church which has so long protected him and his hearers from the spiritual tyranny of Rome: "It is with me, I confess, a matter of deep, serious, religious conviction, that the Established Church is a great national evil; that it is an obstacle to the progress of truth and godliness in the land; *that it destroys more souls than it saves*; and that, therefore, its end is most devoutly to be wished by every lover of God and man." With one more specimen of Dissenting gratitude for Church concessions, we will conclude this portion of our subject, acknowledging our reluctance to pollute our pages with such filth, but actuated by a desire to justify the severity of our censures upon the Dissenting bodies: "I wish to God (exclaims the meek advocate of what he calls civil and religious liberty) I had this evening to preach the funeral sermon of that hoary harlot, Mother Church, which is a blast and nuisance upon earth, both black, bloody, and useless; and I will say, blessed be those hands that shall first hurl her to dark perdition among the fiends, there to be honouring and to be honoured by the devil." So much for the conciliating effect upon the hearts and minds of Dissenters, produced by the concessions of 1828, from which such peace-bearing results were promised to flow.

And what has been the product of the Papists' conciliating bill of 1829? Let the weekly murders in Ireland—the exile of her Protestant population—the proscription of her Protestant clergy—the uniform parliamentary career of Daniel O'Connell, and the now openly expressed threat, that if Sir Robert Peel dares to assume the reins of Government—not, be it observed, if he adopts such or such a course of policy, objectionable to the synod of Maynooth, but simply, if he ventures to take office at all—the temperance-pledged millions of Ireland will rise in rebellion. Let all these significant signs give an answer to our question. How the Duke of Wellington was operated upon so as to induce him to constrain the reluctant minds of George IV. and Sir Robert Peel—for we speak advisedly when we say they struggled hard and long in opposition to his Grace—how the monarch and the minister were at last constrained to consent to the fatal measure is still to us a mystery, and much mystery and mystification surrounded the transaction. Sir Robert Peel was a guest at the country residence of a Conservative nobleman, whose name we cannot without a violation of confidence reveal, towards the close of 1828, whom he appalled by declaring one morning that the Catholic Relief Bill, as it is absurdly called,

must pass. The reasons for taking this most unexpected step were respectfully requested. "They are there," replied Sir Robert, pointing to a despatch-box in his sitting-room. "Show them to me," was the ingenuous and patriotic nobleman's instant reply, "for I am as yet unconvinced of the necessity of a measure I still believe fraught with ruin to the united kingdom." The box was not opened, but an assurance given that the contents, if disclosed, would demonstrate the imperative obligation to concede imposed by the Irish Papists and their allies on the English Government. The Duke of Wellington admitted, in the House of Lords, his anxiety to avoid a civil war, as a motive for the concessions which he, evidently with a doubtful mind, was about to make: "If I am disappointed (said the Duke, on the 2nd of April, 1829) in my hopes of tranquillity, after a trial has been given of the measure, I shall not scruple in coming down to Parliament and laying before it the state of the case. I shall do this in the same confidence that Parliament will support me that I feel in this case." Alas, when he made this pledge, the Duke remembered not, or felt not, the full force of the Virgilian image, indicating the all but insuperable difficulty of retracing steps along a downward path—

"Facilis descensus Averno,
Sed revocare gradum, superasque evadere ad auras,
Hoc opus, hic labor est."

The Duke's hopes of tranquillity must long ago have been disappointed, but his pledge has been unredeemed; not even Wellington's colossal power has enabled him to retrace his steps from the abyss into which he so madly plunged.

"—— vestigia nulla retrorsum."

Let us now mark the different demeanour of the Politician and the Christian, in an emergency which made the resolution of the victor of a hundred battles waver, if we must not suppose that his heart trembled. The Assyrian was at the gate breathing slaughter, the letter of defiance was delivered, and the men of peace, receiving it calmly from the hands of the messengers, went up, like Hezekiah, "unto the house of the Lord, and spread it before the Lord." The air of the sanctuary inspired a serenity and confidence which the warrior and statesman sorely lacked. The recluse bigots of Oxford, and the country parsons—as the supporters of Sir Robert Inglis in 1829 were contemptuously called—did what, we now believe, the Duke of Wellington and Sir R. Peel wish they had done. Undismayed by the howlings of Celtic savages, who raised their voices in blind obedience to a task-master, for what purpose they themselves knew

not, and undeceived by the smooth professions of Jesuit dissemblers, the Oxford Convocation declared its sense of the folly and danger of admitting Irish Papists into Parliament to legislate for Protestant England. The Duke of Wellington said he was willing to make any sacrifice to avert the horrors of civil war: the Oxford clergy were ready to say the same, with the single reservation of the sacrifice of Christian truth, the endangering the supremacy of the Anglican Church. Sir Robert Inglis, in speech after speech, which we may now almost call prophetic, demonstrated how unchanged and unchangeable is the spirit of Rome. The conscientious Romanist would feel an obligation, paramount over every other bond, to propagate the creed and augment the numbers of his Church; and, on the other hand, what oaths can bind the bad? It may be well to refer our readers, especially those who were not engaged in the strife of 1829, to the promises made by the suppliant Papists, and contrast them with the subsequent practice of their now rampant leaders.

In 1792, the Roman Catholics presented a petition to the Irish Parliament, containing these words: "We solemnly and conscientiously declare, that we are satisfied with the present condition of our ecclesiastical polity. With satisfaction we acquiesce in the establishment of the National Church. We neither repine at its possessions, nor envy its dignities. We are ready on this point to give every assurance that is binding on man." All the petitions presented from the above period to 1829 were couched in the same mild terms, and wound up with the same solemn asseverations.

Turn we now to the *acts* of the Papists since the Emancipation Bill, which we think might more aptly be called the "Constitution Enslaving Bill," for thereby have all constitutional energies been cramped and confined. At a meeting of the Roman Catholic clergy, held at Westport, in May, 1837, over which, not the furious O'Connell, whose rabid language we disdain to quote, but a Romish bishop, Dr. M'Hale, presided, the following among other equally violent resolutions was moved:—

"That in no country of ancient or modern times does history offer to our contemplation grievances more unparalleled than those which are embraced in the words, the Protestant Establishment of Ireland. That, to clear the ground of all the *encumbrance* that retards the growth of justice in this country, we shall petition the Legislature to appropriate the tithes and church land to national purposes."

Upon these and other resolutions was founded "a petition of the Roman Catholic archbishop and clergy of the archdiocese of Tuam, at visitation assembled," thus commencing:

“Your petitioners beg leave to impress upon your honourable house, that the Catholics of Ireland have loudly, repeatedly, and unanimously proclaimed their *detestation of the tithe system*, as fraught with injustice in principle, and cruelty; and that they should not be content until they achieve its *utter annihilation*.”

So much for the Papist performance of the often reiterated, promise—

“In the face of our country, of all Europe, and before God, we make this our deliberate and solemn declaration, that if we shall be admitted into any share of the constitution, by our being restored to the rights of the elective franchise, we are ready in the most solemn manner to declare, that we will not exercise that privilege to disturb and weaken the establishment of the Protestant religion, or Protestant Government in this country.”

After this, in what terms too strong can we denounce the perjured perfidy—for be it remembered, the substance and more of the above declaration is embodied in the oath taken by Roman Catholics on assuming their seats in Parliament, how can we designate the conduct of those Roman Catholic members who came forward in a body for the purpose of suppressing ten Protestant bishoprics in Ireland?—when they voted for the appropriation clause in the Irish Church Temporalities Bill?—when they constituted the exact majority of twenty-five in one of the divisions on the Church-rate Bill? The oath taken by every Roman Catholic, before he can sit and vote in either House of Parliament, contains these words—

“I do swear that I will defend to the utmost of my power the settlement of property within this realm, as established by the laws; and I do hereby disclaim, disavow, and solemnly abjure any intention to subvert the present Church Establishment as settled by law within this realm: and I do solemnly swear that I never will exercise any privilege to which I am or may become entitled, to disturb or weaken the Protestant religion or Protestant government in the united kingdom: and I do solemnly, in the presence of God, profess, testify, and declare, that I do make this declaration, and every part thereof, in the plain and ordinary sense of the words of this oath, without any evasion, equivocation, or mental reservation whatsoever.”

What casuist can say that this oath was not violated by men who voted for the extinction of church-rates in England—property, the title to which is not only clearer, but more ancient than is that to the estates of any peer, whose ancestor accompanied the Norman to Hastings? The Duke of Wellington may have forgotten his promise to come down to the House and propose the repeal of the Relief Bill, if its operation disappointed his hopes, or he may feel himself unable to perform his

promise—the risks of a civil war, which so moved his mind in 1829, having increased both in number and in force; but sure we are that civil war, promoted probably on one side by foreign aid, or the overthrow of a Protestant Government in England, will be the issue of the fatal bill, whose consequences were so clearly foretold, though the politicians of the period exclaimed, as did the Argive senators to Cassandra, *τούτων αἰδρίς εἰμι τῶν μαντευμάτων*.

Vividly do we remember all the incidents of the animating, though anxious, and in some respects painful, struggle that took place in Oxford in the spring of 1829. The painful portion of the spectacle was to see a man, honoured, elevated, and trusted, as Mr. Peel had been, suddenly precipitate himself from the pinnacle of principle, on which he had been proudly placed by his illustrious University, to grovel in the low grounds of expediency, and thread the tortuous mazes of parliamentary policy. That Mr. Peel was a free agent in the renunciation of all the professed principles of his life, we cannot believe; he was under the fascination of a master-mind, but one more worldly wise than susceptible of that wisdom which cometh not from political calculations. The evils, however, emanating from Mr. Peel's abnegation—or, to speak more justly, desertion of Oxford principles, by no means terminated in the mighty evil of which it was the immediate parent—the admission of the Irish Papists into Parliament. That Reform Bill, which has rendered it so difficult for any Government to be carried on, that we feel ourselves on the verge of annual parliaments, would never have become the law of this considerate country, had not a wild resentment against the Duke and Mr. Peel led many honest but most indiscreet Conservatives into an hostility that broke the ranks of that constitutional phalanx which else would have protected the Altar and the Throne, even against the Celtic invasion. For ten years have Conservatives been labouring to replace Sir Robert Peel in the position from which his own angry supporters drove him; for had it not been for the wild fury of certain Tories, whom we personally respect too much to name, who turned like goaded elephants trampling on their own battalions, the Russell Reform Bill could not have been carried. We have no inclination or wish, in alluding to these things, to rip up old sores—we write more in sorrow than in anger—we would warn for the future, not reproach for the past.

We have applied the epithet “animating” to the Oxford struggle in 1829, and so it really was. There were then demonstrations made, that the noble spirit which caused the Oxford men of peace to cling to a pauper and persecuted king in the face of Cromwell's iron soldiery, and to throw their vessels

of silver and of gold into his treasury; thereby refuting the so often repeated imputations of their self-indulgent propensities—the spirit that animated their resistance to that martyred monarch's son, and has laid Christian England under such manifold obligations for many an age, was not extinct. The aristocratic and the affluent, the time-serving and the seekers for promotion, adhered to Mr. Peel; but the poor country parson walked from his distant home, being unable to pay even outside fare on a coach (we state facts), to give his vote, for what he conscientiously considered the cause of Christianity, against that of state expediency and parliamentary policy. Were it not indelicate, we could give instances which would prove that the same Christian fortitude which sustained the clergy under all the persecutions with which they were harassed during the great Rebellion—an account of which it is well for every Churchman to read, from time to time, in Walker's narrative—was manifested by many an Oxford member of Convocation in 1829, sufficient to convince us that, had the occasion called for it, their power of endurance would not have proved inferior to that manifested by the worthies of any former age.

We suspect that few men of the present day would more cordially concur in the panegyric we have pronounced upon his former opponents than Sir Robert Peel himself; feeling, as he now must, how accurately his first friends predicted the issue of the measure he was persuaded to adopt; contrary, we firmly believe, to his own conviction, and in defiance of the remonstrance of his earliest and firmest supporters. Sincerely do we hope soon to see Sir Robert Peel at the head of her Majesty's renovated Government, prepared to plant his foot firmly on the impregnable basis of principle, and "come what, come may," abjuring, at once and for ever, the shifting, shallow, delusive doctrines of *expediency*. If experience ever taught, surely Sir Robert Peel must have learned from the lessons supplied by the events consequent upon his concession policy of 1828 and 1829, the futility, folly, and danger of such a course.

The nervous fears of an invalid monarch were so worked upon by the foreboders of a rebellion in Ireland, that escape from it was to be purchased at the price of half his kingdom; and we may pity, if we cannot pardon, the infirmity. But kings and statesmen should look to centuries and empires; not confine their views, as individuals may be permitted to do, to themselves or to their immediate family circle. Admitting for a moment that a rebellion in Ireland was prevented by the concessions of 1829, will they exempt the successors of George IV. from its infliction, or will its force be diminished? Those concessions will neither avert nor mitigate the horrors of that dreaded outbreak; on the

contrary, the avalanche, which must one day fall, has been accumulating ever since they were made. In 1829, the Protestant Yeomanry of Antrim and the North, armed and full of steady courage, would, according to our human belief, have of themselves discomfited the savages of the South. The Whigs have sedulously done all they can to break the spirit, sour the temper, and weaken the hands of the Irish Protestants, and now England would have to abate rebellion by her own soldiers; at any rate in a much greater proportion than previous to the systematic discouragement of the Irish Protestant population. And as the strength for crushing rebellion has diminished—has the inclination towards it, on the part of the expected traitors, diminished also? Hear the language of Shiel and O’Connell—language which would not have been tolerated by any other Attorney-General than one who would *lose his place* if he ventured to prosecute the speakers, as we once heard Feargus O’Connor tell Sir John Campbell to his teeth in open court.

We hope, and confidently expect, that Sir Robert Peel will resume office with a firm resolve to act without compromise, to do what is right, without too curiously calculating what may be the effect upon the mind of others. “What will neighbour So-and-so say?” may be an influential consideration with ordinary minds, but it should not operate upon that of the statesman. It did not move Mr. Pitt; why should it influence Sir Robert Peel? We may be told that we live in an advancing age, the present generation will not bear what their forefathers did. Alas! we need no reminding that we live in an altered age—and we believe that, unless we alter again, our posterity will be even more ungovernable than those among whom *we* live.

“Ætas parentum, pejor avis, tulit
Nos nequiores, mox daturos
Progeniem vitiosorem.”

Our settled opinion is, that men have been rendered more difficult to govern by the very pains taken to govern them according to their own several tastes and fancies. This will sound uncouth and obsolete doctrine to many ears, but let modern philosophers prattle about the “march of mind” as much as they please, we say the children of a state may be spoiled and made intractable by injudicious management as well as the children of a nursery. The Irish Papist announces, that if Sir Robert Peel takes office, Ireland will rise in rebellion! We do not believe the threat will be carried into effect. Happily for the peace of society, bullies are mostly cowards; but if it is, we say, upon those be the guilt of blood, who cause it to be shed.

The cautious temporising politicians of the expediency school shake their heads, and tremulously predict, that a resolute mode of governing is unsuited for the temper of the times, and will excite a general spirit of insubordination. "The public will not bear it, sir." Now we deliberately think, that a straightforward bold line of government would be more acceptable to the English nation, and more consonant with its temper, than the plausibility system so much in vogue with the politicians. We speak this as men conversant with all classes of society, and intimately familiar with the modes of thought and temper prevalent among the middle order, of which, unfortunately, those called upon to govern them are profoundly ignorant. We write it with unfeigned respect and deep regret, that Sir Robert Peel's great error consists in holding himself so much aloof from his countrymen, whom he would be better fitted to govern, if he cultivated a closer acquaintance with them. Men, whose existence seems to centre in the House of Commons, and whose hopes and fears hang upon divisions, grow gradually dim-sighted to all that passes without its walls. The House of Commons is the world—the loss of a vote is the greatest of disasters—the accession of a parliamentary supporter the most coveted of triumphs.

The Whig Ministry, now, we trust, on the verge of extinction, brought this evil to its extreme. At once unprincipled and weak, arrogant in office, and disgustingly mean in their efforts to attain it, busy in the little circle of their own hopes and fears, and trembling from hour to hour for the possession of their places, they had neither leisure, nor faculties, nor fortitude, to govern the empire. If the wrath of O'Connell could only be allayed, what cared the Whigs for the jeopardy of Canada, or the welfare of the West Indies? If a motion of Joseph Hume's could be staved off, the movements of France in one quarter of the Mediterranean, and those of Russia in another, gave no disquietude to official bosoms.

What we want is an Administration strong enough to act without compromise, elevated above the fluctuation of party, loftily insensible to the clamours of faction, but ready to listen to the intelligent and well informed, however humble. The unsettled state of the popular mind, the shock given to every institution in the land by the reckless agitation promoted and encouraged, for party purposes, by Lord John Russell and his colleagues, may render the formation of such a Ministry difficult; but it is by no means impossible, if Sir Robert Peel and the Conservative leaders will look and listen more to the people, and rely less exclusively on Parliament. In 1829, England loudly, and from

all her borders, warned the Duke and Sir Robert Peel against the admission of the Irish Papists into the Legislature. The national voice was haughtily disregarded; we know and fatally feel the consequences of that contempt. Ten years have scarcely restored those illustrious men to that place in the nation's confidence and esteem from which they then exiled themselves. The clamour of the populace and the voice of the people are widely different things; and it is from yielding to the one, and resisting the other, that the larger portion of our existing evils have proceeded. Lord John Russell and Sir Robert Peel have both damaged the constitution; the one by listening to the rabble of Birmingham, Manchester, and Sheffield—the other by slighting the calm but reiterated remonstrances of the Oxford Convocation. A bland smile or half-suppressed sneer may disarm or disconcert a deputation, and save a Minister trouble and present perplexity; but a wise Statesman will not thus consult his own ease at his country's cost. Lord John Russell, while at the Home Office, systematically slighted the old gentry of England, but caressed with fondness, and greeted with his smoothest smiles, every grimy artisan who forsook his forge for politics, or impudent intrusive pastry-cook whom the Municipal Reform Bill had converted into an alderman or town councillor. But the Russell reign is determined, and we fervently pray that its flagrant and flagitious abominations may never more be repeated among us, though England must for many a year groan under their effects.

We will now proceed to state the grounds of our confidence that the reign of Whiggism is ended, and that of Conservatism about triumphantly to commence. In the first place, all the juggling cards of the Whigs have been played—their tricks will deceive no more; while, on the other hand, the increase of Conservatives in Parliament has been steadily advancing, and the growth of Christian Conservative principles throughout the country visibly progressing. In faithful figures there lurk no fallacies: let us apply the test they supply to prove our assertion. In 1833, when the Whigs assembled their first "Reform Bill Parliament," Sir Robert Peel could only number one hundred and forty-five supporters. In 1834, Lord Stanley and Sir James Graham opened their eyes to the real character and designs of the men with whom, in an hour of enthusiasm, they had allied themselves, and seceded from the destructive faction. The Conservative party was then formed, and before the end of the session amounted to one hundred and ninety members. The year 1835, in which Sir Robert Peel delivered his Tamworth address, witnessed the accession of nearly one hundred votes to

the Conservatives, whom we may reckon then to consist of two hundred and eighty members. In 1837, the Whigs dissolved Parliament in the full sunshine of royal favour, and with every conceivable advantage, of which they were prepared to make the most unscrupulous use. Never was the Sovereign's name so profusely, we may say so indecently, used for election purposes since England was a nation—never were the powers of intimidation and corruption more prodigally exercised. Letters were despatched from the Board of Green Cloth to her Majesty's tradesmen in Marylebone, Windsor, and Westminster, announcing that their several appointments would not be renewed until after the election, to each of which epistles was annexed this significant postscript—*this is not expected to influence your vote!*

We remember Clifford, the barrister, of Covent-garden O.P. celebrity, used some years ago, during the corn riots, thus to wind up his harangues to the mob: "Gentlemen, Lord Castle-reagh lives in St. James's-square, at the corner of King-street, first door on the right hand as you enter the street from the square. Now mind me, gentlemen, as you go home, pray *don't* break his windows." In spite of the learned counsellor's caution, the poor premier next morning had scarcely a whole pane in the front of his house. We may say to the Whig Board of Green Cloth—

"*Mutato nomine, de te fabula narratur.*"

Her Majesty's Attorney-General was seen in a booth at Charing-cross, instructing the poll clerks, between *seven* and *eight* o'clock in the morning, and was openly rebuked by a gentleman for his interference; and nearly the first vote given for the Radical representatives of Westminster was that of a cabinet minister, *Lord Palmerston*. No artifice to cajole—no promise to allure—no threat to intimidate, was omitted by the Whigs; but, in the face of all these adverse influences, the Conservatives returned to the Parliament of 1837 three hundred members. In 1839, the Conservative opposition marshalled a phalanx of three hundred and thirteen good men and true; and in this instant year of grace, 1841, we rejoice in reckoning up three hundred and twenty-three champions ready to do battle for the Altar and the Throne—whose ranks we confidently expect will be augmented by the returns of the ensuing election.

Since January, 1840, there have been ten elections in favour of Conservative candidates: Lewes, Canterbury, Radnor, Sandwich (a port and district peculiarly under Admiralty influence, which was exercised on the last occasion with the utmost rigour and vigour), Walsall (the very focus of anti-corn-law agitation,

where the gold of the Manchester Chamber of Commerce circulated in streams), Nottingham (which for upwards of thirty years has been a stronghold of Whiggism), Carlisle (the "say 2,000*l.*" of O'Connell), Monmouth, Totness, and Ludlow. During the same period Conservative losses have only been two—Sutherland and St. Alban's, which latter would not have been lost had the committee that sat upon it been differently constituted—we are too polite to write more plainly. The Whigs have, too, this drawback from their felicity at St. Alban's—the House of Commons has commanded the Whig Attorney-General to prosecute the Whig agent of the bedchamber candidate for bribery!

We will now trace the course of the Whigs during the same period through which we have noted the steady rising of the Conservative tide, and we expect that at the conclusion of our brief, but we believe exact summary, our readers will agree with us in pronouncing her Majesty's Ministers precisely in the position of that worst possible Ministry once described by Lord Melbourne:—

"Unquestionably (said Lord Melbourne, in the House of Lords)—unquestionably the worst Ministry was that which did not possess sufficient of the confidence of Parliament and the country to carry the measures which they think necessary to the well-being of the state."

We do not gainsay the noble lord's proposition; but let us apply it to gauge the qualities of the Administration of which he is the nominal head—we say *nominal*, for the real head is O'Connell, and the dirty man of all work is "dear John Russell," as Lord Brougham once called him, when about to embrace his little lordship with a bear's caress. In the session of 1836, the Whig Government brought in twenty-nine bills which did not pass. In 1837, twenty-one Government measures shared the same fate. In 1838, no fewer than thirty-four were abandoned by their weak and profligate parents. In 1839, the Whig abortions amounted to twenty-eight; and in 1840, to twenty-six. Need we remind our readers that no Government measure has been carried during the session which yet, "like a wounded snake, drags its slow length along?" Palpably, then, "*unquestionably*," to adopt Lord Melbourne's phraseology, the Whigs have not, for the last five years, possessed "sufficient of the confidence of Parliament and the country to carry the measures which they think necessary for the good of the state." Why, then, do they not resign? "Why not act in accordance with the spirit of the constitution?" as Lord John Russell said Sir Robert Peel did in his resignation in 1835. Simply because they love their places better than honour or the constitu-

tion. It has been impudently asserted that her Majesty will not accept the resignation of the Whigs, and is resolved not to have a Conservative Administration! We are persuaded that this is an impudent use of Her Most Gracious Majesty's name for vile purposes, as it was unscrupulously adopted at the last general election. To quote the very words of Lord John Russell himself, with reference to William IV., in 1830—

“Nothing but sad experience will persuade any loyal and reflecting person, that our present Gracious Sovereign will *sacrifice his popularity*, and risk all the best interests of his kingdom, by setting the first example since the Revolution of *a struggle between the crown and the country*.”

Be it observed, these are not our words—the words of Conservatives, so flippantly but falsely charged with disrespectfulness to the Queen—but the words of Lord John Russell! What inducement can her Majesty have to cherish Ministers who are unable to manage the affairs of the state, who are bankrupt in character, have lost the confidence of Parliament and the country, and are allied with the sworn foes of the line of Brunswick? None whatever. Shame, then, upon the authors of the scandalous fiction.

We will demonstrate, by the juxtaposition of a few Ministerial sayings and doings at one period with those of another, how utterly faithless and shameless they are—how regardless, in office, of every promise they made while seeking it—how easily they eat their own words, and daringly perpetrate the barest apostasies. To begin with Lord John's crowning topic of agitation—the Corn Laws. His lordship, when member for Huntingdonshire, addressed a letter to his constituents, from which we extract the following passage:—

“I am inclined to think, that if foreign corn were admitted, even if you had scarcely any taxes to pay, it would not be easy for the farmers of England, who require to live in a certain degree of respectability and comfort, to compete with the lords of Poland and Russia, whose vassal peasantry are unacquainted with the wants of a civilized state. Corn is a manufacture (to use our new phraseology) cheaply produced in a fertile soil, by wretched ploughs, wretched horses, and wretched men. There is a party amongst us, however, distinguished in what is called the science of Political Economy, who wish to substitute the corn of Poland and Russia for our own. Their principle is, that you ought always to buy where you can buy cheapest. They repeat, with emphasis, that the nation pays a tax of 25,000,000*l.* yearly to the growers of corn. They count as nothing the value to the country of a hardy race of farmers and labourers; they care not for the difference between an agricultural and manufacturing population, in all that concerns morals, order, national strength, and national tranquillity.

Wealth is the only object of their speculation ; nor do they much consider the two or three millions of people who may be reduced to beggary in the course of their operations."

These are the deliberately written sentiments of the man who, within a few short years, throws himself into the arms of a faction, furious to demolish the agricultural interests entirely. Has Lord John Russell changed his opinions on the subject? We do not believe he has; he neither wishes nor expects his Corn Law Bill to pass—he merely uses it as a stalking-horse to mask his march through the ragged rabble to place and power. We can comprehend how the broken down man, to whom "the world is no friend, nor the world's law," may become desperately desirous of that general confusion, amidst which he may satiate his appetite, and relieve his pressing necessities, from his richer neighbour's goods; but what can we say of great Whig lords and landowners uttering the language of the leveller? What figures of speech are powerful enough and bitter enough to express the disgust which every sincere and generous mind must feel towards men who set forth to madden the multitude to serve their own ends, relying on the virtue of their Conservative opponents to shelter them from the consequences of their most wicked agitation? How can we denounce, in terms adequate to its enormity, this desperate criminality?

But let us turn from Lord John Russell to Lord Melbourne. In 1840, Lord Melbourne thus expressed himself, with reference to Lord Fitzwilliam's motion on the Corn Laws:—

"My noble friend has carefully abstained from stating whether his object is to have a fixed duty, or a diminution of the present ascending and descending scale; but I see clearly, that, in either case, the object cannot be carried without *a most violent struggle*, causing much ill blood, and a deep sense of grievance—*without stirring society to its foundations*, and leaving behind every sort of bitterness and animosity. I do not think the advantages to be gained are worth *the evils* of the struggle by which the change can alone be effected. We have seen great changes, which have almost convulsed society to its centre, which have excited man against man—divided the country into parties—and left behind the deepest feelings of discord and animosity. I, for *one*, will not add to the force of these feelings by *rashly adventuring to invoke and agitate them*."

These were Lord Melbourne's expressed sentiments in 1840. In 1841, Lord Melbourne's Government suddenly propose an important change in the Corn Laws, and advise her Majesty to dissolve Parliament, and threaten that "violent struggle" which the Prime Minister, so recently and so solemnly, had declared he, *for one*, would never venture to invoke! In August, 1839, Lord Melbourne said, while discussing the Irish Municipal Cor-

porations Bill—"The alterations with which, under the name of amendments, your lordships encumbered the bill, *rendered, in our opinion, its adoption impossible.*" But in 1840 those very amendments were accepted by the Government which, the year before, the head of that Government had pronounced it impossible to adopt! "*Cheap sugar*" is another clap-trap cry. Let us mark their sayings and doings on the sugar duties question. When Mr. Ewart, last year, proposed to reduce the duties on foreign sugar, Mr. Labouchere thus opposed him:—

"I believe that the people of this country require the great experiment (the slave emancipation) which they have undertaken to be fairly tried; and I am satisfied that they will think it is not fairly tried if at this moment, when the colonists are struggling with such difficulties as I have described, and which are mainly incidental upon the alterations which the experiment necessarily introduced into the social condition of the West Indies, we were to open the flood-gates of a foreign supply, and to inundate the British market with sugar, the produce of slave labour."

In 1841, the Government suddenly, when they felt the ground reeling beneath their feet, without any note of preparation from the throne, and, as we believe, notwithstanding Lord John Russell's assurance, without any earlier formed intention than that inspired by the exigency of the hour in which they found power passing from their hands, the Chancellor of the Exchequer (who had opposed Mr. Ewart's bill) moved a resolution, little differing from that gentleman's motion, in favour of a reduction of the duty on foreign sugar! Twenty millions were paid, and cheerfully paid, by England, to encourage free labour in her West Indian colonies; squadrons are annually fitted out to suppress the slave trade; and the liberal Whigs, to retain their hold on office, come forward to encourage the slave labour of the Brazils. Fie! oh, fie! on such infamous hypocrisy.

We could go on, did the clear establishment of our charge of insincerity, duplicity, and selfishness, on the part of the Whigs render it necessary, to multiply examples of the above kind ten-fold, but we feel the task to be as superfluous as it is irksome. It is well, however, to let the electors of England see, by a plain statement of facts and figures, how the Whigs have performed their promises of retrenchment, economy, and financial reform; and for this purpose we think we cannot do better than reprint two able letters from the *Times*, which deserve a more permanent locality, and a more careful and considerate perusal, than can be secured in the columns of a daily journal:—

"At every recent election, whether for Canterbury, Nottingham, Sandwich, or any other place, we have invariably met with a placard,

evidently drawn up by some aspiring youth in the Treasury, which professes to answer the question—‘*What have the Whigs done?*’ and which shows, at some length, how they have ‘taken off the taxes on starch, tiles, slates, stone-bottles, &c., and have given us a penny postage.’ Much, perhaps all, of this inventory of Whig merit may be true, and we shall presently confirm and recapitulate it. But it is not *all* the truth; and a wise man has said, that ‘*half* the truth is a lie.’

“The Whigs are now, apparently, in the agonies of dissolution, mainly on a question of *finance*. Nothing, therefore, can be more germane to the present discussion, than to take a brief but comprehensive view of the whole of their financial doings during their ten years’ stay in Downing-street.

“The Whigs have taken off certain taxes. This is vauntingly repeated by certain of their adherents, as if this one circumstance were conclusive on the point of their great merits! Whereas, instead of establishing this fact, it merely opens the question, whether their reductions of taxation have been wise and judicious ones, and as liberal and extensive as they ought to have been?

“For, let it be remembered, that in the present state of this kingdom, taxation *ought* to be constantly experiencing reductions. With a population at home increasing at the rate of 300,000 or 400,000 per annum, and with colonies enlarging and growing like those of Australia, the produce of our existing imposts ought to become larger and larger year by year. *Twenty* millions of people, all consuming and paying duties on tea, sugar, malt, wine, and a variety of other things, ought to yield a far larger revenue than *sixteen* millions did. If our *expenditure* remained stationary, while our *income* was thus continually augmenting, it ought naturally to be in the power of the Government, either yearly or every alternate year, to propose to Parliament some repeals of duties.

“Bearing this in mind, let us now look at the actual achievements of the Whigs in the way of finance in the course of the last ten years. Perhaps, however, it may be as well first to look at the preceding ten years of Tory Government—that is, from 1821 to 1830—to see what had been effected in *that* period of ten years; and also in what state the finances of the nation were when they were handed over to the management of the Whigs. Our sketch, therefore, will include, in these two periods of ten years each, the whole financial history of England from 1821 to 1840.”

TORY FINANCE.

Taxes remitted from 1821 to 1830.

1821. Agricultural horses	480,000
1822. Malt	1,400,000
Hides	300,000
Salt	1,295,000
Tonnage duty	160,000
Hearth-money	} 200,000
(Ireland) ..	

Carried forward ... £3,835,000

WHIG FINANCE.

Taxes remitted from 1831 to 1840.

1831. Coals and slate	£830,000
Candles	420,000
Calicoes	500,000
Auctions	60,000
Miscellaneous ...	80,000
1833. Tiles	37,000
Insurance... ..	100,000

Carried forward ... £2,027,000

TOBY FINANCE.

<i>Taxes remitted from 1821 to 1830.</i>	
Brought forward ..	£3,835,000
1823. Assessed taxes	2,250,000
Ditto (Ireland)	100,000
Spirits ...	800,000
Customs ...	50,000
1824. Rum ...	150,000
Coals ...	200,000
Law stamps ...	200,000
Wool ...	350,000
Silk ...	527,000
Union duties...	300,000
1825. Salt ...	200,000
Hemp ...	100,000
Coffee ...	150,000
Wine ...	900,000
Spirits ...	1,250,000
Cider ...	20,000
Assessed Taxes	276,000
Customs...	250,000
1826. Tobacco ...	600,000
1830. Beer ...	3,000,000
Leather...	350,000
Cider ...	25,000
	<hr/>
	£15,883,000

Here, then, was a constant reduction of taxation going on, averaging more than a *million and a half* per annum when divided among the whole series of ten years. And what is important to be borne in mind also is this—that at the close of the ten years, and after all these reductions, the state of the finances of the nation in 1830 was as follows:—

1830. Revenue ...	£50,480,00
Expenditure	47,813,000
	<hr/>
Surplus ...	£2,66700

“So astounding does the difference appear, that we must sum up the whole in one brief statement; so as, if possible, to make ourselves thoroughly understood.

“The Tory financiers, who managed the Exchequer from 1821 to

WHIG FINANCE.

<i>Taxes remitted from 1831 to 1840.</i>	
Brought forward ..	£2,027,000
Assessed taxes...	244,000
Advertisements	75,000
Cotton ...	300,000
Soap ...	593,000
1834. House tax ...	1,200,000
Customs ...	200,000
Starch ...	75,000
Stone-bottles ...	6,000
Assessed taxes...	75,000
Almanacs ..	25,000
1835. Glass ...	148,000
1836. Newspapers ...	200,000
Probate duties ...	100,000
Insurance ...	5,000
1839. Postage ...	1,100,000
	<hr/>
	£6,373,000

Deduct NEW TAXES imposed:—

1831. Wine	257,000
Cotton	360,000
Coals	100,000
1834. Licenses	195,000
1840. Customs	} 2,337,000
Excise,	
and As-	
sessed	
Taxes.	
	<hr/>
	3,249,000

Net reductions in }
ten years. ... } £3,124,000

Or, at the rate of 300,000*l.* a year, instead of 1,500,000*l.* a year, as in the previous ten years.

But, again, let us observe the state of the revenue at the end of this second term of ten years. It is stated by the present Chancellor of the Exchequer to stand thus:—

1841. Revenue ...	£48,310,000
Expenditure	50,731,776
	<hr/>
Deficiency ...	£2,421,776

1830, contrived to keep the revenue, year by year from 3,000,000*l.* to 5,000,000*l.* above the expenditure, applying this sum to the reduction of debt. They also contrived in the course of these ten years to remit taxes to the amount of *fifteen millions eight hundred and eighty three thousand pounds*, being an average of 1,588,300*l.* remitted in each year. And they handed over the account to Lord Althorp, with a revenue of 50,480,000*l.*, and an expenditure of 47,813,000*l.*, showing a clear annual surplus of 2,667,000*l.*

The Whigs now set to work. They soon got rid of the surplus. From the very first year of their reign in Downing-street, there has been *none*. Instead of reducing, as the Tories had done, the debt some three or four millions a year, they have been constantly adding to it! They have tried to imitate the Tories in remitting taxes; but whatever they remit proves a dead loss; the revenue no longer rises from the relief. In their ten years' reign they have remitted only to the extent of 6,373,000*l.* in all, and have imposed *new taxes* to the amount of 3,249,000*l.* And, after all, they end with a deficiency of 2,421,776! The account, therefore, stands thus:—

To surplus revenue in	£	By taxes remitted from	£
1831 	2,667,000	1831 to 1840 	6,373,000
To new taxes imposed			
in 1831, 34, and 40	3,249,000		
	<hr/>		
	5,916,000		
Balance 	457,000		<hr/>
	<hr/>	.... .... .... ....	6,373,000
1841.		Balance struck between	
Deficiency now existing	2,421,776	taxes remitted, and	
		surplus and taxes im-	
		posed 	457,000

“The ‘tottle of the whole,’ therefore, as the member for Kilkenny would say, is, that in ten years of Tory finance we had fifteen millions of taxes remitted, a reduction of debt also taking place year by year, and a surplus revenue existing at the end of the ten years of nearly *three millions*.

“Whereas, in ten years of Whig mismanagement, we have had *no* reduction of debt: the taxes remitted, in the whole ten years, only exceed by 457,000*l.* the surplus handed over in 1831 and the new taxes imposed since: and, to crown all, this poor 457,000*l.* is outweighed five times over, by a deficiency now existing of about two millions and a half! So that, if during the past ten years we had had *no Chancellor of the Exchequer at all*, but a senior clerk of the Treasury had been desired to carry on affairs *without any change or alteration whatever*, the result would have been, that we should be better off now than we at present find ourselves, by *at least two millions sterling* of annual income, but in all probability by a far larger amount!

“Is it not time, then, that this most extraordinary bungling was brought to a close?

“We showed that the Tory financiers who presided at the Treasury

from 1821 to 1830 had contrived, in the course of those ten years, to relieve the people of taxes to the amount of 15,883,000*l.* That they had done this, while, at the same time, year by year, they were devoting from *three* to *five* millions to the reduction of the national debt; and that, at the end of these ten years, they were able to hand over the account to their successors, with a surplus of revenue over expenditure of 2,677,000*l.*

“We next found that the Whig reductions of taxation, from 1831 to 1840, had been only 6,373,000*l.*; and that their *new taxes* imposed during the same period had been 3,249,000*l.*; so that only 3,124,000*l.* had, in fact, been remitted in these ten years. We saw also, that even this small remission had only been brought about by getting rid of the surplus revenue, existing in 1831, of 2,677,000*l.*, and arriving instead at a *deficiency* of 2,421,776*l.* in 1841. The result of the whole being, that the Whigs had been occupied throughout these ten years in something worse than doing nothing.

“There is, however, another part of the question which it was impossible to include in the former view, but which is very important. We allude to the progress made in *reducing*, or in *adding to*, the NATIONAL DEBT.

“This is a very serious question. Europe has remained for more than five-and-twenty years at peace; and a country like England, heavily burdened with the debt accruing from the last war, ought to employ this period of tranquillity in sedulously reducing these burdens. Let us look, then, at these two series of years—the Tory period of 1821 to 1830, and the Whig period of 1831 to 1840; and let us see how these two terms were employed in this necessary work of reducing debt. To begin with the reign of Toryism, we find that the work of reduction performed in the first period, from 1821 to 1830, was as follows:—

PERMANENT, OR FUNDED DEBT.

		Capital.			Annual Charge.
1821	...	£801,565,310	...	...	£30,149,920
1831	...	757,486,996	...	...	27,674,754
<hr/>					
Decrease	...	£44,378,314	...	...	£2,475,166

“Thus, in ten years, a reduction of *forty-four millions* had been effected in the *principal*; and of nearly *two millions and a half* in the *interest*, or annual charge. This was on the funded or permanent debt. The other branch stood thus:—

UNFUNDED DEBT, OR EXCHEQUER BILLS.

		Capital.			Annual Charge.
1821	...	£30,965,900	...	...	£1,769,219
1831	...	27,271,650	...	...	793,031
<hr/>					
Decrease	...	£694,250	...	...	£976,188

“Here, then, we find a diminution of *debt* to the amount of nearly *four millions*, and of *interest* to the amount of nearly *one million per annum*. Combining the two together, we find that on the funded and

unfunded debt, unitedly, there had been a diminution, between 1821 and 1831, of

Capital	...	...	£47,772,564
Interest	...	...	3,451,354

“ Now let us turn to the next ten years, the ten years of Whig financiering. Vastly different is the scene. The *capital* of the debt it is now, indeed, not easy to discover, such have been the tricks played with the terminable annuities, saving banks, &c. But the annual interest may perhaps be made out, from the finance accounts laid before Parliament in the present session. From these we draw the following contrast :—

INTEREST OF THE FUNDED DEBT, AND ON THE UNFUNDED DEBT.					
1831	...	£27,674,754	1831	...	£793,031
1841	...	28,738,720	1840	...	856,701
		<hr/>			<hr/>
<i>Increase</i>		... £1,063,966	<i>Increase</i>		... £63,670

“ The total result then is, that whereas the Tory financiers or 1821 to 1830 contrived, besides remitting more than *fifteen millions* of annual taxes, to reduce the debt more than *forty-seven millions*, and the annual interest no less than 3,451,354*l.*; the Whig-managers, in the next ten years, have increased the capital debt, it is difficult to say what, but the annual interest as much as 1,127,000*l.* And this without any real reduction of taxation !

“ So much for the debt, which, it seems, has been rapidly augmenting, instead of diminishing, during the last ten years of peace.

“ Now let us take another and entirely different view of the question.

“ ‘ Peace, Economy, and Reform,’ were the watchwords of the Whigs in 1831. Now, after the many years of fruitless contention, we were to experience, fully and immediately, the blessings of ‘ cheap Government.’ All the wasteful and lavish expenditure of the Tory administrations was to be retrenched, and every man was to find himself suddenly enriched by the advent of a Whig executive.

“ The fruit of a ten years’ trial is now before us. We have, in two parliamentary papers, the account of the public expenditure for the year ending January 5, 1831, and that ending January 5, 1841 ; and we cannot do better than place them side by side :—

TORY EXPENDITURE.		WHIG EXPENDITURE.*	
1830-1.		1840-1.	
Interest of debt, funded and unfunded. . . .	} £29,118,858	} £29,381,717
Civil List			
Pensions			
Salaries			
Courts of Justice and Miscellaneous			

* This account is rather a favourable one for the Whigs. It is one which happened to present itself, and is made up to January 5th. An account made up to April 5th would, we believe, be still more alarming.

Army	6,991,163	6,890,267
Navy	5,309,606	5,597,511
Ordnance	1,613,908	1,631,640
Miscellaneous, &c.	2,077,500	2,523,625
Canada . . . . .	. . . . .	553,249
China . . . . .	. . . . .	150,000
<hr/>		<hr/>
£47,142,938		£49,161,536

“ Here we have a fair sample of Whig performances ! Who would have expected less from the cry of ‘ cheap Government ’ in 1831, than that in the course of ten years we should have had, in every department of Government, great and important reductions ? Instead of which, what do we see ? An increase of *debt*, and of annual charge for interest ; an increase in the civil list ; an increase in the army, navy, and ordnance ; and, in fine, a general increase, on the whole account, of *more than two millions* of annual expenditure ! So that, on a review of the whole matter, we find the comparison to run thus :—

TORY TEN YEARS. 1821-30.		WHIG TEN YEARS. 1831-40.	
Taxes remitted	...£ 15,883,000	Taxes remitted, deducting new taxes laid on	... £ 3,124,000
Debt paid off	... 47,772,564	Debt paid off	... None (but a large increase—the exact sum not easily discoverable).
Reduction of the annual interest of debt	3,451,365	Increase of the annual interest	... 1,127,000
Surplus revenue, 1831	... 2,667,000	Deficiency in the revenue, 1841	... 2,421,776

“ What a contrast ! But how lamentable the thought, that ten years of such importance should have been so entirely lost. What would have been the position of England if another fifteen millions of taxation had been remitted, another forty-seven millions of debt paid off ; and if now, as in 1831, we had a surplus revenue of above two millions and a half, instead of a deficiency of that amount ? Would not the whole aspect of affairs be changed ? Would not the ‘ little wars ’ which are now threatening us in every quarter of the globe quickly subside ? Would not confidence, in the walks of commerce, take the place of that distrust and alarm which now paralyze industry throughout the land ? In a word, would not that sense of distress and confusion, which now seems to be driving us headlong towards ruin, quickly give way to that renewed alacrity and courage which is the ground and the accompaniment of national prosperity ?

“ But, to retrace our steps, and regain our lost position, the first point is, to get rid of the Whigs ! ”

What elector, solicitous for the establishment of an efficient and economical Government, can, in the face of these facts and figures, vote for any Whig candidate at the ensuing election? What conscientious Churchman can give his suffrage to men who have leagued themselves with the powers of Infidelity, Latitudinarianism, and Dissent? What religious Dissenter—we speak not to political schismatics—can aid in the return of men to office, who support themselves therein by demagogue auxiliaries, who, professing themselves members of the Church in communion with Rome, have, nevertheless, prostituted every principle their pious forefathers prized for temporary triumphs and imaginary convenience?

“*What are the English Roman Catholics to do!*” is a question asked in one of the pamphlets which stands at the head of this article, and which reached our hands after our remarks on the Irish Papists had been penned. The question is considered in a letter addressed to Lord Edward Howard, which is composed in a most amiable, affectionate, and truly Catholic spirit, fraught with the noblest Christian feelings. The English Roman Catholics—the Howards, the Eyres, the De Cliffords, the Vavasours, the Throckmortons, the Constables, and the Jerninghams, are warned by **ANGLO-CATHOLICUS**—and the thorough Anglican temper of the writer warrants his assumption of the title—that,

“The time seems at hand when those among you, who desire to stand upon the old ways, to maintain the old things, to keep up the old English aristocracy, to preserve what little remains (I speak not now of endeavouring the restoration of aught that has been lost or neglected) of old fashioned charity and social intercourse between the higher and the lower classes, must make up their minds to withdraw from the fellowship of the Atheist, the Democrat, the Dissenter, and the Leveler; or be content to close their eyes, and go down the stream into the sea, whereunto there is no bottom.”

Anglo-Catholicus goes on to state, and we verily believe his words, that—

“His remarks, springing from a passionate affection for unity, and a sincere conviction that unity can never come of the unholy alliance between the extremes of Roman Catholicism and Latitudinarianism, may be thought worthy of gentle consideration by the Roman Catholics of England, whom the ill advised machinations of friends, rather than the bigotted hostility of enemies, have for three centuries separated from communion with that branch of Christ’s Catholic Church visibly set up in this land.”

The remarks are worthy of gentle and most serious consideration, which we hope they will receive from the parties to whom they are, in so winning a form, addressed; and we appeal to the

religious and conscientious Roman Catholics of England, to abjure from their inmost hearts all further association with the disgusting, perjured, traitorous demagogue of Ireland, remembering that "good may never spring from evil means, and that the cunningest of earthly alliances, if it be unholy and insincere, ends but in confusion and tribulation."

"By whom, I ask (continues the author of the letter to Lord Edward Howard), have the Roman Catholics, ever since their fatal schism from the Church, been persecuted and denounced, but by the bawlers for freedom, and the apostles of license? When a climax was to be found to an attack on a pious sovereign or a righteous prelate, was it not that he 'was a pander to the whore of Babylon?'—'a favourer of the Papists?'—'a vassal of Antichrist?' What was the ceaseless cry of the fanatic Commons during Charles I.'s reign? That the inhuman and almost insane laws, which they had had power to enact, should be faithfully carried into execution. But you will say, the Liberals of 1840 are widely different from those of 1640. Different! How? In that they have less faith, less heartiness, are more sceptical—if you will, more tolerant, but assuredly less worthy of confidence and admiration than their predecessors? In the stern unrelenting, uncompromising fanaticism of a Brooke, or a Prynne, I can see something to respect; but allow me to ask, what do you see in the conduct of a Macaulay or a Baines, to remind you of Catholic virtues, or Anti-Catholic greatness? Too selfish and too sensual to believe in Catholic verities themselves, it is true your modern Liberals will not restrain nor inveigh against Protestant heresy, nor Roman Catholic superstition; but do they, therefore, the more respect your belief, or the less indulge the lax irreverence of their tongues? And yet it is with these men that you are to ally yourselves, to swear eternal friendship, and merge all minor differences—in what? One grand scheme for propagating the faith?—or resisting a foreign enemy?—or rallying round the old alliance of the monarchy? Alas! no; but to strengthen the enfeebled powers of Latitudinarianism and Dissent, and prop up a tottering Administration, who claims your support to divorce religion from the state; regards the ballot-box with greater reverence than the font; and exalts the will of the people over the voice of the Church."

But we must abstain from further quotations from this most interesting and affecting address to a son of the Duke of Norfolk, and conclude with our parting admonition to the English Roman Catholics—a widely different race from the Irish Papists, whose insensate conduct has in the great Rebellion and every principal epoch in English history perpetually neutralized the gallant efforts of their English brethren,—Faithless, disloyal, and disregardful of consistency, have the Irish Papists been in every age, and deeply do we deplore the present miserable misalliance between them and the English descendants of the victors of the Armada. To the English Roman Catho-

lics we say, with deliberate emphasis, that whoever of their body promotes the return to Parliament of any supporter of the Melbourne-Russell Administration, he is a renegade from the faith of his fathers, and defiles their graves. This language may sound harsh and uncourteous, but we deem it high time to lay aside the smooth phraseology of infidel indifference, and adopt that of christian rebuke.

We cannot close this article, although the limits we can allot to it are rapidly lessening, without making a few observations upon another pamphlet, entitled, "*Is England's Safety or Admiralty Interest to be considered?*" a statement of facts, by Mr. Walesby, the barrister, involving the most serious charges against the Lords of the Admiralty and other public functionaries. The author thus opens his subject;—

"The following statement of facts is submitted to the candid and careful consideration of the country, involving as they do questions affecting her dearest interests. Certain important discoveries have been made, which, applied to purposes of national defence, may secure England against every foe; but which have a direct tendency to diminish patronage, by rendering less expensive equipments of fleets, arsenals, and dockyards necessary. The Lords of the Admiralty have determined to stifle these discoveries, if possible; the question, therefore, propounded to his countrymen by a very humble individual is—are the official emoluments of these functionaries, or the interests of England, and its very existence as a power supreme on the seas, to be regarded? The writer does not expect to win instant belief; he is prepared to bear the mockings of incredulity, and is well aware of the active and powerful antagonists he has to encounter; but conscientiously stating what he is assured on competent authority is true, and actuated by no motives but those of loyalty to his Sovereign and love to his native country, he casts his bread upon the waters, fully confident that, though he may not himself witness the result, the world will find it after many days."

This sedate and serious tone which Mr. Walesby maintains throughout his narrative, is of itself calculated to carry a conviction of his truthfulness, and we think him wise in having adopted it, for his statement is marvellously startling. But from what we have been informed of the writer's past academical life and present position in society, we cannot believe him capable of publishing what he has not ascertained to be true, or imagine him a person likely to be duped by an adventurer and impostor. Mr. Walesby was formerly fellow of a college in Oxford, and a professor in that University; he is now a practising barrister and a county magistrate, frequently placed by his brother justices in Middlesex and Westminster in the chair at their Quarter Sessions. We, therefore, may reasonably

infer that the learned gentleman is not only a studious and respectable man, but also one of business habits, one accustomed to deal with facts and sift evidence. Mr. Walesby's statement is briefly this, that certain inventions applicable to warlike purposes, both offensive and defensive, on sea and land, were communicated by the discoverer, Mr. Warner, to his late Majesty, William IV., were subsequently examined and approved by Admirals Sir Richard Keats and Sir Thomas Hardy, and pronounced by those experienced and distinguished officers, to be of the highest possible public importance. A series of circumstances, very clearly set forth in the pages of the pamphlet before us, delayed the payment of the inventor's promised reward before the death of his patron, William IV., and since that event, Mr. Warner has vainly sought justice from the Government. It is alleged, that the Lords of the Admiralty, though they have declined to examine into the matter, are sufficiently alive to the stupendous powers in question to tremble, least their application to practice, by reducing our naval and military establishments, should destroy places and diminish patronage. If these allegations, based on both naval and military authority, may be accepted even with many grains of allowance, this would undoubtedly be the result; for the defence of England and her dependencies might be most effectually kept up for one million, where now twenty are expended. The question, therefore, submitted by Mr. Walesby to the nation for solution is, should public safety and national economy be considered, or the prejudices, patronage, and profits of sundry officials? This is a bold demand for any individual to make; but we are glad that the author has had the nerve to come forward in the manly manner he has, and if we are correctly informed, that he has been labouring for many months to obtain justice for the inventor, and has actually prevented the loss of his discoveries to this country by his persuasion, and encouragement, and countenance—then we say he is entitled to national gratitude, in place of those sneers which he himself seems to expect. Had any one told Drake or Dampier that a day would arrive when ships, in the face of both tide and tempest, should traverse the Atlantic, impelled by vapour, and accomplish the passage from New York to Liverpool in ten days, what would have been the credit given to the foreboder? And both those admirals were not only as bold, but according to the lights of their generation, as expert navigators as any her Majesty now numbers in the royal navy. The present crisis is, perhaps, an unpropitious one for any publication unconnected with party politics; but, probably the writer had cogent reasons for the step he has taken, at any rate he has already gained the attention of Parliament to the subject; no

easy task when that subject does not relate to votes, divisions, or committees—

“The war of party is raging now so fiercely that attention can hardly be gained to any subject not affecting the tenure of office; but it is earnestly hoped that, short as the remainder of the session must under any circumstances be, this pamphlet will appear in sufficient time to induce some members of Parliament, whose hearts and minds are not wholly absorbed by the politics of the hour, to interrogate the noble lords and gentlemen in either house, whose names appear in the *Times* above quoted, and who can testify to the truth of much, if not all, that is advanced in these pages. Nothing but the truth has been herein written, though far short of the whole truth. If attention is only properly gained in proper quarters to this subject, its vast public importance must eventually be recognized. If that desirable object is won, and these inventions secured to this country, and England’s supremacy of the seas is thereby maintained in its might, a point on which the welfare of universal mankind may be said to repose—for the progress of Christianity and civilization over the whole surface of the globe, humanly speaking, depends on the ocean dominion of Great Britain—then will the writer’s consciousness of having humbly laboured to promote this momentous cause amply reward him for the ill-natured gibes and incredulous sneers he is, probably for some time to come, fated to endure.”

The hope expressed by the writer in the above passage has been amply realized, for on Wednesday, the 16th of June, Mr. Wakley, in pursuance of notice, rose in the House of Commons to enquire of Lord Ingestre, and other gentlemen, whether the statements made in “a pamphlet recently published by Mr. Walesby, the barrister,” whom the mover designated “a gentleman of undoubted veracity,” were correct? Lord Ingestre and Sir Francis Burdett more than confirmed the statements put forth in the pamphlet named. Again, on the 21st of June, in a longer debate on the subject, in which Mr. Wakley, Sir George Sinclair, Lord John Russell, Sir Robert Inglis, Lord Ingestre, Mr. Pluntre, and the Honourable William Cowper took part, an additional confirmation was publicly given. Lord Ingestre announced, from his place, his intention, should the Admiralty persist in resisting Mr. Warner’s claims, to bring the matter before the new Parliament.

But we are warned that we must conclude. We bid, then, all Christian Conservative electors God speed through the struggle for which they are girding themselves. Let them REMEMBER their fathers and their faith; let them strive to RESEMBLE the patriots and the confessors of old, casting aside and treading in the dust all private, personal, selfish considerations. Fare ye well, noble hearts—PERSEVERE.

Ecclesiastical Report.

IN the present state of the country, when the minds of men are naturally directed to the election of representatives to Parliament, we may be excused for directing attention to the question, how far are the clergy to concern themselves in the choice of suitable persons? Let it be remembered, that the clergy once possessed the privileges of taxing themselves; and when such was the case, it was necessary that the Convocation should proceed to business, as well as the Parliament. That privilege, however, was relinquished shortly after the Restoration, and as an equivalent, or at all events a supposed equivalent, *the clergy were entitled to vote for members of the House of Commons.* This was the only return for the yielding up of the privilege of taxing themselves, which they previously possessed through the Convocation. In the year 1664, a private agreement was entered into between Sheldon, Archbishop of Canterbury, and Lord Clarendon, that the clergy should silently relinquish the privilege of taxing their own body, and that they should be placed on the same footing with the rest of his Majesty's subjects, and be taxed by the House of Commons. No one can deny that they gave up an important privilege; for had they retained it, the Convocation must not only have been annually assembled, but must also have been permitted to act, or no subsidies could have been granted to the Crown. Surely it would have been a privilege to have met in Convocation! How many matters would have been discussed in that body, had they been allowed to act as heretofore? And how many important affairs would now be brought under their notice, were they to assemble for business? In the present day, however, there are not a few persons—and, indeed, all the *Radical* and *Whig* portion of the public press—who cry out even against the exercise, on the part of the clergy, of the elective franchise, as if, forsooth! while they contribute towards the public taxes, they of all her Majesty's subjects were to have no voice in the choice of those men by whom their property is to be taxed!

The notion is most absurd. How is a clergyman disqualified from exercising his judgment respecting the qualifications of a member of Parliament? Surely he is better able to judge of what will be to the advantage of his country than the vast majority of those to whom the *present* Ministerial press address themselves!

We verily believe, that many clergymen are actually deterred

from exercising their privilege by the *war-cry* of the *Whigs* and *Radicals*. We would not have them take a part in *all* political discussions, but there are many questions which are so intimately connected with the spiritual welfare of the nation, that they will not be justified in abstaining from taking their part in them, from the fear that they may be stepping out of their path as clergymen. These are days of no ordinary character; and it is the duty of every man, who values our national privileges, and especially, therefore, of the clergy, to stand forward in defence of those principles for which our forefathers hesitated not to yield up their bodies to the stake.

It is easy to account for the rabid hostility of the *Liberal* press towards the clergy of the Anglican Church. The Whigs and Radicals are wise in their generation—they are fully aware of the influence of the clergy—they know that in the country village the faithful clergyman is the friend of the poor, his counsellor in difficulties, his helper and benefactor when poverty enters his dwelling—they know, too, that the example of the clergyman will have unusual weight with his parishioners; that they will be anxious to follow his example; and that consequently *his* vote is a matter of the utmost importance, inasmuch as the majority of the well-disposed inhabitants of the parish will walk in the steps of their pastor. It is on this account that the cry is raised against what is termed “*clerical interference*” at elections. But shall this cry deter the clergy from doing their duty? Shall they be induced to sit still when their country is menaced with danger? To act as *mere* politicians would be unbecoming; but to vote for members of Parliament themselves, and to advise their people when their advice is asked, are duties from which they must not shrink.

The Church of England is still rooted in the affections of the multitude; and the clergy will not be disregarded by the people: on the contrary, their influence, arising from the faithful discharge of their various duties, is not decreasing, but increasing, and was never greater, perhaps, than at the present moment. There is a feeling in favour of the Church which it is the duty of the clergy to foster and preserve; and whatever obloquy may be cast upon them for interfering at elections, they will have the satisfaction of knowing that their conduct is approved by the wise and good—by all who love our Protestant constitution as it was secured to us in the year *one thousand six hundred and eighty-eight*.

Before we quit the subject, a remark will not be misplaced respecting the inconsistency of Dissenters, who, while they declaim against what they designate clerical interference with

politics, take special care to use means, both fair and unfair, to influence the minds of all classes of her Majesty's subjects, whenever they are called upon to exercise the elective franchise. Now what is *right* in Dissenters and in Dissenting ministers, cannot be *wrong* in clergymen, who, however, *never* pursue the course usually adopted by the former. It is not often that a clergyman ever introduces political subjects into the pulpit. Can the same be said of Dissenting ministers generally? Do they not, in their pulpits, attack the Church, Church-rates, Church-establishments, and even the clergy? They, therefore, are the last men in the world to complain of the conduct of the Clergy: and before they proceed to *pull out the mote out of their brother's eye*, they will do well to *cast out the BEAM that is in their own eye*.*

COLONIAL BISHOPRICS.

This is a subject of vast importance—one, too, which has attracted so much attention, that some measures must necessarily be adopted to extend the Church in the various dependencies of the British empire. The question of *Church Extension* must not, it is now felt, be confined to England and Wales: a provision must be made for the souls of *all* the subjects of the British empire. Many advantages are derived from the colonies, and it is our duty to make due

*That Dissenting ministers constantly interfere in elections, is notorious. Their names are found as requisitionists, and sometimes on committees also. A curious circumstance was related to us in reference to the recent proceedings of the Whig-Radical party in a certain borough. A candidate was found, who called himself a Whig; a committee was formed, and a negotiation was opened with the committee of another candidate, a Radical, who had the support of the Chartists and Socialists. It is rumoured that the committee of the Whig and Dissenting candidate could not agree respecting a direct coalition with the favourite of the Chartists; yet both parties deemed it necessary to unite in some way, or to have some understanding among themselves, or the Conservative forces would be too strong, and neither Whig nor Radical would have the slightest chance of success. The matter was keenly discussed in the committee of the Dissenting candidate. By one party it was argued that a coalition with the Chartist and Socialist leader would forfeit his *religious* character; by the other it was asserted, that by not uniting with him, he would lose his *political* reputation, inasmuch as the Conservatives would be sure to succeed unless their forces were united. The result was a division, which led to the breaking up of the committee; and we believe that the aspirant for legislative fame positively quitted the field. The most singular part of the affair is this, that a man who had the support of Dissenters of all grades, including Socinians and Quakers, together with that of Papists and Infidels, should have been apprehensive of a loss of *religious* character, by coalescing with an individual who was supported by the Socialists, and Chartists, and others of a similar description. The above story was related to us as having actually occurred since the commencement of the movements consequent upon the recent ministerial defeat in the House of Commons.

provision for the spiritual wants of the inhabitants. A most fearful responsibility rests on this country. The providence of God has given us the control of millions of our fellow mortals, who are yet in a state of heathenism, and whose welfare we are bound to consult. Nor can any adequate means of christianizing the vast regions which are subject to British rule be adopted, except through the medium of the National Church. Individual efforts may be very successful; but the great masses of the inhabitants of the colonies must be destitute of spiritual instruction, unless it is communicated through the same medium by which the blessing of religious instruction is secured to the people at home. In England, by means of the parochial system, all the population once had the opportunity of worshipping God in their parish churches; and even at the present time the same privilege is secured, save where the population has been so increased that additional churches are rendered necessary. Even in these places the evil has been partially remedied by the erection of many new churches during the last few years: and it is hoped that no long space will elapse, before the wants of all will be duly supplied. The colonies are under the sway of the same sovereign; in most respects they are governed by the same laws; and it is but reasonable to demand that they should share in the same privileges with the population at home.

Our readers are aware that a most important meeting was held, on Tuesday, April 27th, at Willis's Rooms, for the purpose of raising a fund to endow bishoprics in our various colonies. At this meeting, the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Archbishop of Armagh, the Bishops of London, Durham, Winchester, Lichfield and Coventry, Salisbury, Chichester, Hereford, Bangor, and Landaff, and a large body of the clergy, nobility, and gentry, attended. Very large sums were subscribed on the spot; and it cannot be doubted that the amount will be annually increased until many separate bishoprics are marked out and placed under the superintendence of their respective prelates. This work ought to be performed by the state; but in the absence of such support, voluntary efforts must be resorted to. We cannot, however, but indulge the hope, that the state will take the question into its most serious consideration, and that ere long no voluntary efforts, like those which have just been made, will be required.

His Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury stated that it was his duty, as Metropolitan, to attend to the churches in the colonies. He alluded also to an opinion which we have expressed on former occasions, namely, that the loss of our North

American colonies was partly owing to the circumstance, that there were no bishops in those colonies to watch over the spiritual interests of the people. The course of policy pursued by all Roman Catholic states with their various colonial possessions is quite the reverse of that, which, until recently, has been pursued by Great Britain. Wherever they have established a settlement, a bishop has been appointed.* Now, however, the country is aroused on the subject, and something must be done, whether by the state or by the voluntary efforts of the nation; and the meeting at Willis's Rooms may be regarded as an index of the feelings of the public on this important question. Nor in our opinion can the state refuse, sooner or later, to interpose; for the people will at length become so impressed with the importance of the subject, that they will instruct their representatives in the House of Commons to support any measures which may tend to advance the interests of pure and undefiled religion, and especially of our own Church, in the colonies of the empire.

The state of the Eastern Churches was forcibly sketched by the Archbishop:

"It is much to be regretted, (observed his Grace), that the Western Church has for a long time been known to those Churches only through the medium of the Church of Rome—a Church to which they feel a dislike, on account of its haughty pretensions, and interference with their concerns. They see on every side its splendid establishments, its magnificent buildings, its numerous train of bishops and priests; while of our Church they see only small congregations, many of them without clergymen, and in none of them clergymen subject to episcopal authority. They, therefore, hardly acknowledge us as a Church. The only Church they know is episcopal. A great point would surely be gained with regard to the general interest of Christianity, and to the removal of the unhappy divisions which have kept those Churches at a distance from us, if we asserted our claim to the title of a Church by the establishment of a bishop in their neighbourhood. We should then be represented by a prelate, who would be regarded as a brother by the Eastern bishops, who might treat with them on terms of equality, and establish an amicable intercourse between us."

These churches retain the apostolical government, and they know that the Church of Rome retains it in name at all events (for we would not enter into the abstract question), inasmuch as

* The Bishop of London alluded, with great force, to the policy of the Church of Rome. "At this moment, (said his lordship), where we have *ten* bishops, the Church of Rome has *three and twenty*. I believe I might add to the number: for within the last few weeks we have received intelligence that she has planted a bishop in Gibraltar; and that she has at the present moment, in that which is hardly yet a colony, New Zealand, a bishop with thirteen or fourteen priests."

they see her bishops wherever her members are located : and when they contrast the power of the English nation with the meagreness of the provision made for the support of the Anglican Church, they cannot but have their misgivings, whether our Church, in any way, retains the apostolical discipline. We think that two bishoprics must eventually be formed in the East—one at JERUSALEM, and one perhaps at MALTA. Objections have been raised against the name and style of *Bishop of Malta*, on the ground that there is already a Romanist bishop in that colony, and that there cannot be two bishops in one see. It may, however, be remarked that the church of Rome has departed from the faith, and consequently, unless we believe that it is a matter of indifference whether the principles of Rome or of the Anglican Church should prevail, it is an imperative duty to use all possible means to promote the spiritual welfare of our colonies.*

THE WHIGS AND THE CHURCH.

Nearly allied to the subject which we have just considered is the question relative to the treatment experienced by the Anglican Church at the hands of that party, which for some years has been dominant in the state. It is sometimes said that the Whigs are not hostile to the Church. Facts, however, are stubborn things. They have pulled down *ten* bishoprics in Ireland, while they are paying Romish bishops in the colonies. The truth is, the Whigs *never did* cordially support the Church of England. Ever since the accession of the House of Hanover they have pretended to reverence her; but while they have spoken *one* word in her favour, they have uttered *ten* in behalf of Romanists and Dissenters. At the present moment the Whigs are walking in the steps of their predecessors; and though calling themselves the friends of the Church, they yet labour to promote the interests of all *other* religious parties both at home and in the colonies. The following is the title of a document printed in New South Wales:—" *An Abstract of the Revenue of the Colony of New South Wales, and its appropriation for the year 1839.*" In this document we have these items of expenditure:—

Clergy.

	£	s.	d.
Church of England	9,911	11	9½
Presbyterian	2,118	7	5¾
Wesleyan ministers	697	11	6
Roman Catholic clergy	3,187	1	10

* It is now decided that there is to be a bishop at Malta.

Under the head of Schools for the Colony, we have the following:—

Schools.

	£	s.	d.
Church of England	7,967	10	7
Roman Catholic Schools	719	6	11
British and Foreign School Society	300	0	0

Under this head—

For building and supporting Churches, Schools, and Charitable Institutions, for the service of the year 1839.

	£	s.	d.
Church of England	5,673	2	5
Presbyterian Church	426	9	7
Roman Catholic Church	400	11	3

From another document we make the following extract:—

From Minute of his Excellency the Governor, explanatory to the Legislative Council of the several heads of expenditure estimated for the year 1841.

Clergy.

	£	s.	d.
Church of England	16,422	4	2
Presbyterian	2,751	11	5
Wesleyan	1,222	18	1
Roman Catholic	3,968	18	1

All these are bad enough; but we have one in reserve which is far worse. It is, indeed, of such a character, that had we not seen the document, we could scarcely have credited the fact. It is entitled as follows:—

Estimate of the probable expenses of the Church Establishments, forming a charge on the Treasury of New South Wales, for the year 1841.

	£	s.	d.
Church of England	18,371	10	0
Presbyterian Church	6,800	0	0
Wesleyan Methodist Mission	3,450	0	0
Roman Catholic clergy	8,850	0	0

This precious document was printed at Sydney. Our readers will observe how the heading of the paper is worded—“*Expenses of the Church Establishments:*” so that Popery, Presbyterianism and Wesleyan Methodism, *are established* in the colony as well as the Church of England. This document was submitted to our inspection by a gentleman, to whom it was forwarded from the colony. Can the conclusion be avoided, that the Whigs, notwithstanding their professions, *are hostile* to the Church? It is a source of gratification to us to know, that

the people of this country are opening their eyes to the hollowness of their professions on this important subject.

THE COURT OF ARCHES AND LAY BAPTISM.

In our last number we stated our views distinctly on this subject. Our opinion still is, that the question at issue does not relate to the validity of *lay-baptism* under any circumstances, but to another point totally different, namely, whether *baptism* by Dissenting ministers can by any possibility come under the designation? The circumstances in which our Church is now placed are totally different from those in which she was placed when the subject of *lay-baptism* was considered in Convocation. At that time no party was tolerated in a state of separation from the Church; consequently the only *baptism* that could be practised besides that which was regularly performed was *baptism* by *lay-members* of the Church in circumstances of necessity, when a clergyman could not be procured to administer the sacrament. In such cases even still the Church must recognize the baptism performed by her lay-members; but when the state grants a toleration for separate worship, it is not, in our opinion, competent for the members of any sect to say you must admit our *baptisms*, because you admit of *lay-baptisms*. The very fact to which we have alluded proves that such baptisms were never dreamed of by our Reformers, and those who succeeded them down to the period of the Toleration Act.*

The state may pass a law, rendering it imperative on clergymen to bury all persons in their churchyards; but the state cannot alter the case as it stands recorded in history. An Act of Parliament could not decide that baptisms by Dissenters were contemplated by the Church, when the circumstances under which such baptisms can alone take place were not known until a recent period. It appears to us, that the views of the Church of England on the question of *lay-baptism* are clearly and correctly stated in the very elaborate judgment pronounced in the Court of Arches; but we still think, that the question to be decided was not whether *lay-baptism* was deemed valid under any circumstances, but whether *baptism by a Methodist preacher or a Dissenting minister* could be regarded as *lay-baptism*, or as *baptism* at all? There can be no question that a clergyman would be under an obligation to bury a person who had been baptized by a *layman* in a case of necessity; but we must not forget that the baptism contemplated by the Church was that which was performed by her own *lay-members*, and not that which is performed by persons in a state of separation.

* See a very admirable reprint of Lawrence on Lay Baptism, with an able introduction by the Rev. Wm. Scott. London: Burns. 1841.

The decision of the court was grounded on the sixty-eighth canon ; and we would submit, (granting that the Church, at the time the canon was framed, admitted the validity of *lay-baptism*) that we ought to ascertain the precise nature of the baptism so termed before we can pronounce an opinion on the subject. We must enquire what were the views of the framers of the canon. At that period baptism by *laymen*, who were not members of the Anglican Church, *could not* have been contemplated, because separation was not tolerated. *Every layman* was at that time a member of the Church. But we would ask whether the framers of the canon could have intended that it should apply to the case of baptism by a Methodist or Dissenting minister ? Assuredly they would have shrunk back from such a consequence. This view of the case, the only view, in our judgment, which can be fairly taken of the matter, appears not to have been considered in the Court of Arches. It is, therefore, satisfactory to us to know that the subject will be canvassed before another tribunal.

We wish not, however, to be mistaken. We deem the revival of the question on the part of the clergyman to have been *inexpedient*, in the uncertain state of the law on the subject ; but as the question *was* raised, we cannot but think that it should have been met on the grounds which we have stated ; and we are strongly of opinion, that the sixty-eighth canon, which comprehended *lay-baptism*, no doubt, but still baptism performed by members of the Church, and in circumstances which could not be pleaded in the present instance, cannot fairly be applied to the case of *Martin against Escott*. Though we disapprove of the course pursued by Mr. Escott in refusing to bury the child, yet we cannot but consider that the *law of the Church* is in his favour, whatever may be the case with respect to the *law of the land*. We, therefore, regret that the question was raised ; but we regret also that such a judgment should have been pronounced. The matter might have been left undecided, by a declaration of the court that the case could not be brought within the canon, inasmuch as it had originated under a state of things which did not exist at the period when the canon was framed, and which could not possibly have been contemplated by its framers. Whether the common law courts could take cognizance of such matters, or command that a person who had been baptized by a Dissenter should be buried with the service of the Church of England, is a question with which we are not now concerned ; but we cannot bring ourselves to believe that such baptism could, by any possible means, be brought within the meaning of the sixty-eighth canon, because the circumstances in which the clergy are

now placed were unknown to the framers of the canon, having grown out of the Toleration Act, subsequent to the Revolution in 1688.

THE MARRIAGE LAW.

Our readers are generally aware, that a petition, praying for the repeal of a certain clause of a bill passed a few years since, by which it was enacted, that it should not in future be lawful for a man to marry the sister of his deceased wife, has been presented to the House of Lords. A great outcry has been raised in certain quarters on the hardship, as it is called, of this restriction, and many evils are predicted as the consequence. Certain parties, therefore, are actively employed in producing pamphlets on the law of the case, as well as in getting up petitions to the Legislature for a repeal of the restrictive clause. A few words may suffice to explain the state of the law. Prior to 1835 a marriage with a wife's sister was not *void* in law, but *voidable* at the option of the parties; so that it was in the power of either to dissolve the union and to bastardize the offspring. This latter step, however, could not be taken after the death of the parties. In 1835 a bill for legalizing all previous marriages of this description was passed into a law, having been introduced by Lord Lyndhurst; but it contained a clause prohibiting such unions in future. As the law now stands, a marriage with the sister of a deceased wife is absolutely void. Now it is said that many persons are *deeply interested* in this question—that their feelings are *deeply interested*. How the feelings of persons can be concerned we cannot imagine. We are quite sure that the feelings of no well regulated mind can be concerned at all in such a matter. The parties in question were aware of the state of the law; consequently the desire to marry a wife's sister was an unlawful desire, and should have been placed under restraint.

A petition was presented by Lord Fitzwilliam to the House of Lords, containing 18,000 signatures; and the Bishop of London remarked, that the names of only 300 clergymen were attached to it—a circumstance which sufficiently proves that the great body of the clergy are opposed to any alteration of the law on this particular point. We, however, have a few remarks to offer on the manner in which names were procured to this petition; and we can speak from our own experience, for we were applied to on the subject. Persons having the appearance of attorneys' clerks, with blue bags containing copies of the petition, and certain pamphlets, have been visiting all the large towns, with a view especially to procuring the signatures of the

clergy. In the instance to which we allude, we believe that one signature only, out of a body of perhaps fifty clergymen, was procured; and we know that the clergy have been thoroughly canvassed throughout the whole country. It is clear that the parties by whom the proceedings were adopted expected that the great body of the clergy would support the petition.

It must be evident to our readers, that such means would not have been resorted to had there not been some cause, with which the public generally were not acquainted. We ourselves were struck by the circumstance. We ascertained that a wealthy individual was at the bottom of the whole affair; that he was enamoured of the sister of his deceased wife; and that he was ready and determined to expend a very large sum in procuring a repeal of the prohibitory clause of the Act of 1835. The attempt has, however, been a most signal failure, and the party who wishes to enter into a matrimonial alliance with a woman whom he cannot marry according to law must proceed to another country, as we are told he is prepared to do in the event of a failure in his object, to indulge a passion which we cannot but regard as unlawful. It gives us great pleasure to know that money cannot procure the repeal of a law of the land. Unusual exertions have been made; but after the speech of the Bishop of London the party in question must see that the object is not likely to be attained.

RECANTATIONS IN THE CHAPEL ROYAL.

The Chapel Royal, at Whitehall, was the scene of a most interesting event on Thursday, April 8th, on which day three Roman Catholic priests made a public recantation of their errors, and were received into the communion of the English Church. The circumstance in itself was interesting; but we allude to it more especially for the purpose of offering a few remarks on the service used by the Bishop of London on the occasion. The Church of England has no authorized *form* for the reconciliation of penitents; consequently, as in the case of the consecration of a church, the bishop, in the absence of any directions on the subject, is left to pursue such a course as in the exercise of his own judgment may appear desirable. Our venerated Reformers took special care to provide a Liturgy, a service for the administration of the Lord's Supper and baptism, and other services for special occasions—such as marriage, the burial of the dead, confirmation, the ordering of priests and deacons, and the consecration of bishops. No service, however, was prepared for the consecration of churches, or for the reconciliation of penitents from schismatical communion. In these cases, as we have shown

in a previous number, a service for the consecration of churches was sanctioned by Convocation in 1712; but as it did not receive the royal assent it is destitute of the necessary authority, and our bishops may use *that* or one of their own arranging. The service of 1712 is, however, generally used. Some years ago a service also was prepared, by one of our Metropolitans, for the reconciliation of penitents; and though it does not possess sufficient authority to render its use imperative, as is the case with our *authorized forms*, yet it is generally adopted in England on such occasions. In Ireland they have a different *form*, or they may have several, for none has ever been set forth by authority; and our belief is that the Irish prelates arrange a service for their own use individually when any public reconciliation is about to take place.

Were the Convocation to assemble for business, these and other matters of equal interest and importance would be finally settled. The *form* used by the Bishop of London must, from its scriptural character, commend itself to the judgment of every consistent member of our Church, though we perceive, from the Radical newspapers, that the Rev. H. Head, of the diocese of Exeter, has been nibbling at it. Some of the questions and answers are highly important. The following may be taken as a specimen:—

Q. “Do you earnestly desire to be received into the communion of this Church as into a true and sound part of Christ’s Holy Catholic Church?”

A. “This I earnestly desire.

Q. “Do you renounce all the errors and superstitions of the present Church of Rome, so far as they are come to your knowledge?”

A. “I do from my heart renounce them all.

Q. “Do you in particular renounce the last twelve articles added in the Confession, commonly called the Creed of Pope Pius the Fourth, after having read them and duly considered them?”

A. “I do, upon mature deliberation, reject them all, as grounded upon no warrant of Scripture, but rather repugnant to the word of God.”

These may be taken as a sample of the *questions* and *answers* which are contained in this service. After other questions, prayers, psalms, and a lesson from the New Testament, the Bishop, taking each penitent by the hand, said—

“I, Charles James, Bishop of London, do, upon this thy solemn profession and earnest request, receive thee into the holy communion of the Church of England, in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost.”

At the close of the service, the penitents, with the clergy who

were assembled on the occasion, received the Lord's Supper from the hands of the Bishop.

Should any converts from the Church of Rome be anxious to be received publicly into communion with the Church of England, when the Bishop is unable to attend in person, a priest is generally deputed by his lordship to officiate, in the name of the Diocesan, on the occasion. In this case the service is slightly altered, to suit the circumstances; but everything is conducted under the Bishop's sanction, for no private clergyman is at liberty to adopt such proceedings on his own responsibility. The office belongs to the Bishop, and he only can authorize its performance by a clergyman. When, however, the episcopal sanction is obtained, the penitent may be reconciled, as though the Bishop were himself present.

COLONIAL EDUCATION.

The subject of Education at home has attracted a large measure of public attention during many years. Its importance is, indeed, admitted by all parties; and the only question at issue relates to the means by which the end may be attained. Education in the colonies has, however, been almost altogether lost sight of. We allude to the European population in the various dependencies of the British empire; and we proceed to state the reasons why, in our judgment, the subject ought to be taken up by her Majesty's Government.

That large numbers of our countrymen reside in our colonies, at a time when their children are young and require education, is a fact well known to all who pay any attention to the subject. We know not what means are adopted for the education of the poor in the colonies; but we believe that they are very inadequate to the wants of a growing population. We now allude, however, to another class of persons—to the numerous official individuals and settlers, who have generally large families, and who are prevented from educating their children themselves by the pressure of their onerous duties. In many instances the children are entirely shut out from the means of education. The evil is so great, and is increasing to such a fearful extent, that a remedy must be devised, and that speedily, or the consequences will be such as no member of the Church of England can contemplate without pain. The priests of the Church of Rome are more numerous in our colonies, in proportion to the number of their members, than the clergy of the Established Church. Their duties are consequently less burdensome, and in some cases they are able to devote a portion of their time to the education of youth; while our own clergy are precluded, by

their heavier labours, even from educating their own children. The result must be obvious--that many Protestant parents are under the necessity of sending their children to Romanist priests, or of leaving them altogether without education. We are acquainted with one case, that of a judge in one of our colonies. This gentleman was of course anxious to procure education for his son; the only person who could supply what was wanted was a priest of the Church of Rome, and to that priest the youth was accordingly sent.

Now, we ask, is it right that any Englishman, who, be it remembered, goes out to our colonies and cuts himself off from those advantages which are denied to none in the mother country, should be deprived of the blessing of a suitable education for his children? Is it asked, how is the evil to be corrected? Let schools be established in *all* our dependencies. Were the Government to undertake their erection, the establishments would be easily supported by the families by whom they would be used. At all events, something must be devised; for what Protestant can consent to allow the education of the youth of the colonies to fall into the hands of the Church of Rome? which must be the case, unless some means are adopted to supply the deficiency. We trust, indeed, that the subject may ere long be brought under the consideration of the Legislature, and that a remedy may be speedily devised.

RELIGIOUS SOCIETIES.

The Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, and the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, appear to be extending their influence and usefulness in every direction. We cannot enter into particulars, nor, indeed, is it necessary to do so, as the subject has often been introduced in our pages: but we now allude to them for the purpose of submitting a few remarks on the observations which fell from the Bishop of London, on a plan which should bring societies connected with the Church of England under the direct sanction and control of the entire Bench of Bishops. The subject was introduced by his lordship at the meeting at Willis's Rooms for commencing a fund for the endowment of bishoprics in the colonies. Alluding to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, and the Church Missionary Society, his lordship remarked:—

“I think that, under your Grace's sanction, means might be devised, and those not of a complicated nature, by which both Societies might be induced to carry on their operations under the same superintendence and control—I mean the superintendence and control of the heads of

the United Church of this kingdom. When I use the word *control*, I beg to be permitted to explain the sense in which I employ it. I do not mean a control which shall be exercised in the way of invidious or captious interference—I do not mean a control which shall limit, except within certain recognized bounds, the operations of either Society; but I mean simply that kind of superintendence and control which, with the willing co-operation of both Societies, shall secure for both a strict and regular movement within the limits of the duty which they owe to the Church. I forbear from specifying particularly the details of the plan to which I allude: it may be sufficient to say, that if it were carried into effect, it would leave both Societies at perfect liberty to prosecute the holy work which they have in hand unimpeded and uninterrupted; while at the same time it would prevent the deviation of either from that straight line of spiritual policy which seems to be marked out by the very principles of the Church itself.”

His lordship very properly abstained, as we think, from detailing the particulars of the plan, which, it appears, is in contemplation; but we earnestly implore the parties who are interested in the management of the two Societies not to throw any obstacles in the way of an accommodation, nor to view the proposal with indifference. It surely should be the aim of every Churchman to secure, as far as possible, union among the members of the Church, and uniformity in their proceedings. We view the declaration of his lordship as a sufficient guarantee that no improper interference with the management of either Society is intended. The supporters of both Societies must rejoice in the prospect of seeing them placed under episcopal control and superintendence.

It appears that the National Society for the Education of the Poor in the Principles of the Established Church is also in a most flourishing state. Notwithstanding the discouragement from her Majesty's Ministers, by their endeavours to introduce a scheme of education of which religion forms no part, this Society is advancing in every part of the kingdom. National schools are sure to flourish. They are necessarily under the control of the parochial clergy, who, with few exceptions, are viewed by the poor as their best friends. And to whom could the control of the education of the poor be committed with so good a prospect of success as to the clergy?

One subject in connexion with the Christian Knowledge Society, as it is now attracting considerable attention, must not be passed over in our Ecclesiastical Report. We allude to the question relative to the use of pictures in Infant and other schools. The Society have given their sanction to their use by several publications; but considerable differences of opinion are found to exist. It seems that the objectors are afraid lest the

use of pictures should be attended with evil—lest a superstitious regard should be paid to certain representations of subjects in sacred history. It is very questionable whether any pictorial representation of the Divine Being should ever be attempted; but nothing improper would ever be put forth by the Society: and we cannot conceive that any reasonable objection can be urged against pictures of circumstances narrated in the word of God, especially as the events themselves are much more deeply imprinted on the memory by such means than by any other that could be adopted. The well known case of Doddridge is, perhaps, better than many arguments. He became acquainted with the principal events of Scripture history, before he was able to read, by the representations on the small Dutch tiles in the chimney of his grandmother's dwelling, and the impression was so strong that it was *never* erased from his memory. The Society will, of course, proceed with due caution; but we would not have them pause in their course in consequence of the scruples of a few individuals. Undoubtedly much judgment and discretion are required in the choice of subjects for pictorial representation; but, for our own part, we have no apprehension that any improper use will be made of the power entrusted to the committee. To what extent pictures are used in our National and Infant Schools, we are not aware; but it appears to us that much good is likely to result from the introduction of historical representations of Scripture facts. These remarks are offered in a spirit of conciliation, and more with a view to lead persons, and especially the clergy, to the consideration of the subject, than to advance our own opinions. It is a source of sorrow to us to see the Church disturbed by disputes on matters of so trivial a nature. If Churchmen could but agree to differ on minor points, and unite cordially against the common enemy, the most important results might be fairly anticipated; but while they are engaged in petty disputes among themselves, the enemy looks on with triumph, and the Church is wounded by her own friends.

THE LIBRARY OF ANGLO-CATHOLIC THEOLOGY, AND THE
PARKER SOCIETY.

Most sincerely do we hope that both these attempts may be successful. The works about to be submitted to the public by both are of great value, and many of them are so scarce, that few persons only have ever seen them. Some persons have displayed no small share of ignorance by asserting, that the two Societies have opposite ends in view, and that they are opposed to each other on the main doctrines of the Gospel. The works

about to be published by the "*Parker Society*," are those of the Reformers and their immediate successors; while those contained in "*The Library of Anglo-Catholic Theology*" were the productions of men of a later age, but still of the most illustrious ornaments of our Church and nation. In many respects the two classes of works are different, for they were written under different circumstances; but in the grand doctrines of the Gospel there will be found to be the most perfect agreement. To allege, as is done by some, that the books to be published in the *Anglo-Catholic Library* are Popish in their tendency, while it is the object of the *Parker Society* to counteract the evil, evinces such a state of ignorance, that it would be a waste of time to attempt to reason on the subject. At the same time we are desirous of exposing the consummate ignorance of the assertion, in order that any of our readers, who may hear the statement of these *sapient* gentlemen, may be prepared with a reply. It is clear that they never read the books which are about to be published by either Society, and we much question whether they could understand them: yet with the most perfect self-complacency, though with much dishonesty (for it is dishonest to assert what they cannot prove), they can put forth an assertion, the truth of which they are utterly incapable of demonstrating, inasmuch as they are ignorant of the character of the works, in the publication of which the two Societies are engaged.

To the *Parker Society* we would offer a word in the way of recommendation. It relates to the works of the foreign Reformers. Our opinion is, that their publications should be those only of our *own* Reformers. We have no intention of disparaging the writings of the foreign Reformers: on the contrary, we highly value them; but it must be remembered, that in matters of discipline their views were generally opposite to those of the Anglican Church. In most of their works these points are more or less alluded to; and it would not be quite consistent for a society consisting of Churchmen to print treatises, however valuable in other respects, in which sentiments, at variance with the views of our own Church, are contained. This argument will have its due weight with all sound Churchmen. Nor do we believe that the *Parker Society* will contemplate a course which must, when pursued by avowed Churchmen, be branded with inconsistency. Let all the works of our own Reformers be published; but let it not be said that a body of Churchmen have united together to publish works, containing sentiments opposed to those of the Anglican Church, on the questions of discipline and government.

THE NEW POOR LAW.

We cannot but view the question connected with the *New Poor Law* as a religious question, affecting, as many of its enactments do, the morals of the poorer classes. To condemn the system altogether is not our intention; on the contrary, we concur in some of its essential principles: but there are some points so harsh in their nature, and so cruel and oppressive in their operation, that we cannot but bestow upon them our most unqualified censure and condemnation. The scheme is the boast of the Whig Government. It is viewed by them as a masterpiece in the business of legislation; yet we very much question whether it will not prove as a mill-stone about their neck, to sink them into the lowest depths of public execration, and to lose them that confidence which they once possessed. Already many of their *quondam* supporters have deserted their ranks from this cause alone. Nottingham was lost to them entirely on this ground; and in the present general election, it is more than probable that other places may desert their standard from the same cause. The scheme has, indeed, inflicted a blow, from the effects of which they are not likely soon to recover. When they take their seats on the opposition side of the house, they will find themselves unable to muster the people on their side, and the *Poor Law Bill* will be constantly cast in their teeth in their appeals to the various constituencies of the kingdom.

But it may be said, will the Conservatives, when in office, pursue a milder course with the poor? We unhesitatingly answer YES! The Conservatives have no wish to repeal the bill, but they would have it greatly modified; they would get rid of its harsher clauses; they would not separate man and wife after a union, perhaps, of fifty years; nor would they remove children from their parents, though living under the same roof; nor would they force the afflicted and the aged into the union houses, thus tearing asunder the strongest ties and doing violence to the most sacred feelings. None of these things would the Conservatives do. They have more humanity than to refuse *out-door relief* to those whose poverty renders them necessary objects of parochial provision. The poor as well as the rich have their feelings; the aged sire loves to meet on the same spot with those of the same age to talk over the scenes and circumstances of youth—to walk, on a sunny day, under the shelter of the same hedge-row, and to sit down under the shade of the same tree, and witness the games and the gambols of his grand-children, which remind him of the days when he gambolled and played with those of a former generation. These

are sacred feelings—feelings not to be trifled with ; but they are all done violence to by the heartless clauses of the ministerial measure. These feelings would be revered and cherished by Conservative legislators ; and the poor would have the satisfaction of knowing, that when laid aside by sickness, or disabled by age, a provision would be made for them at their own homes, and that their feelings would no longer be lacerated by the reflection that they must either starve, or be separated from their nearest and dearest friends. The best portions of the bill should be preserved ; but all its harsher enactments would be repealed by a CONSERVATIVE ADMINISTRATION !

THE DEAN OF YORK.

It will be fresh in the memory of our readers, that in the early part of the past quarter, proceedings were instituted against the Very Rev. Dr. Cockburn, Dean of York, for having simoniacally sold the Church preferment vested in him as the head of the Chapter. The articles exhibited against him comprised many transactions, and extended over a considerable space of time. The result of the investigation was, that the Archbishop as visitor, deprived the Dean, and judgment was pronounced by Dr. Phillimore, his Grace's Commissioner, who, in a very able speech, gave the legal grounds of the Archbishop's decision. From this sentence the Dean appealed, demurred to the Archbishop's authority, and threw the cause into another court. Lord Denman, a few days ago, reversed the Archiepiscopal sentence, and accordingly reinstated the Dean, or rather declared that he had never been deprived, and inhibited the Archbishop from continuing to enforce his sentence. The proceedings would have had ample notice in this report had not the lateness of Lord Denman's decision put it entirely out of our power. The principles involved are, however, of such great and *permanent* interest to the Church, that we shall in our next number enter into them at considerable length.

DISSOLUTION OF PARLIAMENT.

The dissolution of Parliament, preparatory to a general election, announced in a supplement to the *Gazette*, has given the country at large notice of the important event about to take place. We have already exposed the absurdity of the supposition, that a clergyman, by the fact of his having received holy orders, is debarred from the exercise of his civil rights : we would now, therefore, merely urge upon them all to be at *their posts*, and to remember that *their post* is wherever they can best serve the cause of the Church. The new Parliament meets on the 19th of August.

General Literature.

Poems. By Robert Aris Willmott. London : Fraser. 1841.

Is there a dearth of poetry? The question is an interesting one, and one which, on many accounts, deserves an answer. The nineteenth century is anything but a poetical century. Stern matter of fact has usurped the place of fancy; and Romance, with her glittering train, has vanished from the science-bound world. There is no Milton, no Shakspeare, no Byron. Scott, with his wizards and knights, has departed from amongst us, and the mantle of his poetic genius has fallen on no equal follower. Yet have we names "which (as Milton once beautifully observed) the world will not willingly let die." We have an Elliott pouring forth strains mighty and sublime, poisoned though they be with the ungodly, the accursed leaven of radicalism and rebellion. We have a Mackay, who has proved himself worthy to be ranked with our elder lyrists. It has been but lately that the grave has closed over Felicia Hemans and Letitia Elizabeth Landon; and even now the horizon of our poetical sky shows some rising stars of no mean splendour. The *vers de société*, however, which were once sufficient to create a reputation, are now banished to albums and small magazines; and those which once were able, when printed, to raise the writer to a niche in the temple of fame, are now, alas! published by scores of volumes, obtain a brief passing notice from a review or a newspaper, are once half read, and straightway altogether forgotten. "Who was that very gentleman-like person who was so remarkably quiet in his manners?" asked a friend, a few days ago, of a celebrated wit. "That," was the reply, "was the celebrated Mr. M—." "And for what is he celebrated?" proceeded the interrogator. "Why," continued the wit, "he is now four-and-thirty years of age, and has never published a book!" In days, then, like these many hundreds of respectable books must be published every year, and many scores of volumes intended for poetry.

The little volume which we have here before us is not by the celebrated Mr. M—. The author has been long known as a successful candidate for public favour; and as he has accomplished this end by, in every one of his works, promoting the interests of virtue and religion, he has a right to some notice at our hands. In his work, "The Lives of the Sacred Poets," he has proved himself well able to judge the poetry of others. In the present

volume he puts in a claim for himself. Now, on the first hasty glance over the twenty-two small poems that fill up the seventy pages of this elegant book, the reader will be probably inclined to think that there is too much sweetness, and too little force; that, in fact, the poems do not *strike* him. Pleasing and delicate, and full of exquisitely beautiful classical allusions, they are, but they are chiefly addressed to the scholar. Virgil and the old English writers must be well read, and well studied, before the reader will do *full* justice to Mr. Willmott. Yet who will not feel the beauty of such a gem as the following:—

“ Sleep on ! sleep on ! the summer hours
A pillow for thy slumber bring ;
While evening breathes the bloom of flowers,
And shades thee with her purple wing.

“ From morning in the meadow straying—
Sweet child, so fair and meek !
She lieth down, and, tired of playing,
Darkens the warm grass with her cheek.

“ One arm upon her eyes she folds ;
Her soft hair on her forehead fann’d,—
With half-closed finger still she holds
The withered daisies in her hand.

“ Oh, wake her not ! the sylvan streams
Repose upon her spirit shed ;
Nor stir the garland of bright dreams,
That sleep has bound about her head ! ”

Mr Willmott is very fond of bright dreams, and there is a dreamy beauty, like that of a summer’s afternoon, about his poetry, which is well calculated to lull the reader into a calm reverie. It is like the sound of—

“ The little brook,
In the leafy month of June,
That to the quiet sky all night
Singeth a quiet tune.”

He himself exclaims—if aught so gentle can be called exclamation—

“ Unto my couch of summer leaves
Come Sleep, by warbling gladness led,
Unbinding all thy fragrant sheaves
Of dreams—a pillow for my head.”

And having slumbered through the Arcadian groves, lulled by the sweet yet opiate strains of such poetry, we rise up and long for the trumpet voice of sterner bards, and we desire to watch

the fierce battle with Homer, or the brilliant tournament with Aristo.

Yet we feel that Mr. Willmott deserves no little praise, for it requires genius such as is not often met with, to imprint on the soul of the reader the characteristic of the bard. Very indifferent writers may send to sleep those who try to peruse their productions; and we know of poems that never *were* read, save by the authors and the compositors: but it is one thing to do this, and it is another thing to touch the mind with the caduceus, to bring round us pleasant meadows and tranquil groves, and to people the intellectual atmosphere with spirits of golden repose. Who would not wish to dream, when such images as this are brought around him:—

“O beautiful! when Venus sprung,
Eve of the waters, into sight,
And round her breast her tresses clung,
A garland of delight:
With lip, and cheek, and eye, like thine,
And motion breathing music sweet,
She made the azure sea her shrine;
The white foam, lilies for her feet!”

Another specimen, which is like a gleam of mellow sunshine, with its too great brilliancy softened by passing through an amber cloud:—

“The spirit of mine eyes is faint
With gazing on thy light;
I close my eyelids, and within
I see thee shining bright,
Glowing through the mist of gloom,
Like flower-bird at night! *
“Thy beauty wanders by my side,
In shady grove and lea;
I hear thee in the bird that sings
Upon the myrtle tree;
Thy face, from every woodland stream,
Smiles fondly up to me.
“On fount and tree the moonlight sleeps;
Thy beauty will not part—
Within my weary lids it dwells,
O, lovely that thou art!
And from thine eyes the sweet breath falls
Like odour on my heart!”

* The reader of Philostratus will remember the romantic affectation of the Greek Euphuists, whose manner is imitated in this poem.

But we must not close without noticing the religious spirit that breathes through these delightful poems. Speaking of a misled but not altogether corrupted youth, and recalling to mind the manifold miracles of the Saviour, he continues—

“ He is not dead ! Thy voice of might
The moral sickness can control ;
And put each evil thought to flight,
And melt the slumber from his soul !

“ O Day-Star of the bosom, rise
With rest, with healing on Thy wings ;
Scatter the darkness from his eyes ;
Quicken the flame, until it springs.

“ Thy hallowed work of love begin—
Thy kindling, saving grace impart ;
Awake him from the dream of sin ;
Revive the dead, THE DEAD IN HEART !”

We must stay ; we have no intention either “ to praise our poet to death,” or to commit a literary piracy, by extracting all the poems.

There are faults in the volume as well as beauties : the air of languor we have already noticed, *not* as such ; but one or two words we will say upon subjects to which modern poets do not pay sufficient attention. To make such words as *heaven*, *flower*, and *bower*, dissyllables, is by no means adding to the strength of the line ; and strength is what Mr. Willmott cannot afford to lose. Again, we find the line—

“ In Thalaba, the wondrous tale,” &c.

Now everybody ought certainly to read and to know Thalaba ; but Mr. Willmott has no right to take it for granted that they do ; and to use, moreover, a figure in such a mode as to be entirely unintelligible to those who do not. “ The Last of Seven ” may be entitled “ A sentimental recipe for spoiling a child,” and it is one which the experience of a thousand families can show to be effectual. In the recollection of Harrow, Mr. Willmott assures us that—

“ Time, onward creeping,
Still finds me by the *Ægean* wave.”

We do not pretend to misunderstand him ; but he, if he find the *Ægean* wave at Kensington, is far more fortunate than those who, like the boatswain that understood Spanish, have had “ to sail for it.” While we are about this ungracious business (we have awakened for the purpose), we will just hint, that in the

otherwise exquisite ballad, "A Ballad with a Moral," we should have been glad to see the ballad metre more strictly preserved. We extract a stanza, to show what we mean :—

"Drink and away!"—'twere sweet to lie
By the fountain's side, and dream
Of the verdant field, and the purple sky,
And the ever-flowing stream ;
And gardens fair with perfumed air,
Nightingales warbling clear ;
And Houris bright with flower-crown'd hair—
But drink—drink !—nor linger here !"

If the word "drink" in the last line were not repeated, we think the stanza would be faultless. We must part in good humour, for we have been much gratified with the volume ; and we will give Mr. Willmott one more opportunity to speak for himself :—

"Oh, it is sad to lie and dream,
By memory's wild and fitful gleam,
Of vanished beauty ; while the glare
Of dying reason fires the air ;
Lighting the ruin'd temples old,
The intellectual shrines of gold !
Oblivion sleeps on Fancy's grave ;
The choir of warbling thoughts depart ;
And flaming swords of terror wave,
Before the garden of the heart."*

We find that Mr. Willmott has announced a poem for publication, entitled the "Four Ages of Human Life," in four books, to which we shall look forward with interest.

The Personal History of his late Majesty George the Fourth, with Anecdotes of Distinguished Persons of the last Fifty Years. By the Rev. George Croly, LL.D. Second edition, in two volumes. London : Colburn. 1841.

It will be quite unnecessary to enter into any examination of a work so well known already as Dr. Croly's "Personal History of George the Fourth." That a very large edition has been exhausted, and a new one called for, is a species of praise as acceptable to the pocket as to the mind of a writer. He may afford to have his works laughed at, who at the same time has them sold. But this is, as all our readers know, a very pleasant book. George the Fourth, a prince who has been more maligned than almost any British sovereign, was in truth a spoilt child of fortune and luxury ; his dissipated habits during a very considerable period of his life—his growing indolence towards

* The land of imagination.

its close—his habitually slight sense of religion—his tendencies to inordinate expense—are all matters of unhappy notoriety: but to say, as do his slanderers, that he was a mere selfish voluptuary—a cold-hearted and degraded sensualist—is not only false, but absurd, because totally inconsistent with many undeniable facts. He was, as a king, not only just and constitutionally correct, but pre-eminently merciful; as a gentleman, he was most accomplished; his taste and his scholarship are beyond dispute, and the natural kindness of his heart was fully appreciated. Those who call him the British Sardanapalus will do well to remember, that among the elements which formed the character of Sardanapalus were mingled some of the noblest that can adorn human nature. We are very glad to see a new and very elegant edition of Dr. Croly's book; it is a graceful, and has been an effectual tribute of justice to the memory of a departed prince.

The Origin, Progress, and Present Condition of the Fine Arts in Great Britain and Ireland. By W. B. Sarsfield Taylor. In two vols. London: Whittaker. 1841.

WE cannot pretend to offer our readers an analytical account of this work; we shall merely recommend it to them as well worthy of their attention. It is, indeed, too sketchy in its character, but on that very account the more amusing. The lives of eminent promoters of art, as well patrons and artists, are very agreeably wrought into the history of the art itself. We shall give a few instances of this, but must protest against such inaccuracies as this:—"He (Gibbs) built the doric portico of King's College Chapel, Cambridge;" "he built the quadrangle of All Saints' College, Cambridge!" Mr. Taylor should, at all events, have read the Cambridge Guide. We shall take a pleasant extract, and it shall be "anent" the strange drapery adopted by painters during the reign of George I., on which topic our author's remarks are exceedingly good:—

"The straight-cut coats and waistcoats with long flaps, the short tights, which gave a most unnatural stiffness to the appearance,—the ladies' tight-laced waists, and immense hoops, hair drawn straight up to a great height, with flappets flying behind,—were the unnatural or rather burlesque objects which the portrait painters of that time were obliged to encounter in their painting rooms. It was a day of triumph to the tailors and milliners of fashion, who had succeeded, as they generally do, when not controlled by the common sense and good taste of their customers, in rendering the finest forms, and the most graceful and beautiful of the Creator's works, not only stiff, unnatural, and awkward, but in reducing them to a state of actual deformity, which was only not laughable because it was expensive and artificial.

“To get rid, in some degree, by a flank movement, of those barbarous appearances, which none of the painters at that time had the energy or genius to attack in front and demolish, the artists contrived a sort of mock drapery, which flew about their sitters in all shapes and directions, except natural or graceful ones. It does not appear that these flimsies were imitated from any real object; they were evidently produced by a rapid, haphazard-like whisk or two of the brush, and were done long before they could be thought of, like much more of the painting at that time. It would, of course, be too much to expect these independent draperies could be recognized as belonging to the costume of any tribe or nation, savage or civilized; but from the arbitrary and slashing manner in which they were flung about, it would seem as if an entire confusion of ideas in these matters prevailed very generally amongst the painters of that school.”

The Art of Needlework from the earliest Ages, including some notices of the Ancient Historical Tapestries. Edited by the Right Hon. the Countess of Wilton. Third edition. London: Colburn. 1841.

AN extraordinary press of matter was the sole cause that we have not previously noticed this very excellent and agreeable work. The Countess of Wilton has presented her fair countrywomen with what cannot fail to be an acceptable present to them; for she has not only given them an interesting and learned—perhaps somewhat too learned—history of needlework, but she has adorned it with admirable morals. We quote the following, as concerning the clergy. Our bachelors of arts in the present day do, it seems, reverse the good Wolfstan's taste, inasmuch as they rather affect cat-skin or rabbit-skin for their hoods, in preference to lamb's wool:—

“The skin of the wild cat was much used by the clergy. Bishop Wolfstan preferred lamb-skin; saying, in excuse, ‘*Crede mihi, nunquam audivi, in ecclesia, cantari catus Dei, sed agnus Dei; ideo calefieri agno volo.*’

The monk of Chaucer had

‘—— his sleeves purfiled, at his hond,
With gris, and that the finest of the lond.’

“It is not till about the year 1204 that there is any specific enumeration of the royal apparel for festival occasions. The proper officers are appointed to bring for the king on this occasion ‘a golden crown, a red satin mantle adorned with sapphires and pearls, a robe of the same, a tunic of white damask, and slippers of red satin edged with goldsmith's work; a baldrick set with gems; two girdles enamelled and set with garnets and sapphires; white gloves, one with a sapphire, and one with an amethyst; various clasps adorned with emeralds, turquoise, pearls, and topaz; and sceptres set with twenty-eight diamonds.’

“So much for the king; and for the queen—oh! ye enlightened legislators of the earth, ye omnipotent and magisterial lords of creation, look on that picture, and on this.

“For our lady the queen’s use, sixty ells of fine linen cloth, forty ells of dark green cloth, a skin of minever, a *small brass pan*, and *eight towels*.”

Sketches in Ennis and Tyrrawly. By the Author of “Sketches in Ireland” and “A Tour in Connaught.” Dublin: Curry. 1841.

THESE sketches are exactly adapted to the season; they are light, pleasant reading—full of characteristic remarks and anecdotes. One of the most amusing is the trial of Biddy Lavelle (see p. 390), who borrowed her neighbour’s ass for the purpose of kissing it. Her object in this extraordinary freak was to get rid of a tooth-ache which she was taught to believe would, by this proceeding, be transferred to the unoffending animal. At the same time, her natural benevolence inducing her to do what she could to mitigate the poor beast’s supposed sufferings, she poured down his throat a good part of a bottle of whisky. The next day the poor animal died; and the action alluded to was, in consequence, brought against Biddy. We must give one very interesting legend:—

“It is time for me to go back to Downpatrick promontory and Poul-nashanthana.

“‘I presume (said I, to my companion) that there are many seals along a coast perforated by such caverns as this.’

“‘Yes, certainly, and, taking them along with bird catching, was a favourite though dangerous occupation of the young people, but they have given up seal hunting for this some time.’

“Perceiving a sort of smile on my companion’s countenance, I asked, ‘And why?’

“‘You’d laugh, sir, if I told you the reason?’

“‘Then let me laugh, if you please, by all means.’

“‘I don’t exactly know whether it was in this Poul-nashanthana, but it was in one of the caves that are found between Downpatrick and Kilcummin Heads, and which can only be entered when the tide is out, and then you must use lights, and at all times it is fearfully dangerous, for there is a terrible swell even in the greatest calm, and if the wind was in the least to rise with a point to north or north-west, they and their boat would be ground to atoms. Well, on a calm fine evening, two young fellows had urged their curraghs into a cave where the seals were known to breed, and they had brought besides poles to knock down the creatures, plenty of dry bog fir to keep up a blaze; and having got far in, the place was alive with seals, and the poor things were toddling about amongst the round stones at the end, and the boys were busy enough striking them on the head, and all they could reach were finished off and ready to be brought out; when in the farthest end of the cavern, and sitting up on its bent tail in a corner, just as you may suppose a tailor would sit on his board, there sat a fellow, his head as round as a man’s, and it looked white, shining, and bare, with a flat nose and two grey eyes, just like an old fellow who was laid up

past his labour in the chimney corner. So one of the boys was just making up to him to strike him down with his pole, when the seal cried out, with a squeaking, snivelling, supplicating voice, 'Och, boys! och, my bouchals! spare your old grandfather, Darby O'Dowd.' You may suppose that the boys were not a little astonished and frightened when they heard a seal speak: but one of them, plucking up courage, accosted the creature, and said, 'Now, that is all a joke, you're no grandfather of ours, for Darby O'Dowd is long ago, long ago in his grave: and God be merciful to him; he lies in Dunfeeny churchyard.' 'You may say that, and thrue it is for you, grandson Tim. It's thrue I was dead, and dacently buried; but here I am for my sins, turned into a *sale*, as other sinners are and will be. See what comes of selling mangy sheep for sound bastes, and swearing away before a coort a neighbour's good name; and Heaven is just, and here I am making my purgathory as a *sale*; and if you put an end to me and skin me, as I see you are for, maybe it's worser I'll be, and go into a shark or a porpoise, or some fish that will never have the honour or glory of sitting as I do now on firm land. Mind my bidding, then, boys avick; lave your ould forefather where he is, to live out his time as a sale. Maybe for your own sakes, for they say every dog has his day, you will ever hereafter leave off following and parsecuting and murdering sales, who may be nearer to yourselves nor you think.' It may be supposed that the young seal hunters gave up their occupation, and left their grandfather alone; at all events, let there be what foundation for the story there may, it is universally believed, and on the strength of it the people have given up seal hunting.' "

A History of British Starfishes, and other Animals of the class Echinodermata. By Edward Forbes, M. W. S., For. Sec. B. S., &c. Illustrated by a wood-cut of each species, and numerous vignettes. London: Van Voorst. 1841.

WE have already had occasion to speak of the beautiful style in which Mr. Van Voorst sends forth his publications. In this respect we know no publisher superior, and but few equal to him. The merit of the work is, however, in general equal to that of the typography. This exquisite volume—one of the most interesting which we have seen for a long time on *any* point of natural history—is devoted to the consideration of the British starfishes; and few persons are aware how delightful the subject becomes when treated by able hands. The opening words of Mr. Forbes's treatise give a promise amply redeemed by the contents of the book:—

"One of the most remarkable phenomena displayed to us by the researches of the geologist, is the evidence of the existence, in primeval times, of animals and plants, the analogies of which are now rare or wanting on our lands and in our seas. Among those tribes which have become all but extinct, but which once presented numerous generic modifications of form and structure, the order of crinoid starfishes is

most prominent. Now scarcely a dozen kinds of these beautiful animals live in the seas of our globe, and individuals of these kinds are comparatively rarely to be met with: formerly they were among the most numerous of the ocean's inhabitants—so numerous that the remains of their skeletons constitute great tracts of the dry land as it now appears. For miles and miles we may walk over the stony fragments of the crinoideæ—fragments which were once built up in animated forms, encased in living flesh, and obeying the will of creatures among the loveliest of the inhabitants of the ocean. Even in their present disjointed and petrified state, they excite the admiration, not only of the naturalist, but of the common gazer; and the name of stone-lily, popularly applied to them, indicates a popular appreciation of their beauty. To the philosopher they have long been subjects of contemplation as well as of admiration. In him they raise up a vision of an early world—a world the potentates of which were not men, but animals—of seas on whose tranquil surfaces myriads of convoluted nautili sported, and in whose depths millions of lily-stars waved wilfully on their slender stems. Now the lily-stars and the nautili are almost gone; a few lovely stragglers of those once-abounding tribes remain to evidence the wondrous forms and structures of their comrades. Other beings, not less wonderful, and scarcely less graceful, have replaced them; while the seas in which they flourished have become lands, whereon man, in his columned cathedrals and mazy palaces, emulates the beauty and symmetry of their fluted stems and chambered shells.”

The history of those species, which, though once the chief inhabitants of this globe, are now only known to us through the investigations of the geologist, can hardly fail to meet with attention. The ichthyosauri and pleseosauri, the megatheria and the deinotheria, which strike us by their vast size and enormous powers, have been made known to the popular reader by Dr. Buckland, in his Bridgewater Treatise; but the smaller crinoides, which are even still more marvellous, by reason of their wonderfully complicated structure, are known only to professed zoologists. We would willingly make large extracts from Mr. Forbes's book, but we shall content ourselves with the history of one peculiar species:—

“After what I have said of the former importance of the crinoid starfishes in the economy of the world, it need scarcely be remarked that the history of the only crinoid animal at present inhabiting our seas, at one time so full of those beautiful and wonderful creatures, must present many points of great interest, not to the zoologist only, but also to the geologist. And in truth the history of the feather-star—for so, on account of its plumose appearance, I would designate the starfish called by naturalists *comatula*—is one of the little romances in which natural history abounds, one of those narrations which, while believing, we almost doubt, and yet, while doubting, must believe. Nevertheless, there is nothing inconsistent with the creature's position

in the animal kingdom in the account of the development of the *comatula* ; but, before speaking of that subject, it is best we describe the animal in all its parts."

The ordinary starfish is well known ; the species here mentioned consists of a disc or base, convex on one side, and concave on the other. The concave side presents ten radiating ribs, four of which are more depressed than the others. From the convex side proceed from twenty to thirty (according to the age of the animal) calcareous filaments, some having fourteen joints and a curved claw, others eighteen joints and an almost straight claw. The whole of the animal is of a deep rose colour, dotted with brown, and fringed with cirrhi. The arms have a very feathery appearance, from which the animal derives its name.

"And now commences the strange chapter in the history of the feather-star—a history which has excited much discussion in the world of science. In the year 1823, Mr. J. V. Thompson discovered, in the Cove of Cork, a singular little pedunculated crinoid animal, which he named *Pentacrinus Europæus*. This creature was taken attached to the stems of zoophytes of different orders. It measured about three-fourths of an inch in height, and resembled a minute *comatula* mounted on the stalk of a *pentacrinus*."

After some further examination, Mr. Thompson maintained the proposition that his *pentacrinus europæus* was only the young of the *comatula* ; that the feather-star commenced life as an encrinite, and thus, as it were, changed its nature from a pseudopolype to a starfish. He there compares the youngest *comatula* he had met with, with the oldest *pentacrinus*, and shows the gradual progress of form during the development of the latter towards the adult state of the former, the development of the arms, the gradual appearance of the pinnæ, and the original absence of dorsal filaments, and the increase in their number as the animals of each kind grow older.

"Although (says Mr. Forbes) the change of the *pentacrinus* into the *feather-star* has never been seen, yet the arguments of the discoverer of the former appear to me sufficiently to warrant the union of these two animals as one species in different states. I feel more confident in expressing this belief since I know that the identity of the *comatula* and *pentacrinus* is held by Mr. Thompson, of Belfast, and Mr. Ball, of Dublin, two gentlemen who have examined the latter animal under the most favourable circumstances, and who exhibited the creature alive to the members of the Natural History Section of the British Association during its session in Dublin."

The habits of these creatures have been made the subject of the most close study, and many facts have been elicited of great

moment to the naturalist generally. We shall proceed with our feather-star :—

“ The adult *comatula* frequents both deep and shallow water. In deep water we find them full grown ; and when dredging in such a situation I have never seen a small one. In the region of *Laminariæ* they abound in several localities, and there are found of all sizes, in company with the stalked form, or *phytoctrinus*. Probably they frequent those forests of sea-weeds for breeding purposes at certain seasons, and retire to the deep sea at other times.”

Lest our readers should marvel that in their visits to the sea they never met with these beautiful animals, we must tell them first that it is not very common, and next that it is very difficult to catch. It is said, that if a rat be seized by the tail when he has half escaped down a hole, he will leave the skin of his tail in the fingers of his captor, and do as well as he can without it. The feather-star takes a still more decided mode to prevent being made “ a specimen :”—

“ A feather-star is a very different animal, when preserved in spirits with its expanded fins, from what it appears when dried. The range of the rosy feather-star extends from Norway to the shores of the Mediterranean.

“ When a freshly caught feather-star is plunged into cold fresh water, it dies in a state of contraction ; but if not so killed, or else if not killed in spirits, it breaks itself into pieces like an *ophiura*. When dying, either in fresh water or in spirits, it gives out a most beautiful purple colour, which tinges the liquid in which it is killed. This colour is retained a long time in spirits. The fact was long ago noted by Bartholinus, who observed it at Naples, and whose observations on it will be found in a note to Fabius Columna.”

Vermin have vermin that prey upon them ; nor are the star-fishes exempt :—

“ Mr. J. V. Thompson has the following note on a curious animal, which is parasitic on the feather-star :—“ Connected with the natural history of the *comatula* is that of a nondescript parasite, which appears to be a complete zoological puzzle, as it is not possible to determine from its figure and structure to what class it ought to be referred, its natural size not exceeding that of the breadth of the ossicula of the arms of the *comatula* : it resembles a flat scale, and runs about with considerable velocity on the arms of the animal, and occasionally protrudes a flexible tubular proboscis, ending in a papillary margin. The disk or body is surrounded by eighteen or twenty retractile and moveable tentaculi, and beneath is furnished with five pairs of short members, each ending in a hooked claw.—Query, is it a perfect animal, or a larva ? and does it belong to the crustacea, the annelides, or what ? ”

Thus they have the additional mortification of being infested with *nameless* insects. Some species of this genus have, it appears, the same property of reproducing their arms that we have seen exhibited by worms :—

“ The brittle-stars are much more active animals than the ophiuræ ; they seldom remain quiet for a moment, but are continually twisting about their arms, and if laid hold of they break up into little pieces with wonderful facility, each fragment of an arm also breaking itself up into smaller pieces ; and frequently when we seize one of these creatures, in a moment we find nothing but the disk remaining. They can reproduce their arms in the same manner as the *asteriadae*.”

The starfishes are among the most remarkable inhabitants of the sea. Their singular and varied forms, their strange habits, and their anatomical structure are equally attractive. Their rank in the animal kingdom is most important : and, as representatives of the great class of Echinodermata, they are alike interesting to the physiologist and the naturalist. Nevertheless, so little is known about them, that no work has been devoted to their history since the time of Link, who wrote in 1733.

The study of the crinoidæ—connecting the starfishes with the polypes ; of the sea-urchins—linking them with the holothuriadæ ; and of the various kinds of holothuria, presents us with subjects of equal novelty and interest ; and, combined with the starfishes, completes the history of the Echinodermata of our seas.

Such has Mr. Forbes given us, and it is a history well qualified to fill up the blank that has hitherto existed in the fauna of Britain.

Mariolatry ; or, Facts and Evidences, demonstrating the Worship of the Blessed Virgin Mary by the Church of Rome, derived from the Testimonies of her reputed Saints and Doctors, from her Breviary, and other authorized Romish Formularies of Devotion, confirmed by the Attestations of Travellers. pp. 120. 18mo. London: Painter. 1841.

THIS little volume contains the substance of the two articles on the Mary Worship of the Church of Rome, which appeared in the last volume of our journal (pp. 166 and 419). They are now respectfully submitted to the public in their present form, in consequence of applications made to the publisher, that the *documentary information* which they contain, respecting the idolatrous worship of the Blessed Virgin Mary by the Church of Rome, might be beneficially circulated as a separate publication. In preparing it a second time for the press, besides making several corrections, the author has availed himself of the oppor-

tunity thus presented to him, of introducing various important additional evidences; which, together with those previously given, concur to demonstrate, beyond the possibility of denial or disproof, the practice of Mary Worship by the Church of Rome.

While this little work was passing through the press, upwards of thirty books of devotions addressed to the Virgin Mary (*printed at and recently brought from Rome, Naples, Modena, and other places in Italy, and Switzerland*), were communicated to the author. From seventeen of these, he has selected the most important passages, which are given in Italian, French, and English, in the Appendix.

As we gave various specimens of Mariolatry, especially at Rome, in the articles already referred to, we now subjoin an extract, which will show in what manner the Virgin Mary is worshipped at Naples:—

“‘*Preghiera alla Madre di Dio della Misericordia.*’ *That is, ‘A Prayer to the Mother of the God of Mercy,’* two copies of which, in 1840, were framed and suspended at an altar in the Church of San Lorenzo, in that city. It is also gratuitously distributed.

“O most holy Mother of God, the joy of all the saints, the comfort of all the wretched, the refuge of all the forsaken, I beseech you, by that ineffable sweetness, experienced by you when God vouchsafed to become man in your most chaste womb, that you yourself would take my spiritual and temporal interests into your hands; and that *you may engage your dear Son in my behalf, and in order to render HIM propitious to ME,* show him, O tender and sweetest Mother, the milk with which you did nourish him in his infancy; show him your most pure heart, wholly burnt up again with the sacred fire of his intense love.

“Ah! most powerful Advocate, cast a look of compassion upon your unworthy servant; and, above all, assist me in the hour of my death Grant that, being united to you, and to Jesus Christ your Son, by the chains of the tenderest love, I may experience the truth of that beautiful sentence, which forms my hope, as it does my glory, ‘*that a true servant, and devotee, and imitator of Mary, SHALL NOT eternally perish.*’ Amen.”

This little volume is handsomely printed; and we do hope that the mass of important documentary evidence which it contains will secure for it an attentive perusal, and an extensive circulation. In its present form, it is the fullest exposure of the Mary Worship of the Romish Church which has ever been submitted to the British public.

The Christian's Duty, from the Sacred Scriptures. In two parts. Part 1. *Exhortations to Repentance and a Holy Life.* Part 2. *Devotions for the Closet, in Three Offices, for Every Day in the Week.* A new edition, 12mo. London: Rivington, Hatchard and Son, and Burns. Oxford: Parker. 1841.

THIS is a very elegantly executed reprint of a most admirable work, which has long been scarce. It contains a system of devotions so complete in its arrangement, as to be adapted for every situation, condition, and circumstance of life; every word of which, moreover, is taken from the Holy Scriptures. After stating this, it is almost unnecessary to say anything more in commendation of such a publication, since, in fact, it carries its own praise with it. It would be impossible to find a book better calculated for general distribution, particularly amongst the younger portion of the community; indeed, as a prize-book, it is especially suitable. In regard to its typographical execution also, it possesses what we consider no slight recommendation; it is printed in a large and distinct type—a circumstance which older readers will not think unworthy of notice.

Roman Fallacies and Catholic Truths. By the Rev. H. Townsend Powell, A.M., Vicar of Stretton-on-Dunsmore. London: Painter. 1841.

It is probable that our readers may have heard of the “Stretton Tracts”—

“The history of these Tracts (now collected in a volume) may be briefly told. They were elicited by the persevering efforts of the Roman Catholics in connection with St. Mary's Priory, at Princethorpe, in the parish of Stretton-on-Dunsmore, in Warwickshire; and are, in fact, a continuation of a series of publications, put forth to meet the various attempts at proselytism which have been resorted to in that parish.

“In the summer of 1835, an establishment of Roman Catholic ladies migrated from Orrel Mount, in Lancashire, and settled themselves in a newly-erected building, which they called St. Mary's Priory. The 13th of April, 1839, was the day on which the Roman Catholics of Princethorpe boast of having made their first convert in the parish of Stretton.”

This convert soon turned out to be one very hastily made; and then a strange “*imbroglio*” of fraud was elicited, in which the author, whoever he might be, of the Priory Tracts attempted to throw off all the credit, or all the odium, as the case might happen, on one Charles Daniel, a shoemaker! After investigating this matter with much acuteness, and in a way which

shows that the Priory authorities were anything but immaculate, in a literary point of view, Mr. Powell observes:—

“We must, therefore, come to the following conclusions:—

“1. That the printing the name of Charles Daniel on the title-page of these (Priory) Tracts, is nothing but a trick for the purpose of deceiving the reader.

“2. That the authorities at the Priory are parties to this deception; and that the Tracts have their sanction and approval; and, consequently,

“3. That, until some further errors shall be pointed out, other than those which will be disposed of in the Appendix, ‘Roman Fallacies and Catholic Truths’ may be considered to contain a true representation of the religious services of the Roman Church; of the means by which they are advocated; and the arguments by which they are defended.”

The Tracts themselves are on Angel Worship; Image Worship; Adoration of the Cross; Relic Worship and Saint Worship; the Adoration of the Virgin Mary, in particular; the Canonization of Saints; the Adoration of the Host; to these are added a Supplement and Appendices. The whole have been examined and revised by Mr. Thomas Hartwell Horne and Mr. Barnwell. Thus the accuracy of the Tracts may be depended upon; and though they embrace but a small portion of the fallacies of the Roman Church, they do very well what they promise to do.

A Summary View of Dr. Henderson's Commentary on the Prophet Isaiah. By the Rev. Henry Cole. London: Seeleys. 1841.

WHEN we opened this book, we were much struck with the first sentence of the Preface. We give it entire:—

“*Puseyistic* (or Papal) *infidelity* within the Church of England, and *Gospel infidelity* without it, are the two fearful ‘signs’ that mark the present ‘times.’ These are Satan’s mighty means, in this our day, for working the wide ruin of souls, by obliterating the truth, diminishing the spirituality, lowering the divine sanction, contracting the broad authority, and obscuring the glory of the Bible! By these two heresies are the faith and affections of the Church of Christ, in Britain, wounded and aggrieved, her apprehensive alarm excited, and her faithful testimony against them loudly demanded.

“The former of these reigning evils, and its nature and consequences, have been laid open in many publications, periodical and others; and no testimony on the subject has been more industrious and able than that of the ‘Record.’”

After this, we are told that this wonderful “Record” has been guilty of *too great civility* to Dr. Pusey! The truth is, Mr. Cole has an unfortunate propensity to meddle with matters beyond his depth. Dr. Henderson is occasionally wrong, very wrong—but Mr. Cole is not the person competent to set him right.

The History of the Hebrew Nation, from its first Origin to the Present Time. By the Rev. J. W. Brooks, Vicar of Clarebro, Retford. London: Seeleys. 1841.

THE reader, who will, doubtless, have read with pleasure our account of Dr. Grant's travels among the Nestorian Christians, may seek, perhaps, some account of the earlier history of the chosen tribes. At no time has there been so strong a feeling excited in favour of the exiled and persecuted house of Israel as now; and while we are far from approving the attempts made, from time to time, to do away with prophecy, and make the Jews legislators for Christians—while we think such attempts, whether made by Whig-Radical candidates for the city of London, or by right reverend prelates in the upper house, most unholy, we yet feel that a spirit of *Christian* love ought ever to prevail towards the lost sheep of the house of Israel. The prospects and sentiments of the Jews of our own day are thus admirably defeated by Mr. Brooks:—

“Nevertheless, the result in Europe of the labours of Christian missionaries has been a total of actual baptisms amounting to about 4,000 in the Protestant Churches of the continent; of which number the official government returns, up to the year 1838, show that 1,888 had occurred in the Prussian dominions alone, where the cause was piously promoted by the sovereign. Among the converts are Jews of the first reputation for scientific and literary attainments, numerous rabbies, and about fifty who are now ordained clergymen, acting as missionaries to their yet benighted brethren, or as pastors of Christian congregations. The number also who have received baptism in Roman Catholic countries must, from various causes, be considerable. Besides actual baptisms, there is likewise a broad and deep under-current of conviction among the Jews. In numerous instances the study of the Talmud is laid aside for the holy Scriptures; they are dissatisfied with Judaism; and a persuasion is gaining ground among the elder Jews, that the next generation of Israelites will all become Christians.

“But there is likewise an unfavourable side of the picture. The contagion of infidelity among the nominal Christians of the continent has extended to the Jews. Since the more recent revolution in France, or ‘*the glorious days of 1830*,’ (as they are called) their character in that country has manifestly altered for the worse. Religion is now generally despised by them; so that those who attempt to speak to them even of Moses and the prophets are insulted. The same remark applies to the Jews of Alsace, the Netherlands, Switzerland, Denmark, Rotterdam, and the parts of Germany chiefly infected with neology, who, since the current of avowed infidelity has set in from France, have been drawn into its vortex.”

The persecutions to which this unhappy people are exposed in the East are then feelingly described; but the reader will be surprised to find, that even in Europe their condition is, in some parts, not much better.

It matters not—Protestant and Papist alike are banded against this once glorious, but now outcast nation.

“In Poland the privileges which were granted to them in the time of Casimir the Great have long since been withdrawn, and they are now everywhere insulted and maltreated. The Polish children are from the cradle taught to spit upon and curse them; and they are robbed and defrauded by the older inhabitants without being able to obtain redress.

“They have been banished from Norway; in which country not a single Jew is now to be found.

“In Italy, so late as the year 1824, the imposition of the *badge* was revived; and in 1827, Leo XII. directed the provisions of an edict of 1775 to be enforced, whereby the Jews were forbidden to have Christian servants, and Christians were forbidden to have converse with Jews. They are not allowed to quit the Ghetto for the purpose of attending fairs, without a special licence; and if a licence be granted, it may be refused by the bishop, inquisitor, or vicar, of the town to which it is directed (which it is sure to be, unless the said bishop, inquisitor, &c., be suitably bribed); and when permitted to remain, the term of residence is limited to three days, during which the poor Jew is obliged to attend to numerous frivolous and vexatious regulations, for the breach of any one of which he is liable to a fine of thirty crowns, imprisonment, and other punishment, *at discretion*.

“In Spain the Jews dare not even now reside avowedly as Jews; and those who assume Christianity as a mask are often jealously watched. So recently as in the year 1827, a person, who had neglected to attend confession, was tried for the heresy of Judaism, and put to death. Dissimulation has nevertheless been carried on by the Jews in that country to an incredible extent; instances being on record of their taking holy orders, and even becoming judges of the inquisitorial courts, and yet practising Judaism in secret.”

The volume is concluded by some interesting and pertinent remarks on the use to be made by the Christian of the Jewish history :—

“It remains to be observed, that Israel is not only destined to be restored, and to have a glory and dominion in the world such as never yet has been enjoyed by the most powerful of the rulers of what have been called *universal empires*; but that they are to inflict a terrible retribution on those nations which have persecuted and afflicted them, who will be broken in pieces and destroyed. The wisdom, both of nations and of individuals, is therefore to endeavour in the meanwhile to avert the just indignation of the Almighty, by speaking comfortably to Jerusalem, and promoting by all lawful means their spiritual welfare; for the Scripture concerning Israel will presently be found to be yet in force, as it has ever been in time past: ‘*Blessed* is he that blesseth thee; and *cursed* is he that curseth thee.’” (Numb. xxiv. 9).

It is a book which we can heartily recommend.

THEOLOGY.

The Gospel Narrative of our Lord's Passion harmonized, with Reflections. By the Rev. Isaac Williams, B.D., Fellow of Trinity College, Oxford. London: Rivingtons. 1841.

To introduce somewhat of the depth and devotional thought of ancient commentaries, has been the object of Mr. Williams in this beautiful work. Those who have read "The Cathedral," and "Thoughts in Latter Years," may best anticipate how well the amiable and excellent author has performed his task. To make extracts would hardly give the reader any better idea of the book, than the brick which, as Hierocles tells us, was once carried about as a specimen of the house. We recommend "The Gospel Narrative" to all who wish to feel as well as to understand what the ancient Church felt and theologized on this most important subject.

The Books of the Old Testament. Translated by the Rev. Alfred Jenour, Rector of Pilton. Vol. 2. Part 1. *The Book of Job.* London: Seeleys. 1841.

VALUABLE chiefly on account of the comparison with other versions which it contains.

Oxford Divinity compared with that of the Romish and Anglican Churches. By the Right Rev. Charles P. M'Ilvaine, D.D., Bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the Diocese of Ohio. London: Seeleys. 1841.

THIS excellent work is too important to be passed over with a brief notice, and we, therefore, mention it here only to say, that in our next it shall be examined at length. We feel it necessary, however, to lose no time in announcing it.

The Expediency of Preaching against the Amusements of the World, considered in a Letter to a Clerical Friend. By the Rev. Henry Woodward, A.M., Rector of Fethard. London: Duncan and Malcolm. 1841.

A POWERFULLY written letter, and well calculated to effect its purpose; but some of the author's positions astonish us not a little.

The Moral Influence, Dangers, and Duties connected with great Cities. By John Todd. London: Ward. 1841.

THIS little book was first published in America, where it was, we believe, extensively useful. We trust it may be made so here.

The Revelation of God in his Word, shown in a Graphic Delineation of Holy Scripture, for its Friends and Enemies. Translated from the German of Dr. T. W. Gess, by W. Brown, A.M., Minister, Tobermore. Edinburgh : Clark. 1841.

THIS is an interesting and valuable volume of an interesting and valuable series. It combines the inculcation of religious and moral sentiment, with the imparting of sound knowledge.

The Rights of Laymen ; their privilege and duty to receive Blessing equally in every Orthodox Church. London : Fraser. 1841.

WE hardly know whether to attribute this book to a Romanist or a Protestant ; much may, however, be learned from it ; and the hidden enormities of the confessional are unveiled with a hand far bolder than any that have yet attempted to draw the curtain from before that mystery of iniquity.

The Joys of Heaven. By a Layman. London : Hatchards. 1841.

THIS little volume comes recommended by Mr. Dale, and it appears to be worthy of his recommendation.

The Present State of the Church of England. By the Rev. John Dufton, M.A., Rector of Warehorne. London : Hatchards. 1841.

THIS is a sermon preached by the excellent author before the Archdeacon of Canterbury, at his visitation, and it deserves attentive consideration. It is well written, plain, just, and forcible.

SERMONS.

1. *Sermons.* By the Rev. T. Tunstall Smith, M.A., Curate of St. Luke's, Chelsea. London : Hatchards. 1841.

2. *Explanations on the Catechism and Confirmation, in Parochial Lectures.* By the Rev. J. C. Ebdon, M.A. London : Hamilton and Adams. 1841.

3. *Sermons preached in the Parish Church of St. Sepulchre, London and Middlesex.* By John Natt, B.D., Vicar. London : Hatchards. 1841.

4. *Sermons contributed by Divines of the Church of England, in aid of the Fund for repairing the damage done to Christ Church, and St. George's Church, Leeds, by the Hurricane of January 7, 1839.* Leeds : Cross. 1839.

5. *Pastoral Addresses.* By William Otter, D.D., late Lord Bishop of Chichester. London : Parker. 1841.

6. *Five Sermons, preached before the University of Cambridge, on the Parable of the Rich Man and Lazarus.* By the Rev. James Hildyard, M.A., Fellow and Tutor of Christ College. London: Rivingtons. 1841.
7. *Sermons on the First Principles of the Oracles of God.* By the Rev. Henry Erskine Head, M.A., Rector of Feniton, Devon. London: Palmer. 1841.
8. *The Image of God in Man. Four Sermons preached before the University of Cambridge.* By the Rev. Wm. Harness, M.A., of Christ College. London: Rivingtons. 1841.
9. *Plain Sermons on the Church Ministry and Sacraments.* By the Rev. Cyril Hutchinson, M.A., Student of Christ Church. London: Cleaver. 1841.
10. *Sermons on the Seven Churches of Asia, and other Subjects.* By the late Rev. Thomas Wm. Carr, M.A., Incumbent of Southborough, Kent. London: Dalton. 1841.
11. *Sermons preached in the United Parishes of St. Andrew by the Wardrobe and St. Ann, Blackfriars.* By the Rev. John Harding, M.A., Rector. London: Seeleys. 1841.

NUMBERLESS are the sermons that are published in the present day; there was never a period when there was so many respectable and so few great preachers. Among those, however, whose titles are given here, we must notice with particular respect the addresses of that able and truly good man, Bishop Otter; and an admirable sermon, among those preached for the Churches at Leeds, by the present Bishop of Ripon. Those by Mr. Smith, Mr. Natt, and Mr. Carr, are very good. Of Mr. Harness, always elegant, we cannot speak highly as a divine. Nor are the discourses of the eccentric Rector of Feniton such as we should choose for models either of composition or theology, yet they occasionally exhibit considerable power and pathos. Mr. Hildyard's sermons are classically correct, devout, and practical. We apprehend, however, that he would not have published them, had it not been for the appended observations on theological education. To this latter subject we shall return in our next number, and shall then make further remarks on the views taken by Mr. Hildyard. We cannot but feel pleasure to see so much sound doctrine scattered through the land, by the press as well as by the pulpit. Minor faults will occur, and not unfrequently; but we rarely meet with heresy.—Mr. Harding is so well known, and so deservedly admired, both as a preacher and a Christian, that we need only say we are not disappointed in his published discourses.

POETRY.

1. *Flowers from the Holy Fathers.* London: Dolman. 1841.
2. *Sacred Mountains and Waters versified.* By Lady S. London: Burns. 1841.
3. *The Book of Poetry.* London: Burns. 1841.
4. *The Course of Truth; or, the Church of the Redeemed.* A Poem, in six Books. By the Rev. William Stone, M.A. London: Hatchards. 1841.
5. *England's Trust, and other Poems.* By Lord John Manhers. London: Rivingtons. 1841.

WE would willingly speak with praise of poetry, even though Popery were its theme; but we cannot call the "Flowers from the Holy Fathers" by so lofty a name. Take a specimen: the writer speaks of the Saviour:—

" He emptied forth that infinite power
Which at a breath bade worlds spring;
A mother's love was all his dower,
Though he co-equalled Heaven's King."

This is anything but poetry. The second work on our list is a pretty little *brochure*, and of a far higher class. Why does not Lady S. put her name?—she need not be ashamed of her verses. There is much sweetness in the lines entitled "Sion."

" Mourn, O dishonour'd Sion, mourn
Thy ruin'd courts and levell'd tow'rs,
Thy ancient state, thy present scorn—
And dream of long-departed hours!

" Dream of thy beams o'erlaid with gold—
Dream of thy priests beneath that trod—
Dream of thy incense-clouds that roll'd
Before the altar of thy God!

" But though his face be turn'd away,
And dimm'd thy pomp and majesty,
Once more on thee shall dawn the day
Of glory and of jubilee.

" The Sun of righteousness once more
On Judah's gather'd tribes shall shine:
May I with them the Lamb adore,
Prostrate before His awful shrine!"

Of Mr. Stone's poem we can only say it is well intended; there is neither power nor imagination sufficient for us to hold out to

him any hopes, either of fame or profit, from his poetical abilities.

The "Book of Poetry" is a pretty selection.

The poems of Lord John Manners, though hastily written, are evidences that he does possess both ability and feeling enough to make him an acquisition to our literature. His feelings, too, are all on the right side—such as become a worthy scion of the house of Rutland. We take an extract from the larger of his lordship's poems, viz., "England's Trust," to justify these remarks:—

"Hail, Independence! who can number all
The blessings rare that can answer to thy call,
And by a stroke of thy enchanter's wand,
Enrich each peasant's hut throughout the land?
Lured by thy light, the working classes own
No sickly love for Church, or State, or Throne:
Proud of his wit, and wise in his conceit,
Th' enlightened booby feels the generous heat;
Disdains to own dependence on the great,
And learns to murmur at his low estate."

This is irony very strong, yet delicate and worthy even of Cowper. Nor do we find lofty aspirations wanting, nor language fitting in which to express them: there is a fine instance in the same poem:—

"'Tis past, and England's ear the cry has heard—
That cry has England's inmost heart-blood stirred.
And now with all a mother's love she glows,
To bid her wanderers on the Church repose.
Behold the distant lands that own her sway,
Taught by the Church, her gentle rule obey;
And mark the spirit that in by-gone days
Set the wide world in one religious blaze,
And poured the mailed might of this our land,
In holiest ardour on the Paynim strand,
O'er other lands to those great men unknown,
Waft the deep cadence of their trumpet-tone,
Till England shall, with justice, claim and keep
A holier name than Mistress of the Deep—
That name which Rome in youthful vigour bore,
While Faith repeated it from shore to shore:
MOTHER OF CHURCHES! this thy glorious name,
Thy best prerogative, thy chiefest fame!"

May the prayer be granted. Lord John Manners is partial, like all poets, to the memory of the Stuarts; and there is much grace, as well as pathos, in the mode in which he shows this

partiality. On the tombs of the last princes of that family, in St. Peter's, he writes thus :—

“ Weep, angels of my country, weep,
Ye guard no common shrine ;
Your vigils o'er the last ye keep
Of Stuart's royal line.

“ The spell that bound us to our kings
Is riven, and men now say,
That he but idly dreams, who clings
To what has passed away.

“ It may be so ; but I will yet
All dreamingly love on ;
Love with a lover's fond regret,
That will not say, ‘ Begone !’

“ Weep, angels of my country, weep ;
Within that portal gate
Our monarchs, in their dreamless sleep,
Their Monarch's coming wait.”

And now we must candidly tell our noble author, that, with all his old English feeling and poetical ability, his volume is not without faults. His lines are sometimes very careless, and there is no *limæ labor*. Some of the poems were written when he was tired, and some, we fear, when he was half asleep. However, he *can* do well, and we do not doubt that he will.

Your Life. By the Author of “ My Life, by an Ex-Dissenter.” London: Fraser. 1841.

THE author of “ My Life” has now given us a further portion of his promised series. We have now before us the life of a clergyman, and if not quite so interesting, it is even more instructive than the volume which preceded it, inasmuch as it gives information on subjects less generally understood. The author is, however, in error on some points connected with the Wesleyan Methodists; and, doubtless, had he seen our article on that body in April, he would have refrained from some expressions and remarks which we find in his work.

A full Report of the Case of Mastin v. Escott, Clerk. By W.C. Curteis, L.L.D., Advocate in Doctors Commons. London: Crofts and Blenkarn. 1841.

WE have expressed our opinions on this important case in our Ecclesiastical Report. This volume seems to be very full and accurate, and has also an Appendix of valuable documents.

MISCELLANEOUS.

1. *Eastern Arts and Antiquities, mentioned in the Sacred Scriptures ; with numerous Illustrations.* London : Religious Tract Society. 1841.
2. *Ancient History. History of the Egyptians.* London : Religious Tract Society.

It is with great pleasure we notice these two unpretending works. They are, though anonymous, known to be the production of a respectable scholar and sound Churchman. They bear traces of great industry, and considerable powers of investigation. If the Tract Society would publish only such works as these, we, at least, should look with more favour on their doings.

1. *Of the Apostasy predicted by St. Paul.* By Mortimer O'Sullivan, D.D., Rector of Kelleman. Part 1. Dublin : Curry. 1841.
2. *Hints to Teachers in National Schools ; selected from Modern Works on Practical Education.* Edited by the Rev. Henry Hepwood, of Queen's College, Cambridge, and Inspector of National Schools. London : Burns. 1841.

THIS is a judicious selection, and likely to be useful to many besides those for whom it is more immediately intended.

Ancient Models ; or, Hints on Church Building. By Charles Anderson, Esq. A new edition, enlarged. London : Burns. 1841.

WE have already spoken favourably of this little book, and are glad to find that its merits seem generally acknowledged. This is either the third or fourth edition.

The Powers of the Greek Tenses, and other Papers. By Francis Whaley Harper, M.A., Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge. Cambridge : Grant. 1841.

THESE papers are the productions of a scholar, who has made, what in itself would be a dry disquisition, interesting, and even amusing, by his researches into modern literature.

The World in the Year 1840. London : Fraser. 1841.

A SUCCESSION of papers which appeared in the "Britannia," and which are marked by all the brilliancy that distinguish, and have distinguished, that periodical.

Church Music; a Selection of Chants, Sanctuses, and Responses; together with the Litany and Versicles, as used in the Choral Service; also Psalm Tunes, adapted to the authorized Metrical Versions. Arranged and Edited by Richard Readhead, Organist, Margaret Chapel, St. Marylebone. London: Burns. 1841.

A GOOD selection and well arranged. Mr. Readhead's own compositions are by no means unworthy of the rest.

The History of England, from the Accession to the Decease of King George III. By John Adolphus, Esq. Vol. 2. London: Lee. 1841.

WHEN we noticed the first volume of the new edition of this important work, we expressed a hope that the project of republishing it, in an enlarged form, would meet with the success it deserved. The subscription list is, we rejoice to see, beginning to assume an encouraging appearance. The sixty years during which George III. swayed the sceptre of Britain were so full of events of importance, that it may be said they comprised the *most* interesting period of our annals. Those who value the memory of one of the best kings that ever reigned—who love the constitution now so fearfully threatened—who prize the rights and *safety* of Englishmen, should do more than cursorily read “The History of England” during George III.'s reign, by John Adolphus.

Ashante and the Gold Coast; being a Sketch of the History, Social State, and Superstitions of the Inhabitants of those Countries, with a Notice of the state and prospects of Christianity among them. By John Beecham. London: Mason. 1841.

THIS is a very interesting account of the state of a country at present little known: it gives also a statement of what has been done by the Wesleyan missionaries there. When shall we have bishops over all our possessions?

Life, Health, and Disease. By Edward Johnson, Surgeon. Fifth Edition. London: Simpkin and Marshall. 1841.

WE have seen many more philosophical treatises than this—many more scientific; but never one more popularly written. It is, we think, likely to benefit the community, though the author does occasionally talk a little nonsense—such as saying that poets, and lovers, and lunatics, are all the same; and other absurdities that we could point out.

The Church Committee: an Incident in the Life of Mr. John Wilful. London: Burns. 1841.

THE practice of conveying useful information by means of

pleasant stories, though very ancient, has never been so much nor so well used as at present. Mr. Gresley, Mr. Paget, the author of "My Life, by an Ex-Dissenter," have all done good service to the cause by a judicious use of this instrument. A very good addition to the stores of rational and instructive amusement is made by the author of the "Church Committee." We hope to hear more of Mr. John Wilful.

ILLUSTRATED WORKS.

1. *Scenery and Antiquities of Ireland Illustrated.* Parts 2, 3, 4. London: Virtue. 1841.
2. *The Works of Josephus, with Illustrations.* Parts 11, 12. London: Virtue. 1841.
3. *Fox's Book of Martyrs.* Edited by the Rev. J. Cumming. Parts 3, 4. London: Virtue. 1841.

THESE works, of which we have before spoken in terms of commendation, are continued in a highly satisfactory way. The edition of "Josephus" is complete, and forms a handsome volume. There is an able introduction by Dr. Stebbing, a good index, and twelve elegant plates.—The "Scenery of Ireland" bids fair to be one of the best works of its class; and the edition of Fox well suited to those who cannot purchase so large a book at once. It is not adapted for the library of the scholar, nor can it be quoted by the controversialist, but it is published for the middle classes.

REPRINTS.

1. *The Work of the Ministry, represented to the Clergy of the Diocese of Ely.* By Symon, Lord Bishop of Ely. Edited by the Rev. W. B. Hawkins, M.A. London: Rivingtons. 1841.
2. *The Art of Contentment.* By Lady Pakenham. Edited by the Rev. W. Pridden, M.A., Vicar of Broxton, Essex. London: Burns. 1841.
3. *On the Government of Churches; a Discourse pointing at the Primitive Form.* By Herbert Thorndike, M.A. Edited by the Rev. David Lewis, M.A., Fellow of Jesus College, Oxford. London: Stewart. 1841.

It will be unnecessary for us to praise Symon Patrick, or Herbert Thorndike, or the authoress of the "Whole Duty of Man." All that we have to do, is to express our satisfaction at seeing any part of their works so carefully edited, and so elegantly printed.

THE
CHURCH OF ENGLAND
Quarterly Review.

OCTOBER, MDCCCXLI.

ART. I.—*Tracts of the Anglican Fathers.* Vols. I. and II.
London: Painter. 1841.

AMONG many of those signs of the times which encourage us to hope, and which leave on our minds a calm and quiet confidence, that God has not yet forsaken us, we look with especial thankfulness on the increasing desire to investigate deeply the principles on which the doctrine and discipline of our Church are founded. We see, it is true, that on every side the sacred citadel is assailed, and that the defenders within, like the factions of John and Simon, at the siege of Jerusalem, are but half united. We find great diversities existing among the clergy as well as the laity, and a spirit of unholy rivalry subsisting between the various parties; yet, while the bitterness remains, the number of the combatants is decreasing. One by one the sounder minded are drawing together: the “Record” on the one hand, and the “Tracts for the Times” on the other, are losing their adherents; and though the young partizans of the former are as sanctimonious and as pharisaic, and those of the latter as conceited and as insolent as ever, they excite now disgust instead of alarm—pity instead of indignation.

We cannot expect that a raw youth, who has just taken his degree as Bachelor of Arts, and who has been necessitated to confine his attention to the classics, and history, and mathematics, necessary to stick as a tail to his name that ornamental appendage—can have, in ordinary cases, more than a mere smattering of divinity; nor can we reasonably hope that he

shall see his deficiencies, if he can, by attaching himself to a party, be raised, at least in his own imagination, to some trifling degree of consequence. This intermixture of evil with good is one of the conditions of our finite nature, and we cannot suppress it, for it is a part of the evil which is in the world through sin. Notwithstanding all this, we do nevertheless rejoice that the present condition of our Church is one rather of controversy than rest. There is an Indian fable which tells us, that the water of immortality was obtained by the churning of a troubled sea; and, amongst the *worthier* controversialists of our day, we have some whose exertions have done much, and will, we trust, do more, towards unveiling

“The face sublime of truth eternal.”

We have no pleasure in the larger portion of those who write expositions of our creeds and articles; not only because they have wasted, too often, their own time, and that also of their readers; but because, even if they are right, they do but say what others have said far better before them. When, however, we see reprints from our elder and mightier divines—men, the print of whose footsteps shows us how colossal was their intellectual stature—then we feel our trust encouraged and our hopes strengthened; and it may be that the study of such writings will, by God’s blessing, be made the means of raising a generation of theologians to walk in their steps. The Parker Society—the Library of Anglo-Catholic Theology—the new editions of Thorndike, and Patrick, and Lawrence—Jenkyns’s Cranmer—Heber’s Taylor—the works of Bingham and Collier, put forth but this last year by Mr. Straker—and lastly, though not in the least place, the “Tracts of the Anglican Fathers,” have worked, and are still working, a very beneficial influence on the public mind.

Of this last publication it is now our intention to speak more at large; and we have waited for the completion of the second volume, because it contains the Doctrinal Tracts, commencing with Thorndike, which the Editor gives because it had been long promised and expected. We find select portions from the works of Tyndale; Bishops Bilson, Ridley, Hooper, Taylor, and Kidder; Archbishops Sandys, Bramhall, and King; and Doctors Becon and Turner. Most of the chief doctrines of our Church are thus treated, and the Tracts have each an historical preface and notes. In our present article we shall, after giving our general approbation to the whole series, confine our observations to the Tract on Election and Predestination, by Archbishop King, and that on Original Sin, by Jeremy Taylor.

The philosophical mind can scarcely have a more pleasing or a more profitable employment than an enquiry into the doctrines of the Anglican Church. Let the Articles, the Liturgy, and the Homilies, be read by a man of clear and metaphysical intellect, and he will perceive that they are all beautifully consistent, if *rightly* understood; but if one or two of the chief be but a little taken amiss, the whole becomes a mass of inextricable confusion.

We will take an instance. A Calvinistic clergyman, one, alas! of too unhappy notoriety, was in the habit of saying, that all who took orders, and who were not of Calvinistic principles, had "*ipso facto*" perjured themselves! Now, when this man was once pressed to give an explanation of the seventeenth Article in accordance with his own system, he was forced to allow that it was very weak and foolish, and though very true, yet quite unnecessary, as it was a mere truism; he was further compelled to admit, that if any man acted as he said the Almighty had done, we should be perfectly right to condemn the conduct of that man. The Editor of the "*Tracts of the Anglican Fathers*" has noticed this style of argument, and makes the following remarks upon it:—

"The only answer ever made to this objection, has been an attempt to silence the objector. Shall the potsherd of the earth strive against their Maker? Shall the clay say to the potter, why hast thou made me thus? In fine, it has been said, you have no right—indeed, it is absolute blasphemy—to say that what God has done is unjust. To which the objector may reply—I know it is; and therefore, because what you say he *has* done *is* unjust, I deny that he has done it. It must not, however, be forgotten, that the answer to the objection which we have been considering may be put in another form; and as it is more plausible in that form, it will be necessary to notice it. It is this—that, by reason of our finite nature, we are not competent to decide as to the justice of God's doings; so that the objection to any scheme, drawn from its appearing contrary to his justice, is, in the very nature of things, untenable, because it refers to principles which the human mind is unable to comprehend. This matter deserves a little consideration.

"It pleased God to form the visible and moral universe upon a certain plan, and to rule it by certain laws; so that it may be said, that justice, and every virtue, are, as it were, *inventions* of the Supreme, for the use of his creatures, and for their benefit. This being the case, they must, of course, be competent to judge of these virtues where-soever found—to trace them in the dealings of their Maker with themselves as readily as in their dealings one with another; and although in cases where the whole of a transaction cannot be seen—and such are many of the dealings of Providence—it may be impossible for man to understand the equity of a particular dispensation; yet if all the

circumstances connected with it were unfolded to his view, he would clearly comprehend, and readily admit, that the whole was just and upright."

This last sentence makes the whole perfectly clear. It is because we do not, cannot see God's dispensations, *as a whole*, that they appear mysterious. It is the narrowness of our knowledge, not the error of our reason, that causes our defective theology. We may have, as an old writer observes, only an inch of reason, but that inch of reason, so far as it can guide us at all, will guide us aright; and the larger the measure, the purer the quality of that intellect which a man possesses, the more nearly will his *natural* theology approach the revealed theology of the Scriptures. Many of Plato's conceptions approached so nearly to the truth, with regard to religion, that it has been said that he was acquainted with the Hebrew Scriptures: a most unlikely supposition, and besides which, the same argument would make him skilled in the New Testament also. The Editor of these Tracts speaks of the doctrine of God's independence on space and duration as one too abstruse for the multitude, and therefore, because *not necessary to salvation*, passed over without *express* discussion by the inspired writers; yet there were ever some to whom it *was* familiar. Even among the Gentiles it was not altogether lost. This august truth found a fit dwelling-place in the mind of Plato, a man who possessed, perhaps, the most magnificent intellect ever bestowed upon mortal. He thus expresses himself on the nature of God: "God is that which was, is, and shall be; yet of him we should only say, He is." This is but putting in another form the most sublime name of the Eternal, "I AM." The same doctrine has been taught by Dante, by St. Thomas Aquinas, by Sir Thomas Brown, and by Archbishop King.

We by no means wish by these remarks to give any undue prominence to man's unaided intellect; we well know how limited it is, and how weak are the sanctions which it gives: but we do contend, that *they* unduly depress it, and are therefore guilty of ingratitude towards its Almighty Maker, who suppose it to be *entirely* perverted, and naturally incapable of appreciating the beautiful and the true. Moreover, we may have a most luminous and philosophical view of theological truth, without, therefore, having our minds *morally* illuminated by "the light that cometh from above;" or, on the other hand, we may have, to a large extent, that moral illumination, and yet be exceedingly dark and narrow-minded in the philosophy of our theoretical divinity. This is so common-place a truth, that it may seem almost a waste of time to repeat it, and

yet it is practically but little regarded. The human mind is capable, by its own operations, of arriving at much truth which is to us matter of revelation. Let this be asserted, and forthwith there starts up some objector or other, who says, "You deny the necessity of revelation, and would substitute the acuteness of man's understanding for the word of God." Now this arises from a well-meant zeal, but it involves a complete forgetfulness of that principle which the objector so willingly allows, viz., that moral and intellectual illumination are totally different things; for while, on the one hand, knowledge of God's will is necessary to its due performance, yet that knowledge may be attained in various ways, and may, after all, fail of its effect. We are led to these remarks, trite as we are well aware they must seem, by the extraordinary contradictions which are made among divines of our Church as to the sense of some of her Articles—contradictions which have led some to imagine, that the sense of the Articles in question was left purposely ambiguous, in order to admit within the ecclesiastical pale persons of various opinions on certain difficult points. This is a great mistake; the seventeenth Article speaks as plainly as the first, to those who have qualified themselves to understand it.

"In respect to the point of ideality (says Mr. Faber, in his noble work on Election), the Anglican Church, when, in the seventeenth Article, she speaks of predestination to life, teaches not an election of certain individuals, either absolute or previsional, directly and immediately to eternal happiness; but she teaches an election of certain individuals into the Church Catholic, in order that there, according to the everlasting purpose and morally-operating intention of God, they may be delivered from curse and damnation, and thus, indirectly and mediately, may be brought, through Christ, to everlasting salvation; agreeably to God's promises, as they are generically, not specifically, set forth to us in holy Scripture.

"That such is the real doctrine of the Church of England—in other words, that she teaches a predestination to life, not direct and immediate, but indirect and mediate—inevitably follows from the circumstance, that, while in her sixteenth Article she hints at the possibility of the elect individually departing from grace given, in her homilies and in her burial service she distinctly states, that the elect, in her sense of the word, may, in their individual capacity, fall away utterly, and thus perish finally. Now this statement is palpably incompatible with the tenet of a direct and immediate predestination of individuals to eternal life; for individuals so predestinated could not, by the very terms of their predestination, fall away utterly and irrecoverably. Therefore the predestination to life, mentioned in the seventeenth Article, can only mean an indirect and mediate predestination of individuals; or, in other words, it can only mean a predestination of indi-

viduals to eternal life, through the medium of election into the Catholic Church, in God's everlasting purpose and intention indeed: but still, since God, in executing his purpose and intention, operates upon the minds of his intelligent creatures not physically but morally, with a possibility of their defeating that merciful purpose and intention, and thence of their finally falling away to everlasting destruction."

But while we do not allow, and are, indeed, quite able to disprove the position, that any of our Articles were framed ambiguously *in order* to allow the holders of discordant tenets to become and remain members of the Anglican Church, we do not deny that the apparent ambiguity of some among them has *practically* had that effect; and, considering the character and energies of those who have thus been acquired and retained, we by no means regret it. Nor can this feeling be branded as a concession to the dangerous principle of expediency: we would not make ambiguous Articles—our Reformers neither would nor did; but we are glad that good men have, in some cases, where their own views were incorrect, mistaken the Articles, and thus been prevented from adding schism to heresy. The mode in which Archbishop Lawrence investigated the seventeenth Article is the only way by which its true intent can be ascertained: he looked to the opinions of the Reformers themselves, and to the German divines with whom they chiefly corresponded. Among these the principal was Melancthon. "*Sic me exercent Angli ut vix mihi respirare licet,*" he exclaims, in a letter to a friend: his caution and moderation—his unwillingness to leave the beaten path—his clinging love to the fathers of the Christian Church, all proclaimed a mind akin to that of the Riddleys, and the Cranmers, and the Jewels, of our own country. In his celebrated letter to Myconius, he exclaims, "*Nec ullam satis gravem rationem inveni, cur in hac materia à fide majorum dissentiam.*" Let us then see what were the sentiments of Melancthon on the subject of predestination: hear Mr. Faber in his noble work on Election:—

"The import of the word *generally* is, I suspect, very often and very widely misapprehended by the readers of the seventeenth Article, as it occurs in the English form. The term is thought to be equivalent to *usually*, or *for the most part*; and thence the clause is supposed to teach, that, in the matter of election, God's promises must be received as they are most usually set forth in Scripture; so that, in the interpretation of Holy Writ, we must not set one text in opposition to another text.

"But this is in nowise either the meaning of the term, or the drift of the clause.

"From its ambiguity, the word *generally* has, no doubt, been infelicitously selected: but a moment's inspection of the Article in its

Latin form will show us the import of the term. Its sense is, not *generally* as opposed to *unusually*, but *generally* as opposed to *particularly*. Had the word *generically* been used in the English form of the Article, instead of the word *generally*, all ambiguity would have been avoided; and thus the real drift of the clause would have stood out plain and distinct.

“The latter part of the Article is an explanation of its former part. We must embrace the doctrine of predestination to life: but then, as that predestination, through the medium of election into the Church Catholic, is, so far as respects particulars or individuals, only according to God’s everlasting moral purpose and intention, the promises of God, in regard to predestination and election, must be received *generically*, not *specifically*. That is to say, the promises of God must be received *generically*, with a reference to the whole collective Church of the election, which Christ has founded upon a rock, and which (agreeably to his express prophecy) can never be finally overturned: not received *specifically*, with a reference to a certain number of individuals of that Church, whose particular predestination to life might thence be erroneously pronounced absolute and irreversible.

“In this explanation, furnished by the Article itself, we may plainly, in its very phraseology, detect the assisting hand of Melancthon: and, where his hand is detected, we can never doubt the real meaning. * *

“Great is the comfort (says he) that we assuredly know, from the word of God, that, in his immense mercy, on account of his Son, God is always collecting the Church among mankind, and that he does it by the voice of the Gospel. But you will say: This comfort avails, so far as my knowing that the Church is securely preserved for the benefit of others; but perhaps that will not at all profit myself: for how shall I know who are the elect? I answer: To thee also this generic comfort is profitable, because thou oughtest to believe that the Church is securely preserved for thy benefit also: and the commandment of God is eternal and immovable, that thou also shouldst hear the Son, shouldst repent, and shouldst believe that thou wilt be received by God, for the sake of the Mediator. Being such as thou art, it is certain when thou departest from this life that thou art in the number of the elect.”

Cranmer had married the niece of Osiander, one of the chief German Reformers, and he looked a great deal to the counsels of his new connection. The whole tenor of the Anglican theology, however, while it is *not Calvinistic*, and only Lutheran so far as Lutheranism was an embodying of the purer and better divinity of the early Church, was certainly far more closely in accordance with the *latter* than the former.

“The object of Luther was to debar all enquiry into a divine will antecedent to Christianity, and to make the predestination of the person *consequent* to the conduct of the Christian: an object which Calvin despised, and an order which he reversed. ‘In his persevera, tanquam murus aheneus, nihil aliud inculcari tibi sinens, quam quo

modo se ipse ostendit et manifestat per verbum Christi.' (Vol. v., p. 197). 'Ac initio quidem voluit Deus occurrere huic curiositati; sic enim suam voluntatem et consilium proposuit: "Ego tibi præscientiam et prædestinationem egregie manifestabo, sed non ista via rationis et sapientiæ carnalis, sicut tu imaginaris: sic faciam; ex Deo non revelato fiam revelatus, et tamen idem Deus manebo.".....Tu habes evangelium, es baptizatus, habes absolutionem, es Christianus, et tamen dubitas? Deus dicit tibi, "En habes filium meum, hunc audias et acceptes. Id si facis, jam certus es de fide et salute tua." Omittendæ sunt disputationes, et dicendum, "Ego sum Christianus." Dedit tibi firmissima argumenta certitudinis et veritatis suæ. Dedit Filium in carnem et mortem, instituit sacramenta, ut scias eum non velle fallacem esse, sed veracem. Atque ita de prædestinatione tua certus eris, remotis omnibus curiosis et periculosis quæstionibus de Dei arcanis consiliis.' " (Vol. vi., p. 355).

These are quotations made by Archbishop Lawrence, and they contain the most beautifully consistent theory of the divine love and mercy that we can form; but be it always remembered, "*remotis omnibus curiosis et periculosis quæstionibus de Dei arcanis consiliis.*"

While, however, we agree that, among ordinary persons, the less these "curious and dangerous questions" are meddled with the better, we do not at all imagine that any good purpose would be answered by their being altogether neglected. We would not have the *bulk* of mankind study law or medicine, but it is not the less necessary that *some* should be deeply versed in the mysteries of those sciences. Now in this particular mystery—that, viz., of predestination—there is a mode of explanation, clear though abstruse, requiring a powerful mind for its comprehension, but perfectly easy for that powerful mind to comprehend. Speaking on this solution, the Editors of the Anglican Tracts say—

"We have spoken of it as an abstruse doctrine, and so it is; a doctrine *too* abstruse for the multitude, and one *not* necessary to salvation. This is, we apprehend, the reason that it is not formally enunciated in the book of the divine oracles; but that it is there implied, we have, we trust, satisfactorily shown. If it be asked, what is the *utility* of bringing forward a doctrine which is allowed to be of a nature too recondite, even when ever so ably explained and elucidated, for the majority to comprehend? we reply, that there is much danger in *those doctrines* to which it is the *only* antidote; that we may be, and we doubt not shall be, understood by many; and to the rest we can only say, they believe that which is told them by astronomers respecting the distances and magnitudes of the heavenly bodies, and they do not listen to any pretender who might tell them to the contrary; and this although their want of mathematical learning incapacitates them from ascertaining which is right and which is wrong.

What we entreat of them is, to do the same in this momentous question; and if their minds are ever troubled by those questions of predestination and foreknowledge, to which we have alluded, to remember that the omniscience of God, and the free will of man, and his consequent responsibility, do not clash one with the other, but offer a reciprocal support. If they find the question too abstruse, let them dismiss it, but remember that it has been solved, and take to their comfort the solution."

Let us now, therefore, state this grand yet abstruse doctrine. We shall endeavour to show, that to God *everything* is *known*, but *nothing* is *foreknown*; that, in fact, there is to him *neither past nor future*, but that, in the words of one of our philosophical poets, "he sees before him one immortal now!" This, we acknowledge, is a conception difficult to comprehend—impossible perfectly to realize; but it is one which is not unintelligible: it may be so far brought within the grasp of our reason, that if we do not see *the means* whereby it is—the *mode* wherein it exists—we may yet be convinced of its *possibility*, and this is all that is necessary. We are perfectly aware that God is everywhere present, and this idea we realize by having recourse to infinity; and thus, conceiving him to be a spiritual essence, pervading all space and ruling all creation, we are also aware, though we find more difficulty in bringing the conception in an intelligible form before our minds, that the Deity must have *been from everlasting*, and that he is self-existent. This is more difficult to realize, because the relations of space are generally more easily embraced by the intellect than those of duration: still we can so far understand the fact, that it offers no stumbling-block to our reason. Now we never think of extending these attributes to man; we at once perceive that he *had* a beginning, and that he can exist *but in one portion of space at a time*; yet, though man cannot do this, it would be acknowledged impious to say that the Supreme Being labours under the same incapacity. Let us extend these just and reverend ideas to the relations of duration: let us acknowledge that God fills *all time* with his being, as well as *all space* with his presence: let us admit, that to Him the past and the future are alike present—as, indeed, to the Self-existent, who has from all eternity been the same, must necessarily be the case*—and we shall find the foreknowledge of

* This argument may be expressed thus:—As God existed from all eternity, if he existed by periods of duration, then every moment of his existence must have been successively future, present, and past; but it cannot be said of a period *infinitely* distant in the past, that it ever was present, much less future; for if so, then there was a period previous to it: and thus we have degrees in infinity, and one period more infinitely distant than another, which is an ab-

God will assume quite another aspect; it will be no longer foreknowledge, but simply knowledge, the being acquainted with that which *is*. Thus, then, we see that the circumstance of our ultimate destiny being known to the Almighty does not at all make that fate less an undecided, undetermined matter. He sees that which *to us* is *future*, because to *him* it is *present*: he perceives it because *it is*, but it is not in consequence of his seeing it that it is.

The events of all ages are mirrored in the mind of the Eternal God—the transactions of the most remote future as well as of the earliest periods—simply because his supreme existence knows *no difference of time*, but subsists at one and the same time in the solitary grandeur in which he was before creation, and in that ineffable glory which shall burst on the eyes of the Christian when heaven and earth shall have passed away. In a word, the whole of his existence, which had no beginning, and which can have no termination, is ever present to him; not by way of recollection or of anticipation, but actually present by virtue of his infinite attributes. Thus we see, that because any event may be said to be future to us, it is not therefore future to Him who made us; and though the certain knowledge of any future event, *if possessed by a finite creature*, would of itself render that event certain, it is not so in the case of the Deity.

We are well aware that a doctrine so abstruse as this is not one which is fitted, except under very peculiar circumstances, for the pulpit; and yet there is, or rather was (for the fashion is happily on the wane) no subject more preached about than predestination. Sermon after sermon from the same pulpit were addressed to the *elect*; and, indeed, it became a sort of shibboleth among the clergy. To be a Calvinist was tantamount to being an evangelical minister, and a good man. All the hot zeal and fiery piety of innovators was ranked on the same side, while the more cool judgment and sounder devotion of those who refused to be called by any watchword of party, did not prevent them from being stigmatized as “unfaithful shepherds”—“worldly ministers”—“persons who were afraid to declare the whole counsel of God.” This state of opinion lasted till the era of the Wesleys; and it was only when that state of feeling and activity, which was supposed to embody in itself Christianity, was found among persons decidedly Arminian, that the opinion began to

surdity, a contradiction in terms; consequently we must admit that the Divine Being does not, like his finite creatures, exist by periods of duration, but that all times are alike present to him.

decline. To recur, however, once more to the theory itself. We have already shown the difference between *knowledge* and *fore-knowledge* in the divine mind :—

“ Thus it is, then, that the events of future ages, the actions of yet unborn men, are before Him, *because* they take place ; and whom he doth foreknow—that is, behold in this reflection walking in his ways, which he doth set before him—they doth he also predestinate. Nor let it be supposed that we thus cut short any of the divine attributes, when we deny that anything can be, in *our sense of the word, foreseen* by the Supreme. We assert, that he knoweth all things ; but as all things take place according to his most righteous government, he must of necessity know that which he does or permits to be done ; whereas if we imagine that the Deity foresees the future, as *future to himself*, we must, by admitting that all things, all events, small or great, are decided by that foreknowledge, strip God of his power, and make him, as well as man, a mere *creature of necessity*.”

But the best mode of treating the question of preordination is to show, that the principles upon which it stands (whether they can be answered metaphysically or not) are not those on which God is pleased to act. The cases of Nineveh, Ahab, and Hezekiah are exactly in point, and we find them thus taken up by the Anglican Tractators: “ When the sacred writers, speaking of God, say, ‘ God is not a man that he should lie, nor the son of a man that he should repent,’ we are to understand this as implying, that God’s determinations were not to be influenced *like those of man* ; but that the divine pleasure *has* been repeatedly changed, concerning particular objects, we have the authority of the Scriptures themselves for asserting. He resolved, for the wickedness of the people, to destroy the city of Nineveh ; but when they repented, even though he had especially commissioned a prophet to denounce his judgments against them, he mercifully gave them further time, and delayed carrying into execution the judgment of vengeance.

“ The question here occurs, did God *intend* to destroy Nineveh when he sent Jonah ? Undoubtedly *he did*, for otherwise we must suppose that he sent a prophet in his name to prophecy a lie ; and if even we are told, that the object of the falsehood was to drive the people of Nineveh, by terror, to repentance, we dare not for a moment suppose so monstrous an inconsistency. God, therefore, *intending* to destroy Nineveh, was moved, by the repentance of the guilty people, to exercise his favourite attribute, and pardon them.”

The whole Scripture is full of similar instances of God’s mercy ; and it is really singular, that, since Calvinism merely gives its disciple a choice of difficulties, he should choose those

that dishonour God, rather than those which admit the frailty and imperfection of man. We will adduce a few similar instances. Hezekiah was sick, and the sacred narrative proceeds thus: "And the prophet Isaiah, the son of Amos, came unto him and said, Thus saith the Lord, set thine house in order, for thou shalt die, and not live." Hezekiah, however, turned his face to the wall, and poured forth an earnest prayer to the Lord, that his life might be spared. "And it came to pass, that before Isaiah was gone out into the middle court, that the word of the Lord came unto him, saying, Turn again, and tell Hezekiah, the captain of my people, Thus saith the Lord, the God of David thy father, I have heard thy prayer, I have seen thy tears; behold, I will heal thee: on the third day thou shalt go up to the house of the Lord, and I will add unto thy days fifteen years." This is, perhaps, the most remarkable answer to prayer recorded in the Scriptures. The cause of the prayer, and the benignity of God's answer, is evident, though it is too generally overlooked. We are not to suppose that Hezekiah, though he had probably committed some sin, for which the awful sentence was pronounced, of which Isaiah was but the messenger—we can hardly, we say, suppose that this pious monarch looked with a pusillanimous terror on the approach of death; but had he died *then*, he would have died *childless*; and this, which was, under any circumstances, considered a curse among the Jews, was doubly so to a descendant of David, and a king of Israel.

Once more, a heavy curse was denounced against Ahab, but Ahab humbled himself before God, and the execution of the curse was delayed till another generation. "I will not bring the evil in his days; but in his son's days will I bring the evil upon his house." Many more such cases might be adduced, but these three will be enough; and we shall be entitled to say, from these instances, that in the case of Nineveh, in that of Hezekiah, and in that of Ahab, there was *no* irreversible decree gone forth concerning them *at all*. For where is the man who will tell us that Jonah, Elijah, and Isaiah were sent by the God of truth to prophecy in his name a lie, and a lie too which would bring with it its own refutation, and hand it down to all posterity? If, then, we agree that *no irreversible* decree had been ordained concerning this mighty city and these two princes, we must at once give up the idea that any such decree is, or ever has been, passed concerning *any person or event at all*. For the argument of the predestinarian supposes, that *because* God foresees an event, it *must* of necessity come to pass, and nothing can change it; but as he foresees all things, and all motives, so

everything takes place according to the irreversible decree passed before the foundation of the world. But if it be proved that there are events not so decreed, then the whole argument must fall, because it would imply that those events were *not foreseen* by the Lord; and thus, according to the predestinarian, he would not be omniscient. We therefore ask the question, what *was* decreed in the instances we have taken? Or rather put the case in this way—either it was ordained, from all eternity, that Nineveh should be destroyed, that Hezekiah should die, and that the curse should be fulfilled upon Ahab at the times peculiarly predicted by Jonah, Isaiah, and Elijah, or that they should not. If that they *should*, then the decree was reversed; for Nineveh was *not* then destroyed, Hezekiah did *not* then die, *nor* was the curse then executed upon Ahab. If that they should *not*, then God, having previously determined otherwise, sent three distinguished prophets to declare in his name a falsehood. The only way of avoiding the frightful, nay, the blasphemous alternative, is to suppose that no decree about them was passed at all; but that God, in all cases, leaves his creatures quite free, and consequently entirely responsible.

The consequences of the doctrine are not less extraordinary than the doctrine itself; and it is because these consequences are so explicitly denied by our Articles, that we are enabled to convince some that the doctrine itself is not to be found there. That this was the case, and that the Calvinistic divines were not satisfied with the formularies as they were finally drawn up, is well known; and were any further evidence required, such evidence is to be found in the “Nine Assertions Orthodoxal,” which were intended to “correct” the non-Calvinistic tenor of the Articles and other formulæ. Archbishop Lawrence, after quoting Cranmer at considerable length, adds—

“Upon the same points, the universality and defectibility of grace—points utterly incompatible with the Calvinistic theory—Latimer seems to have spoken no less decidedly than Cranmer. On the first head he adopted the following unambiguous mode of expression:—‘The promises of Christ our Saviour are general; they pertain to all mankind. He made a general proclamation, saying, “Whosoever believeth in me hath everlasting life!” Likewise St. Paul saith, “The grace and mercies of God exceed far our sins.” Therefore let us ever think and believe that the grace of God, his mercy and goodness, exceedeth our sins. Also consider what Christ saith with his own mouth: “Come to me, *all* ye that labour and are heavy laden, and I will ease you.” Mark here he saith, “Come *all* ye.” Wherefore, then, should any man despair, to shut out himself from these promises of Christ, which be general, and pertain to the whole world?.....Now, seeing that the Gospel is universal, it appeareth that he would have all

mankind saved, and that the fault is not in Him if we be damned. For it is written thus : " God would have *all* men to be saved." His salvation is sufficient to save all mankind ; but we are so wicked of ourselves that we refuse the same, and we will not take it when it is offered unto us ; and therefore he said, " Few are chosen."

Is it possible for any man, at all conversant with the writings of Luther and Melancthon on one side, and with those of Calvin on the other, to hesitate in determining from which the preceding language was derived ? Nor was he deficient in precision upon the second head. On this he remarked—

" I do not put you in comfort, that if you have *once* the Spirit ye cannot lose it. There be new spirits started up now of late that say, after we have received the Spirit we cannot sin. I will make but one argument. St. Paul had brought the Galatians to the profession of the faith, and left them in that state. They had received the Spirit *once*, and they sinned again.....If this be true, we may lose the Spirit that we have once possessed. It is a fond thing, I will not tarry in it.....Whosoever purposely sinneth, *contra conscientiam*, against his conscience, he hath lost the Holy Ghost, the remission of sins, and finally Christ himself.....As there be many of us, which, when we fall willingly into sin against conscience, we lose the favour of God, our salvation, and finally the Holy Ghost."

We have now, we think, sufficiently proved, that if persons of different sentiments on this important topic remain within the pale of the Anglican Church, it is not because she has left her decision in doubt, but because they have not sufficient learning and logical accuracy to ascertain that decision. Closely connected with the Calvinistic controversy, or rather, correctly speaking, forming another branch of it, is that concerning original sin. The doctrine of the scholastic divines of the Church of Rome was very curious as to the nature of original sin. Archbishop Lawrence observes—

" They contended that the infection of our nature is not a mental, but a mere corporeal taint ; that the body alone receives and transmits the contagion, while the soul, in all instances, proceeds immaculate from the hands of her Creator. This disposition to disease, such as they allowed it to be, was considered by some of them as the effect of a peculiar quality in the forbidden fruit ; by some, as having been contracted from the poisonous breath of the infernal spirit which inhabited the serpent's body. On one point they were all united ; by preserving to the soul the bright traces of her origin unimpaired, they founded on a deceitful basis an arrogant creed, which, in declaring peace and pardon to the sinner, rested more upon personal merit than the satisfaction of a Saviour."*

" It was a prevalent tenet among the scholastic divines at the period

* Bampton Lect., serm. iii., p. 58. See Scotus, lib. ii., dist. 32.

of the Reformation, that Christ died only for original sin ; but that for our actual sins we must ourselves make satisfaction. This doctrine was, of course, strongly combated by the Reformers.* ‘Præterea plerique ipsorum jam rursus horribili et Satanica audaciâ et impudentiâ incipiunt docere Christum tantum satisfacere pro peccato originali et præteritis peccatis pro actualibus et sequentibus oportere nos satisfacere. Hoc nihil dissimulanter et palam est facere ex Christianis Turcas et Ethnicos.’ ”

Luther himself taught, that all the natural affections—conjugal love, the love between parents and children, the appetite for food and drink—were all in themselves innocent and pure, because they had been a part of the unfallen nature ; yet that they were not now so pure as they had been then, because something sinful tainted every action of human nature in its unregenerate state. That is, in other words, that “ whatsoever is not of faith is sin.”

As to the question of man’s *total* depravity, this is entirely a Calvinistic theory, and one at variance alike with Scripture and our Church :—

“ The views of original sin held by different bodies are as follows. Those of—

“ 1. The Pelagians, Socinians, and Arians ; who deny it altogether.

“ 2. Papists ; who declare it to be a mere corporeal taint, and not deserving of punishment.

“ 3. Lutherans ; who declare it to be spiritual as well as corporeal, and deserving of hell, but partial in its extent.

“ 4. Calvinists ; who declare it to be a total depravity of soul and body, and the *cause* of actual damnation.

“ 5. Church of England ; see Article XIX.

“ The differences between the doctrines of our Church and those of the Lutherans are very slight ; our Church is more moderate, and more guarded in her phraseology.

“ The Calvinists are necessitated to hold the tenets they do, as to original sin ; for if it were not a total depravity of the whole man, we must acknowledge some efficacy, though not merit, in good works. The doctrine of total depravity serves to reconcile, after some lame and incomplete manner, the justice of God with the damnation from all eternity of the non-elect ; the sin of Adam being imputed to the infant reprobate, born perverted and depraved, just as the righteousness of Christ is to the equally perverted and depraved elect infant. Well might Luther call such a doctrine as this impious. ‘Omnes facile judicare possunt quanta perversitas et dissolutio ex cogitationibus hisce impiis emergat.’ ”

This doctrine, of course, depends on another, viz., whether

* See Lawrence, Bampton Lect., p. 261, notes to serm. iii. See Luther, Op. Witten., vol. vii., 239.

what the school divines called *concupiscentia*, i. e., the natural inclination of our being in its present condition, is in itself and inherently sinful. The decision of Luther's followers rather differed from his own on this point; for whereas we have already seen Luther himself, by implication, admitting the innocence of those natural inclinations, his followers declared them to be sin. It is true that the question is a little altered, by calling it a "*mala concupiscentia*," and by making it to consist in an ill direction of the natural desires.

"The question, whether concupiscence was sin or not, was differently answered. The Papists said, No. '*Peccatum originale non potest esse aliud quam ista privatio (justitiæ) non enim est concupiscentia, tum quia illa est naturalis, tum quia ipsa est in parte sensitiva, ubi non est peccatum.*' (See also decrees of Council of Trent).

"The Lutherans said, Yes. '*Hanc malam concupiscentiam dicimus esse peccatum.*' (Saxon Confession, written in 1551).

"The Calvinists said, Yes. (See their alteration of the nineteenth Article of our Church).

"The Church of England takes a middle course, declaring that lust and concupiscence hath in itself *the nature* of sin; and her phraseology is more guarded than that of the Augsburg Confession, in simply stating, that 'original sin deserves God's wrath and damnation,' instead of 'damning and bringing to eternal death those who are not regenerated by baptism and the Holy Spirit.'

"The doctrine of imputation—that is, that men are damned through the imputed guilt of Adam—has been attributed to Calvin by Turretin and others; they deemed the doctrine essential to the unity and correctness of the system, and were unwilling to suppose Calvin opposed to it. It does not, however, appear that he believed it, if we take his own testimony: '*Hæc itaque duo distincte observanda, nempe sic omnibus naturæ nostræ partibus vitiati perversique, jam ob talem duntaxat corruptionem damnati merito convictique coram Deo tenemuratque ideo infantes quoque ipsi dum suam secum damnationem afferunt non alieno sed ipsorum vitio sunt obstricti.*'" (Inst., lib. ii., cap. i., sec. 8).

Few works have been more violently attacked than that of Bishop Jeremy Taylor on original sin; and the cause appears to be, that those who condemn it have considered it as an exposition of the *whole* doctrine, rather than as an argument concerning one small part of it.

"The positions which the eloquent bishop endeavours to prove are, as it will be perceived—

"1. That no man is damned for the offence of Adam.

"2. That therefore no infant can be damned at all.

"3. That original sin does not cause so *total* a depravity of our nature as to make us love evil *as evil*.

"Now, to do justice to Bishop Taylor, we must observe, first, that

he nowhere denies the corruption of human nature, but rather fully and freely acknowledges it, agreeing with and ably expounding the nineteenth Article of our Church. There is, indeed, one particular in which we are at liberty to differ with him, and that is the measure of Adam's superiority to us while yet in a state of innocence;—and here we have the concurrent voice of Christian antiquity and Pagan tradition with us, and against Taylor. According to that tradition, Adam was created capable, not only of perceiving the will of God, but also capable of performing it. It is true that he did it not; but he had his choice—he was sufficient to have stood, though free to fall. We are placed in a widely different situation; we have not only lost the strength which he possessed, but are placed in scenes of trial and temptation, which in a state of innocence could not have surrounded him.”

Taylor, on the other hand, maintained, that the condition of Adam was very little better than our own; and on *this* point we cannot help acknowledging our belief, that the great divine was in dangerous error; and we are glad, therefore, to see that all his positions are carefully examined and guarded by a preface, wherein the tendency of the error we have noticed is, as we see by the above quotation, obviated. The inherent sinfulness of man's nature is insisted upon, while the innocence of his natural inclinations (as such) is maintained.

“It is not, then, man's nature that inclines man to sin, though it neither discerns, nor resists, nor appreciates it; but each actual transgression is a wilful offence of his own, and for it he is, therefore, justly accountable. There is a great difference between being made to sin, and being permitted to choose it; and this latter is our case. Sin rendered the law necessary, and every offence against the law is sin. It has filled the world with temptations to transgress, and has deprived us of the strength to resist them. It has put obstacles in the way of righteousness, and has effaced from our minds that vivid perception of God's will, that clear view of moral danger, which can enable us to walk in that way. It appears, then, from a review of the subject, that original sin gives us up bound to the world, the flesh, and the devil; that by its more remote effects it created the temptations which surround us, and deprives us of the poor compensation which our good deeds could offer as a set-off against our evil ones; for we have seen that these very deeds partake of the nature of sin. Add to this, it perverts the affections and corrupts the imagination, till guilt comes in like a flood, and the verdict of the Eternal is, ‘There is none that doeth good; no, not one.’

“Original sin, then, in our case, is a *deprivation*, rather than a *depravation*. It is a negative rather than a positive evil. It is a withdrawing from the mind of man its natural strength, and foresight, and clearness of understanding. The contrary notion—that, viz., of the Calvinists—adds no glory to God, while it does very much embarrass our ideas of the Gospel dispensation, by attributing to God, as

Bishop Taylor well observes, acts of direct injustice. The principle for which the Church contends recognizes the utter helplessness of human nature, the absolute impossibility of man saving himself, the necessity of a Divine Redeemer; and what more can be required, even by the Calvinist? On the other hand, it asserts that man may and must co-operate effectually, though not meritoriously, with Christ, in the work of his own salvation; which it commands him, in the words of St. Paul, to work out with fear and trembling."

This is clear enough, and evangelical enough; and that this is the doctrine of our Church, may be shown by the fact that the Calvinistic divines were not satisfied with the nineteenth Article, but wished to make very extensive alterations. We shall give a few of these, in order to show how far their views extended:—

NINETEENTH ARTICLE.

"Man is very far gone from his original righteousness,

"And is of his own nature inclined to evil.

"Concupiscence and lust hath of itself the nature of sin."

CALVINISTIC ALTERATIONS.

"Man is *entirely* gone away from his original righteousness,

"And is of his own nature inclined *only* to evil.

"Concupiscence and lust is of itself truly and properly sin."

We must bring our remarks, however, to a close. The second volume of the "Tracts of the Anglican Fathers" consists, as we have seen, of doctrinal tracts, and is prefaced by an essay on the importance of doctrinal truth. Speaking on those memorable words of St. Paul, "Yet he himself shall be saved, yet so as by fire," the Tractator has the following words, and with these will we close this article:—

"The people who *are* to be saved, *though as by fire*, are such as, having obtained remission of sins through the blood of Christ, yet entertain erroneous views of Christian truth in other particulars—men who have sincerely sought for truth, but who, from strong prejudice, or too credulous a spirit, have never apprehended it. Not those who reject any part of God's word because they cannot reconcile it with the rest, or because it is too severe for the lives they lead, and which they are resolved to continue; but who are really sincere, and yet humble in their error. Of such we are told, that "every man's work shall be manifest, for the day that cometh shall declare it; because it shall be revealed by fire, and the fire shall try every man's work, of what sort it is: if any man's work abide which he hath built thereon, he shall receive a reward: if any man's work shall be burned, he shall suffer loss, yet he himself shall be saved, yet so as by fire." If such as these, then—men who have taken hold on the hope set before them, and who, though erroneous, have been single-minded—are to be saved only as by fire, how great must be the importance of truth in matters of religion! Every true doctrine tends to strengthen the believer in

holy things—to comfort him when faint, to encourage him when tempted; and every error deprives him of some support, of some consolation, of some happy assistance, in his way towards Zion. Man must live by every word that proceedeth out of the mouth of God; and if, however unintentionally, he throws away any part of this spiritual nutriment, he can never hope to attain to the fulness of the stature of a man in Christ Jesus. If he mix this bread of heaven with the base product of earth, it will but retard his growth in grace; and the only way of becoming fathers in the Church, is to desire earnestly, as babes in Christ, the sincere milk of the word, by which we are nourished to salvation.”

ART. II.—*Belgium*. By J. EMERSON TENNENT, Esq., M.P., Author of “Letters from the Ægean,” and “History of Modern Greece.” 8vo. 2 vols. London: Richard Bentley. 1841.

THIS is one of the most interesting works of travel we have met with for some time past. It very nearly indeed realizes the idea of what a book of travels ought to be, but what, nevertheless, very few come up to. The reader is not only presented with a great deal of light and amusing information, anecdotes, accounts of celebrated paintings, and other works of art; but, in addition, the author enters largely into details respecting the agriculture, manufactures, public institutions, and political and religious condition of the country which he visits. On some of these subjects he has contrived to throw what, in the eyes of many of his readers, we are inclined to think, will be a new light. We do not hesitate to say that one of the most important—we had almost said, the *most* important—features in the present work, is the picture of the extraordinary effects produced by the working of the spirit of Popery in Belgium, and the comparison drawn between it and the manifestations of a similar spirit in Ireland. In the dedication of his work to Lord Stanley, the author touches upon this subject in such a manner as to give some promise of what may be expected in the chapters which follow:—

“ ‘History is philosophy teaching by example;’ and it is not to be supposed that there are not, even amongst the zealots for the repeal of the union in Ireland, some few who will be attentive to its lessons. It is chiefly in this anxious hope that I have transcribed the present volumes: the more so, too, because Belgium is the one bright example which those who have addressed themselves to unsettle the allegiance of the Irish people have always ostentatiously paraded for their imitation and encouragement. From this selection they cannot now re-

treat; and I confidently believe that the exposition contained in the following pages of the condition of that country, after ten years of separation and independence, will exhibit Belgium to Ireland, if as an example at all, only as

‘*Exemplum vitiis imitabile.*’ ”

We shall, however, defer the consideration of this topic until we come to those portions of Mr. Tennent's work in which it is more particularly mentioned. In the meanwhile, we will conduct our readers to other scenes.

Mr. Tennent is particularly successful in describing the cities of the low countries; he gives us their leading features in a very lively and graphic manner, and places before our eyes these cities of the olden time in all their quaint and curious details. Bruges is one of the first of these which occurs. It appears to retain more of its original character than most places, and is, perhaps, the most perfect specimen of a town of the middle ages on this side of the Rhine. The houses have not been rebuilt in modern times, and with their ample porticoes, vast arched entrances, sculptured ornaments, and fantastic gables, are all in keeping with our stately impressions of its feudal counts and affluent and turbulent burghers.

“ Instead of the narrow, dingy passages which occur in cities of similar antiquity and renown (says Mr. Tennent), there is an air peculiarly gay and imposing in the broad and cheerful streets of Bruges; its streets enlivened by long lines of lindens and oriental plane trees, and traversed by canals, not sluggish and stagnant, but flowing with an active current through the city. Upon these the wealthier mansions open to the rear, a little ornamented ‘pleasance’ separating them from the river, laid out in angular walks, and ornamented with evergreens, clipped *en quenouilles*, and here and there a statue, or an antique vase. The squares maintain the same character of dignity and gravity, overshadowed with ‘old ancestral trees,’ and flanked by their municipal halls and towers. The monuments, of a time when Bruges was the Tyre of western Europe, and her counts and citizens combined the enterprize and wealth of the merchant with the fiery bearing of the soldier. These edifices, too, exhibit in their style something of the sturdy pride of their founders, presenting less of ornament and decoration than of domineering height and massive solidity, and striking the visitor rather by their strength than their elegance. On the whole, Bruges reminded me strongly of Pisà, and some of the towns of northern Italy, whose history and decline are singularly similar to its own. The air of the edifices and buildings is the same, and there is around it a similar appearance of desertion rather than decay; though in Bruges the retirement and solitude which was, till recently, its characteristic, has been much invaded by the concourse of strangers whom the railroad brings hourly to visit it.” (Vol. i., p. 15).

From the thirteenth to the close of the sixteenth century, Bruges was at the summit of her power and prosperity. During this period this city became one of the great *entrepôts* where produce of various kinds was collected, and from which it was distributed over western Europe. It was here also that marine insurances were first acted upon in the thirteenth century; and the first exchange for the use of merchants was also built here in the succeeding century. Such was the luxury of the citizens of Bruges at one period, that the wife of Philip the Fair is said to have exclaimed, on finding herself eclipsed in the splendour of her dress by the ladies of her capital, "Je croyais être ici la seule reine, mais j'en vois plus de cent autour de moi!" Even in her decline, Bruges wears the air of a reduced aristocracy. Her poor are said to be frightfully numerous, in proportion to her population; but they are not as elsewhere, ostentatiously offensive. "Except a few decrepid objects of compassion, by the door of the cathedral, we did not see a beggar in the streets." The churches in Bruges are remarkable for the matchless sculptures, in wood, which adorn the confessionals and pulpits, for the richness and masterly workmanship of which, indeed, the sacred edifices of the Netherlands appear to be celebrated.

"In the church of Notre Dame the pulpit is a superb work of art of this description, chiselled in oak, supported by groups of figures the size of life, and decorated throughout with arabesques and carvings of flowers and fruit of the most charming execution. It is of vast dimensions for such a work, reaching from the floor almost to the gothic roof of the building. In the same church there are two confessionals of equal elegance, each separated, as usual, into three apartments by partitions, in the front of each of which are caryatides, which support the roof."

Bruges is also rich in paintings, one of the principal collections of which is in the parlour of the chapel of the ancient hospital of St. John: the most celebrated in this collection are the *chef-d'œuvres* of Hans Hemling. The chief object of interest in this city, according to Mr. Tennent, is the tomb of Mary of Burgundy. The lace manufacture is almost the only one still remaining to Bruges, and the product of this is exported to France, to be sold, under the name of *Point de Valenciennes*. The exquisitely fine thread which is made in Hainault and Brabant, for the purpose of being worked into lace, has sometimes reached a value almost incredible: 1,000 to 1,500 francs is by no means an unusual price for it per pound; and some has been spun by the hand of so fine a texture, that

it has been sold at the rate of 10,000 francs, or upwards of 400*l.*, for a single pound weight.

Speaking of the road from Bruges to Ghent, Mr. Tennent says:—

“One misses, also, the numerous seats and mansions of the landed gentry to which we are familiarized in travelling in our own country—‘the happy homes of England,’ that constitute the rich luxuriance of a British landscape. But here their erection is discountenanced by the law against primogeniture, by which the property of the individual is compulsorily divided amongst his heirs; and, at former periods, their absence may, perhaps, be ascribed to the insecurity of the country, perpetually visited with war and all its accessories, so that men found their only safety within the walls of their fortified towns.”

In the description of Ghent, the author introduces some very valuable details respecting the manufactures and commerce of the country. We shall extract his account of an institution called the “Conseil de Prud’ hommes,” at Ghent:—

“It is a board formed jointly of employers and workmen, elected by annual sections, and discharging all its functions, not only gratuitously as regards the public, but without payment to its own members, beyond the mere expenditure of the office, and a moderate salary to a secretary. Its duties have reference to the adjustment of the mutual intercourse between workmen and their masters, in every branch of manufacture, the prevention of combinations, the performance of contracts, the regulation of apprenticeship; and the effectual administration of the system of *livrets*—a species of permanent diploma, which the artisan receives on the termination of his pupillage, signed by the master to whom he had been articulated; and sealed by the president of the Conseil de Prud’ hommes. Without the production of his *livret*, no tradesman can be received into employment; and in it are entered all his successive discharges and acquittances with his various masters. The powers of fining and of forfeiture exercised by the Conseil are summary, up to a certain amount; and in cases of graver importance, there is a resort to the correctional police. But the main functions of the Conseil de Prud’ hommes are the prevention of any invasion of the peculiar rights of any manufacturer, or the counterfeit imitation of his particular marks; and especially the protection of the copyrights of all designs and productions of art for the decoration of manufactures. With this view, every proprietor of an original design, whether for working in metals or on woven fabrics, is empowered to deposit a copy of it in the archives of the Council, enveloped in a sealed cover, and signed by himself; and to receive in return a certificate of its enrolment, and the date of reception. At the same time, he is called upon to declare the length of time for which he wishes to secure to himself the exclusive right of its publication, whether for one, two, or three years, or for ever; and in either case a

trifling fee is demanded, in no instance exceeding a franc for each year the protection is claimed, or ten for a perpetuity. In the event of any dispute as to originality or proprietorship, the officer of the Council is authorized to break the seal, and his testimony is conclusive as to the date and circumstances of the deposit. The effect of this simple and inexpensive tribunal has been found so thoroughly effectual, that the most equitable security has been established for designs of every description applicable to works of taste, and the *intellectual property* of a pattern has been as thoroughly vindicated to its inventor, through the instrumentality of the register of the Prud' hommes, as his *material property*, in the article on which it is to be impressed, is secured to him by the ordinary law. In fact, the whole operation of the institution at Ghent has proved so beneficial to manufactures universally, that by a *projet de loi* of 1839, similar boards are about to be established in all the leading towns and cities, and the manufacturing districts generally, throughout Belgium." (Vol. i., p. 52).

The cultivation of flax forms the staple employment of Belgium, which is carried to so great an extent, that one acre in every eighty-six of the whole area of the country is devoted to its growth. In some districts, such as Courtrai and St. Nicolas, for instance, as much as one acre in twenty is employed in this way, and in the Pays de Waes as much as one in ten. Every district of Belgium yields flax more or less, with the exception of Luxembourg and Limburg, where the cultivation of it has been attempted, but without success. Of the entire quantity produced, Flanders alone furnishes three-fourths, and the remaining provinces one. The quality of the flax also, without reference to any peculiarity of cultivation, seems to depend essentially upon the nature of the soil in which it is sown. From that which surrounds Ghent, no process of tillage would be sufficient to raise the description suitable to more costly purposes: that of the Waloons yields the very coarsest qualities; Courtrai those whose strength is adapted for thread; and Tournay alone furnishes the fine and delicate kinds which serve for the manufacture of lace and cambric. The quantity of dressed flax prepared in Belgium is calculated to amount to about 18,000,000 of kilogrammes, and of these 5,000,000 were annually exported to England and elsewhere, on an average of eight years from 1830 to 1839. The remainder is kept for home manufacture into thread and cloth; and it is estimated that the cultivation of this one article alone, combining the value of the raw material with the value given to it by preparation, in its various stages from flax to linen cloth, produces an annual income of 63,615,000 francs to Belgium. The ability which the Belgians possess of entering into competition with England, in the production either of yarn or linen cloth, is solely owing to the cir-

cumstance, that they themselves not only produce the raw material for their own manufactures, but also supply it to their competitors almost at their own price.

“Such is the superiority of Belgian flax (observes Mr. Tennent), that whilst, in some instances, it has brought so high a price as 220*l.* per ton, and generally ranges from 80*l.* to 90*l.*, not more than 90*l.* has, in any instance that I ever heard of, been obtained for British ; and its ordinary average does not exceed 50*l.*”

The elements of the Belgian trade, therefore, are twofold—the growth of flax, and its conversion into yarn and cloth. In the latter it is utterly impossible for Belgium to maintain a successful rivalry with England—possessing inferior machinery, a more costly fuel, and a circumscribed sale—unless aided by the advantage which belongs to her, of being enabled to supply herself with the raw material at the lowest rate, and her rivals at the highest. But should this position be altered—should England, for instance, improve the cultivation and dressing of her flax at home, so as to render it equal in quality to that which she now imports from abroad—should India, or any other of her colonies, apply themselves to its production—in that case, Mr. Tennent considers that the linen trade of Belgium could not, by any possibility, sustain the struggle, and that her staple manufacture would then pass at once into the hands of her rivals. It seems that machinery has been applied to the manufacture of linen yarn in Belgium, and, although of comparatively recent introduction, has made a surprising progress. The seat of this manufacture is at present at Ghent and Liege, and is confined to a few extensive establishments ; one which Mr. Tennent visited, belonging to *La Societe de la Lys*, was originally calculated for 15,000 spindles, but not more than one-third of these are as yet in motion. The steam-engines were made in England, on the principle known as “Wolf’s patent,” which, it seems, is wrought with one-half to one-third less fuel than is required for the engines in common use in England—an object, of course, of great importance in a country where coals are so very expensive as in Belgium.* The machinery is all made at the Phoenix works in Ghent, and exhibits all the recent English improvements. But the spinning rooms show the Belgian mechanics

* Mr. Tennent says, in a note to the chapter from which we have derived the above statements, “England, with a liberality which manufacturing jealousy scarcely sanctions, has recently permitted the free export of coals, both to Belgium, France, and Prussia ; a boon for which these governments, which are prohibiting British manufactures, and their mechanics and mill-owners, who are contending with our own for the market, cannot be too grateful.”

to be still far behind those of Leeds and Manchester, as evinced by the clumsiness and imperfect finish of the frames.

On the whole, whilst England is dependent upon her own rivals for a supply of the raw material with which to feed her machinery, at an expense of from 8 to 10 per cent. for freight and charges, in addition to its original high cost (England herself scarcely grows any flax, and that grown in Ireland is inferior in quality to the Dutch and Belgian, and totally inadequate to her own consumption), and whilst she must, at the same time, compete with them in those continental markets which are open to them both, it is manifest that the spinning mills of Belgium cannot be regarded but as formidable opponents. At present, according to our author—

“The English manufacturer has a protection in the cost of his machinery alone; the factory of the *Societe de la Lys* cost 80,000*l.* to erect, which, supposing its 10,000 spindles to be in action, would be 8*l.* per spindle, and as only the one-half of these are at present employed, the actual cost is 16*l.*; whilst an extensive mill can be erected in Ireland for from 4*l.* to 5*l.* per spindle, and in England for even less.”

In chapter iv. of the first volume, Mr. Tennent resumes the subject of manufactures, and speaks at considerable length on the cultivation of flax—a subject which is of so much importance, and which, it will be seen, is capable of conducing so highly to the prosperity of our own country, that we shall pass on at once to this portion of the work, returning afterwards to his account of some other institutions connected with the city of Ghent.

The following description of a Flemish farm is a curious and interesting picture of human industry overcoming natural obstacles:—

“The general aspect of a Flemish farm; the absence of hedge-rows, or, where they are to be found, their elaborate training and intertexture, so as to present merely a narrow vegetating surface of some two or three feet high, and twice as many inches in thickness; the minute division of their fields into squares, all bearing different crops, but performing the same circle of rotation, and the total disappearance of all weeds or plants, other than those sought to be raised; all these show the practical and laborious experience by which they have reduced their science to its present system, and the indomitable industry by which, almost inch by inch, these vast and arid plains have been converted from blowing sands into blooming gardens. Here draining and irrigation are each seen in their highest perfection, owing to the frequent intersection of canals; whilst the same circumstance, affording the best facilities for the transport of manure, has been one of the most active promoters of farming improvement. To fix the flying sands of Belgium, the main and permanent expedient has been the application

of manures: the preparation and care of this important ingredient has been, in Flanders, reduced to an actual trade, and barges innumerable are in constant transit on the canals, conveying it from its dépôts and manufactories in the villages and towns, to the rural districts where it is to be applied. Servants, as a perquisite, are allowed a price for all the materials serviceable for preparing it which they can collect in the house and farm-yards, and the value of which often amounts to as much as their nominal wages. Pits, and a tank, called a *smoor-hoop*, or smothering heap, are attached to every farm, and tended with a systematic care that bespeaks the importance of their contents. Into these every fermentable fluid is discharged, and mixed with the refuse of vegetables—the rape-cake which remains after expressing the oil, wood-ashes, soaper's waste, grains from distillers, weeds from the drains, and, in short, every convertible article collected in the establishment; and often, in addition, plants, such as broom, are sown in the lands expressly for the purpose of being ploughed in when green, to increase their fertility, or to be cut for fermentation in the *smoor-hoop*. This latter is constructed with bricks, like a tan-pit, and covered with cement, to avoid escape or filtration; and its contents, at the larger establishments, are sold to the farmers, at from three to five francs a hogshead, in proportion to the quality. The circle of rotation is observed with equal precision and scientific skill, and generally consists of four or five crops and a clear fallow, but varies, of course, according to the nature of the soil and the articles in demand. The season was too advanced for us to see the majority of the crops upon the ground, the grain being mostly housed; but those which were still in the field were of the most luxuriant quality. Pasturage there was comparatively little; but clover, the *chef-d'œuvre* of Flemish husbandry, whence it was introduced into England, we saw in high perfection. Some plants which are not usual in Great Britain, were to be seen in great abundance; large fields of tobacco, hemp, colza or rape-seed, which is largely sown for crushing, buck-wheat or *sarrasin* (probably another importation of the Crusaders), from which they make a rich and nutritious bread, beans, and feeding crops, especially carrots, which the sandy lands produce luxuriantly, and turnips, appeared to be favourites, especially near the villages." (p. 133).

The cultivation of flax is of great importance. The farmers, both in Holland and the Netherlands, are in the habit of *saving the seed* of their own flax. In the first instance, they import seed from Riga, which yields a strong and robust plant during the first year; its produce is then preserved and sown a second time, when it becomes more delicate in its texture; and the seed then obtained is *never parted with* by the farmer, but produces the finest and most valuable plant. This, however, deteriorates in the course of time, and it becomes necessary to keep up a constant succession by annual importation of northern seed, which, in time, become acclimated, refined, and are superseded by the next in rotation. The Hollander thus obtains for him-

self a seed for his own peculiar uses, of twice the value of any which he exports; in this country, on the contrary, no flax seed is saved, and the consequence is, that upwards of 3,800,000 bushels are annually imported. In Flanders, where the cultivation of this plant is so important, the rotation of all other crops is regulated with reference to the flax, which comes into course only once in seven years, and in some cases once only in nine; whilst, as the period approaches for saving it, each antecedent crop is put in with a double portion of manure. For the flax itself, the preparation is scrupulously minute; the ground is prepared more like a flower-bed than a field, and spade labour is always preferred to the plough: every portion of weed is carefully rooted up, and the earth is abundantly supplied, generally, with liquid manure, fermented with rape-cake. The seed is then sown very thick, so that the plants may not only support one another, but, struggling upwards for light, may throw out few branches, and thus rise into a taller and more delicate stem. The weeding is performed whilst the plant is still so tender and elastic that it may rise again after the operation; and as a proof how carefully the cultivation of this plant is attended to, the women and children who are employed to weed it are generally instructed to do so against the wind, in order that the breeze may lift the stems as soon as they have left them, instead of allowing them to grow crooked, by lying too long on the ground. In order, also, to give the plant a healthy support during its growth, stakes are driven into the ground at equal distances, from the top of which cords or thin rods are extended, dividing the field into minute squares, and thus preventing the plants from being laid down by any but a very severe wind. The time of *pulling* depends upon whether the farmer places most value upon the seed or the fibre, of the particular field. If the former, he must wait until the plant is thoroughly ripe, its capsules hard, the leaves fallen, and the stem yellow; in this case the stalk is woody, and the fibre coarse and hard: but if the fineness of the fibre is the first object, it is pulled whilst the stalk is still green and tender, and before the fruit has come to maturity. At Courtrai, the flax, when severed from the ground, after being carefully sunned and dried, is stored for twelve months, before it is submitted to the process of watering. In the Pays de Waes, this practice does not obtain, the steeping taking place immediately on its being pulled; which is said to render it soft and silky, and of a delicate and uniform tint, whilst the former mode renders the flax harsh and discoloured. In Hainault, and round Namur, it is held that the effluvia of the flax, whilst undergoing the *rouissage*, is injurious

to health ; and instead of this process, which is interdicted, it is dew-ripened, simply by spreading it upon the grass, and turning it from time to time, till the mucilaginous matter, by which the fibre is retained around the stem, is sufficiently decomposed to permit of its being readily separated from the wood. In the Pays de Waes the flax is steeped in still water, the same as in Ireland, except that in the latter country a small stream is contrived, if possible, to pass in and out of the pit during the process. The system of the Pays de Waes has met with the most decided approbation in Belgium, and is recommended officially to the farmers in the instructions published by the Société Linieré. The system at Courtrai consists in immersing the flax, after being dried and stored for twelve months, in the running water of the Lys, an operation which is thus performed: The flax, tied up in small bundles, is placed perpendicularly in wooden frames, of from twelve to fifteen feet square, and being launched into the river, straw and clean stones are laid upon it till it sinks just so far below the surface of the stream as to leave a current both above and below it, which carries away all impurities, and keeps the fibre clean and sweet during the period of immersion. This continues for seven or eight days, according to the heat of the weather and the temperature of the water ; and so soon as the requisite change has taken place in the plants, the frames are hauled on shore, and the flax spread out upon the grass to sun and dry it, previously to its being removed to undergo the further processes. The *rouissage* at Courtrai is usually performed in May, and again in the months of August and September.

Calico printing appears to have formed a very important feature in the prosperity of Belgium. Previous to the revolution of 1830, the Belgian calico printer, being admitted to the markets of Holland and her colonies, had an outlet for his produce, quite sufficient to afford remunerative employment for all his machinery ; but when, by her separation from Holland, Belgium was excluded from the Dutch possessions, both in the East and West Indies, and restricted to the supply of her own population, she suddenly found the number of her consumers reduced from between fifteen and sixteen millions to something less than four. The merchants of Antwerp, and the manufacturers of Ghent, foreseeing the ruin of their pursuits in the results of the repeal of the union with Holland, loudly protested against the proceedings of the revolutionists of 1830. " But (Mr. Tennent observes) as madness ruled the hour, their protestations were all unheeded—they were overborne by numbers. The revolution was accomplished in their defiance, and the ruin of their

trade was consummated by the same blow." M. Briavionne (*De L'Industrie en Belgique*, vol. ii., p. 384), "an impartial historian, and strongly biassed in favour of the revolution," thus details its immediate effects upon this branch of manufacture. After describing the rapid decline of the cotton trade in general, since 1830, he goes on to say:—

"In the department of printing, the results have not been more satisfactory; many of the leading establishments of Ghent and of Brussels have been altogether abandoned, or their buildings dismantled and converted to other purposes, and their utensils and machinery sold off by public auction. Ghent, in 1829, possessed fifteen print works; in 1839, she had but nine: in Brussels at the same time, and in Ardennes and Liege, there were eleven houses of the first rank; of these, six have since closed their accounts. Other establishments there are, it is true, that have sprung up in the interim, but in the aggregate the number is diminished. In prosperous years, the production of Belgium might have amounted, before the revolution, to about 400,000 pieces. Ghent alone produced 300,000 in 1829, but its entire production at present does not amount to 20,000, nor does that of the largest house in Belgium exceed 45,000 pieces. Nor is this to be ascribed to any want of ability in the Belgian mechanics; on the contrary, they are qualified to undertake the most difficult work, but they can only employ themselves, of course, when such are in actual demand. They are, in consequence, limited to the production of the most low-priced and ordinary articles; fast colours and cheap cloth are all they aspire to. High-priced muslins they rarely attempt; and although they have ventured to print upon mousseline-de-laine, they have been forced almost altogether to abandon it. Thus, whilst French muslins sell readily for from two to three francs an ell, England can offer hers for forty-five centimes, or even less, and those of Belgium vary from sixty centimes to a franc and a quarter per ell: not only so, but for that which she can now with difficulty dispose of for sixty centimes, she had, thirty-five years ago, an ample demand at two francs and a half. This destruction of her home trade, by the competition of foreigners, she has sought in vain to retrieve by her shipments abroad; in short, she has tried every opening, and found only loss in all. The only market in which she has contrived to hold a footing is that of Holland, and even this is every day slipping from her, although, before the revolution of 1830, it consumed one-half of her entire productions."

"The sufferings of Ghent seem to be so generally admitted (says Mr. Tennent), and so unequivocally ascribed to the operation of the revolution, that no scruple or delicacy is observed by the press or the public in ascribing them to its proper cause. A curious illustration of this we observed in a volume entitled, '*Le Guide Indispensable du Voyageur sur les Chemins de Fer de la Belgique*,' sold at all the stations on the government railway; and, in the one in which I bought my copy, by persons in the government uniform. In a short notice of Ghent, it contains the following passage of plain speaking upon this point:—'During the fifteen years of the Dutch connexion, the population, the wealth, and

the prosperity of Ghent never ceased to increase: manufactures were multiplied, streets enlarged, public buildings erected, and large and beautiful houses constructed; in short, Ghent had become a great commercial city. *The revolution of 1830 at once arrested this career of improvement, and Ghent, whose prosperity was the offspring of peace and of her connexion with Holland, now seems to protest, by her silence, against a change which she finds to be fraught, to her, with ruin.* The citadel was only taken when all hope had disappeared of maintaining the supremacy of King William; but (adds the author) it is to be hoped that, little by little, the influence of new institutions may rally the hopes of the Gantois, and at last reconcile them to the consequences of the Belgian revolution.' And the new institution which is to achieve such a triumph, is to be, of course, the railroad from Ostend to Cologne." (p. 183).

The city of Antwerp appears to have suffered still more in consequence of the revolution of 1830. Mr. Tennent says—

"The period of its union with Holland, however, from 1815 to 1830, may be said to have been the golden age of Antwerp. Its situation for trade is by far more favourable than either Rotterdam or Amsterdam; and being admitted, along with them, to an equal participation in all the resources of the kingdom, it rapidly outstripped them in every department of trade—so much so, that, at the period of the revolution, 'Antwerp did more business in every article of colonial produce, with the exception of tobacco, than Amsterdam and Rotterdam united.' The events of the revolution put an instantaneous check to this career of affluent prosperity. Antwerp, compelled to form a portion of the independent kingdom, without colonies, or commerce, or foreign relations, found her shipping laid up idle in her docks; and her merchants, conscious of the ruin which had overwhelmed their prospects at home, transferred their capital and their exertions to Holland, and united their fate to that of their now triumphant rivals. In 1838 all the ports of Belgium possessed but one hundred and eighty-four sail of merchant vessels, of which one hundred and fifty-two were employed merely in the coasting and channel trade, and thirty-two in foreign voyages; whilst, in the same year, Holland had no less than one thousand four hundred sail. From the events of 1830, and their results, Antwerp never has, and never can, thoroughly recover. For some years after the repeal of the union her quays and harbours were literally motionless and empty; and at the present moment, even with occasional revivals, her trade appears to have only the fate of Venice, or of Genoa, in prospect. Her chief employment is in carrying the raw material which is to supply her own manufactures, and which she must do at a disadvantage in freights, as her shipments in return fall far short of her importations. Of two thousand six hundred and sixty-two Belgian vessels, which cleared out from her various ports between 1831 and 1836, no less than seven hundred and thirty-nine *went out in ballast!* In the years immediately succeeding the revolution, the shipping trade of Antwerp seemed to undergo an absolute paralysis. In 1829, the year preceding the repeal of the union, one thousand and

twenty-eight vessels entered the port, amounting to a tonnage of 160,658 tons. In 1831, the year after the repeal, only three hundred and ninety-eight vessels entered the Scheldt, with a tonnage of 53,303 tons! It appears that of five thousand six hundred and ninety-four which *arrived* in all the ports of Belgium, in the years 1835, 1836, and 1837, the entire were freighted with cargoes, except one hundred and forty-one; whilst, of five thousand seven hundred and seven which cleared *outwards*, in the same time, no less than one thousand eight hundred and thirty-three left Belgium in ballast—in other words, arrived with the produce of other countries, but departed without carrying away any Belgian manufactures in return.”

We shall now revert to the subject to which we alluded at the beginning of this article, and which, in our opinion, taken in conjunction with the account of the Belgian revolution, forms the most important part of Mr. Tennent's work—we mean the identity of action and of proceedings which appears to have existed between the movements of the party in Belgium which endeavoured to bring about the separation of the union between that country and Holland, and the repeal party of Ireland. The intolerant genius of Popery appears to have been at work in each case. In Belgium, although the Papists enjoyed the most unlimited toleration, and were in possession of every privilege which they could possibly desire—although the King of Holland established institutions for education in the most liberal manner, encouraged commerce and trade, and lent his support to every undertaking which could be beneficial to the country—yet, because that sovereign was a Protestant, they seem to have regarded everything which he did for them with bitterness, and rested not until they had effected a separation between the two countries, which has ended in bringing distress and misery in its train. In Ireland the cruel and persecuting spirit of Popery is ever at work; and whether it clamours for repeal of the union, or for any other object, one thing is very evident from all its manifestations, namely, that its real design is to overthrow that pure and apostolic Church, which, deriving its succession from our blessed Lord, through his apostles, was in full vigour ages before the corruptions of Popery were known.

“It is impossible (says Mr. Tennent) to avoid being struck with the identity between the vast majority of the pretexts for revolt propounded by the ‘*patrioterié*’ who repealed the union in Belgium, and the ‘*patriots*’ who clamour for ‘the repeal of the union’ in Ireland. Nor did this similitude escape the promoters of the revolution in either country. In Ireland it has been ostentatiously and perseveringly dwelt upon; and even down to the present hour the example of the Belgians is paraded as an incentive to the ambition of the enemies of British connexion: and in Belgium, even before the revolution, the position of

the two countries, as regarded their several legislative connexions with England and Holland, was the subject of repeated comparisons and condolence. The 'Belge,' a journal which was active in the encouragement of the movement, thus alludes to the coincidence of their circumstances in 1830: 'Belgium has been long the Ireland of Holland; the relation of the dominant power has been in almost every particular that of *the sister island* to England.' But the similarity consists not less in the ostensible grounds for revolt than in the identity of the actual instruments and agents. In Belgium, as in Ireland, they were the uneducated and bigotted mob, inflamed by the half-educated press, and led on by a propaganda of priests, and a crowd of unsuccessful and hungry lawyers. In both countries, too, the leaders of the movement, whatever may have been their real and secret sentiments, ostensibly professed to seek merely a redress of grievances, and to start with alarm at the idea of *separation*, their only desire being a *federative union* under the same crown, but with a distinct administration. The Belgian, however, soon felt that he wanted a power, which there is but little reason to ascribe to the Irishman, of saying, 'Thus far shalt thou go, and no farther;' and the stimulant applied to the versatile vanity of the people soon rendered them impatient of any proposition short of actual independence." (Vol. i., p. 238).

Mr. Tennent pursues the parallel to a great length, and he makes out his case so completely, and with so much ability and thorough knowledge of the respective condition and circumstances of the two countries, which are made points of comparison, that we much wish, consistently with our limits, that we could follow him in his course. Speaking of the pretended grievances which were alleged by the Belgians against the Dutch, he says—

"It is impossible, however, for any sober-minded citizen to discern in the entire mass of these complaints, even in all their aggravation, any adequate ground for a resort to the last remedy of oppression—war and revolution; and in vain would the restless promoters of the revolt have laboured to inflame the populace to insurrection, by rhapsodies on the glory of independence, or diatribes against the pronouncement of Dutch; in vain would they have attempted to sting them into madness, by calculations of finance, or lamentations over the exclusion of some provincial orator from a seat in the legislature or a portfolio in some public bureau: all these whips and stimulants would have been powerless and unfelt had not *religion* been introduced in association with each, and the ascendancy of the Roman Catholic Church been made the beginning and the end—the burthen of every complaint, and the object of every exhortation."

His picture of the union of the Liberals with the Popish priesthood is very well drawn:—

"With this imperfect *aperçu* of the origin of the Belgian revolution it is easy to collect its objects, its agents, and its effects. The union

of the liberals with the priesthood and their followers, who formed the preponderating mass of the population, formed an alliance so powerful, that the whole strength was unequal to withstand it, much less the small body of reflecting and loyal subjects who still remained faithful to the union and the crown, and who were not only overwhelmed by the violence of the commotion at the moment, but so utterly discomfited by its ultimate consequences, that they have never since been able to rally as a party. But the immediate object being once achieved, the union of the 'clerico-liberal' confederacy did not long survive its consummation. The 'compact alliance' between the priests and the liberals had been sought by the former only to effect a definite purpose, which could not otherwise be attained—the *repeal of the union*; and no sooner was this accomplished than the intolerant ambition of the clergy put an end to all further co-operation between them. The party of the priests had then become all powerful by their numbers, and no longer requiring the assistance of their former allies, they boldly attempted their own objects, independently and in defiance of them. It is rather a ludicrous illustration of their zeal and its aim, that among the crowd of aspirants who were named for the crown of Belgium in 1831, the Pope himself was put in nomination; and, had the decision remained with the revolutionists, there can be no doubt that the Netherlands would have been added to the territory of the Holy See. Everything, in fact, is regulated by the wishes of that numerous body of the priesthood, who, from their ardent exertions for ascendancy, have obtained the title of the *Les Mennaissiens*, and whose influence in every family, and in every parish, rules, regulates, and determines every political movement. They it is who conduct all the elections, name the candidates, and marshal the constituency to the poll; and when I was at Ghent, the curate of Betholaer, a rural district in the vicinity, read from the altar the persons for whom the congregation were to vote at a pending contest, on pain of the displeasure of the bishop. If the coincidence does not strike irresistibly every individual who has attended to what is passing in Belgium, it is here again unnecessary to point out the parallel between the composition of the two parties, in that country and Ireland, who sympathize in the principle of repeal and separation. In each country the majority of the 'movement' is composed of the Roman Catholic clergy and the devotees of the (Roman Catholic) Church; but in both their strength would be ineffectual, and certainly their object suspected, had they not been joined by honest but mistaken individuals, who, aiming at utopian theories in politics, have been content to employ for their accomplishment the aid of those whose designs are more essentially sectarian, than civil or political." (Vol. i., p. 262).

It will be seen, from the extracts which we have given, that the comparison which the author draws between the workings of the spirit of Popery and revolution in the two countries, is at once striking and curious in the highest degree, and we only trust that it may prove as instructive as it deserves to be. We hope our readers will not rest satisfied with our notice of this

work, but will examine it for themselves: it will repay the study. Indeed, the various and extensive information which these volumes contain is abundantly sufficient to prove that Mr. Ten-
nent possesses no mean share of sound political philosophy, and that his knowledge of the manufactures and agriculture, both of his own and of other countries, is at once intimate and profound, the result of personal observation and experience, and not derived, as we fear is the case with many travellers, from the study of the labours of other men.

ART. III.—*Monumental Brasses.* Nos. I. and II. Published by the Cambridge Camden Society. 1841.

ONE of our most eminent living writers has said, that “he who cares little for his ancestors will care little for posterity, or, indeed, for anything but himself;” and, fully concurring in this sentiment, we rejoice to find that in this age of utilitarian projects, chiefly centring on the acquisition of wealth or convenience to the men that now are, all regard is not lost for those who once were, but we have, at least, the grace to pay some attention to their sepulchres—a good omen, we trust, of the *revival* of their virtues, so far as they have been in danger of extinction, and of the *retention* of those virtues, where still in honour amongst us.

We have, indeed, the highest of all authorities to admonish us, that a zeal for the preservation and garniture of the tombs of departed worthies is perfectly consistent with an utter disregard of the examples they have set, that we may build up the sepulchres of the prophets and yet take part with their murderers; nor are antiquaries of any age exempt from the need of admonition, that they suffer not their fascinating pursuit to degenerate into a mere appetite for indiscriminate collection, without regard to the value of what they acquire, or its bearing on any useful object of life, intellectual or moral; but, with these guards, we are persuaded, that a disposition to investigate the past has much to do with the right occupation of the time present, and that it cannot be neglected without the most injurious results to the future—results affecting far higher interests than the gratification of taste or ancestral attachments, though these may seem more immediately concerned. What, for instance, would not the Church of England have lost, in point of doctrine and discipline, no less than external comeliness, had her first prelates after the Reformation been men of the rash and fiery

temperament of Knox, rather than of cautious and patient disposition, like Cranmer and Parker—diligent to search out, and careful to preserve, the documents of antiquity, which were to evidence, in future ages, their adherence to primitive and apostolic truth? And what, we might venture to ask, has she not lost in our own day, for want of a somewhat larger infusion of veneration for antiquity, a somewhat firmer adherence to ancient landmarks, in resisting the specious, but most insidious, demands of temporary expedience—a lack by which her friends and guardians have been beguiled, in spite of warning after warning, to do the work of her worst enemies? But we must not pursue a train of enquiries, which, however important, would lead us far away from the immediate subject before us—the illustration of the sepulchral antiquities of our country.

This subject will form an appropriate sequel to the observations on Ecclesiastical Architecture which were made in a late number; and we are happy to find, that it is warmly taken up by some of the leading members of both Universities—places adorned with the most varied and interesting specimens both of our ecclesiastical architecture and its monumental adjuncts; annually sending forth those, who, whether as clergy or laity, are to be their future protectors throughout the land; and rich in biographical memorials of the departed worthies, whose taste, munificence, devotion, and patriotism, we would preserve or revive, as well as their sepulchral remains. Among the objects of the “Oxford Society for Promoting the Study of Gothic Architecture,” *the sepulchral monuments of the middle ages, with historical notices of founders, and other eminent persons*, are stated as claiming particular attention; and we have now to refer, with high satisfaction, to the labours of the Cambridge Camden Society in one most interesting department of this enquiry, to be followed, we doubt not, in due course, by equal marks of zealous, persevering, and successful attention to others of no less importance.

We have already adverted to the exertions of this Society in the illustration of monumental brasses—a species of sepulchral memorial in which the town and county of Cambridge, together with the neighbouring counties, which still glory in their distinctions as part of the East Anglican territory, are especially abundant. We shall now gladly avail ourselves of the opportunity of entering more copiously into this inviting field of investigation, in the progress of the remarks which we propose to offer on sepulchral monuments in general, and more particularly in their connection with our church architecture.

Those who have delved deepest into this field, or rather mine,

of antiquarian research, are disposed to derive the temple itself from the tomb, and to maintain that the sanctuaries of heathen worship, the hill altars, and consecrated groves, almost invariably acquired their sanctity from their surmounting the grave of some eminent person, who after death was worshipped as a demi-god; whence also, in the modification of heathenism to which the Church of Rome submitted, as the means of gaining proselytes in the decline of Christian zeal and purity, it became the established rule, that no church should be consecrated without relics.

But though we cannot allow so extensive a range of operation to this principle, believing that the basis of pagan idolatry was the gradual corruption and depravation of devotional services rendered to the living God by living worshippers, rather than an undue degree of veneration for departed ancestors and benefactors, it may be conceded that this feeling had its share, as well as the direct substitution of the serpent tempter for God, in the general perversion of faith and worship which so early deformed the patriarchal ages; that departed spirits, as well as evil spirits, the relics and representations of the human form, as well as of birds, and beasts, and creeping things, took their place in the affections and mistaken adorations of those, who, "*because they liked not to retain God in their thoughts, were given up to strong delusions, that they should worship and serve the creature rather than the Creator.*" The Acropolis of Athens, we know, derived its high religious honours from the tomb of Cecrops. The vestibules and atria of the ancient mansions were esteemed sacred, from the burial of the dead near their site; and the statues of departed ancestors with which they were adorned became the tutelar deities of the family, in the midst of which the altar was reared for its domestic devotion. The working of the same principle may be observed, in the sanctity supposed to be communicated to the gates and walls of cities, near which the public burial places were situated; and this was carried so far, that at Agrigentum, tiers of sepulchres and sepulchral chambers are found in the substance of the walls, doubtless for *its* protection rather than *theirs*, which would not be best secured by their situation where the attack of an enemy was first and most frequently to be apprehended.

Various, however, as were the perversions of devotional feeling resulting from the sanctity attributed to the human body, the feeling itself, as in most other Pagan and Romish perversions, may be traced back to a pure and primitive source, and, cleared of its corruptions, is at once in accordance with the fondest dictates of nature, and adds the testimony of universal tradition

to the declarations of divine revelation, as to the origin, distinctions, and future destinies of man.

It is not strange that something sacred should be supposed to attach to that marvellous fabric into which the Deity had once breathed the breath of life, and invested it with a portion of his own most awful attributes; which He who made it spoke of as a temple, a temple he would himself condescend to inhabit; and to which, even in dust and ruins, the promise was affixed of a future and more glorious restoration. It was this promise which suggested the first and best monumental inscription that has come down to us, when, in evident allusion to a custom of which the rock-hewn sepulchres in Arabia and Idumea still exhibit abundant traces, the patriarch Job exclaimed, "Oh, that my words were now written—that they were graven with an iron pen and lead in the rock for ever. For I know that my Redeemer liveth, and that he shall stand at the latter day upon the earth; and though after my skin worms destroy this body, yet in my flesh shall I see God." Nor is it strange, apart from all supposition of sanctity to be derived *from* the body, that such an expectation should tend to gather the remains of the dead around the sanctuaries of the Deity from whom they had received it, and under whose protection they desired to await its fulfilment; so that, while an almost worn out and corrupted tradition strewed the whole region around an idol temple with barrows and tumuli, the Christian, to whom life and immortality were brought to light by the Gospel, desired that his dust should repose with that of his kindred and fellow-heirs in the same glorious hope, beneath the shade, or within the walls of the church where they had learned it.

The desire to be remembered by posterity, and especially by surviving friends—feelings near akin to the hope of immortality—had, doubtless, also their influence in producing the same result. Those to whom the house of God had been dear in life, who had delighted to walk thither in company with their kindred and neighbours, and who, though now to be separated in place, were regarded by the Christian institute as still members of the same society, invisibly partaking of the same holy communion and fellowship, were unwilling to be forgotten on the spot where they were wont to assemble; nor were those with whom they had associated at all more willing to forget them. The same natural impulse which caused the departing spirit to "cast a longing, lingering look behind," with anxious desire to leave, at least, some token of its existence, if not some impress of its energies, with those who were to follow, led survivors also to cherish, no less religiously, every relic which was thus

left them, every means of keeping the dead in remembrance, and recalling to their thoughts, amidst the hurry of life, that they were indeed but gone a few paces before, in a path which would speedily conduct them, as they trusted, to the point of eternal re-union. Hence, without any necessity for the notion of superstitious feelings or observances, the mounds of the deceased arose on the south, rather than the north, side of the church, for there was usually the porch, the churchyard path, and, consequently, the most frequent resort of those by whom it was desirable that they should be kept in mind: hence, too, the walls of the sacred fabric were peopled, in course of time, with effigies, inscriptions, or devices, designed to perpetuate the bodily semblance, the mental endowments, the living and dying admonitions, of the departed; and, with every abatement for ancestral pride, quaint conceit, and overweening fondness, leading to misconceptions and misstatements of character, with an occasional dash of false theology, we are so convinced of the invaluable moral influence of these attempts to bring the sentiments and actions of the dead to bear on the conduct of the living, that we always grieve most heartily, when any necessity, however pressing, closes the churchyard against the passing traveller, and would gladly open as liberal access as possible, consistently with their safety, to the more important depositories of our monumental treasures.

As the first epitaph in the records of authentic antiquity connects the patriarchal with the Christian hope of a glorious resurrection, it is pleasing to remark, that the first sepulchral monument described in the same sacred record, is the trophy, not of successful warfare, or any of those dazzling exploits which have generally elevated the mounds of the great ones of the earth above those of their fellows, but the simple tribute of conjugal affection and regret, to the gentler virtues, and home-born sorrows of life, erected on the very spot where He who took away the sting of death, and spoiled the grave of its victory, was afterwards to commence his course of triumph, in the lowest circumstances of humiliation:—

“And Rachel died, and was buried in the way to Ephrath, which is Bethlehem. And Jacob set a pillar upon her grave; that is the pillar of Rachel’s grave unto this day.”

This primeval monument—a pillar—sometimes inscribed with the name and character of the deceased, became in later days the common form of sepulchral memorial in both civilized and barbarous countries; and, if the opinion be correct, that Druidical erections of the kind were, on the reception of Christianity,

hewn into the form of crosses, and adorned with scroll-work, sacred devices, and occasionally with the names of the Christian converts whom they were thenceforward destined to commemorate, it is probably the earliest form of sepulchral monument to be found in the precincts of our own sacred edifices, to the treasures of which we must now direct our attention.

Three crosses, which, from their size, shape, and rudeness of sculpture, may well be imagined, if any, to belong to this class, appear in the churchyard of Penrith, in Cumberland, at no great distance from—

——“red Penrith’s table round,
For feats of chivalry renowned,
And Mayburgh’s mound and stones of power
By Druids raised in magic hour,
And Eamont’s winding way.”—*Bridal of Triermain.*

Two of them stand at the head and foot of a group of those singularly rough and heavy ridges of stone, which are more accurately than elegantly described as hog-backed monuments. These are in length about equal to that of the human figure, and rise from the soil in the form of an ellipse, or segment of a circle. They are four in number, arranged longitudinally in couples, and have broad borders decorated with small semi-circles resembling the scales of armour, the face of the stone, which they enclose, being covered with interlaced scroll-work. The upright pillars at the head and foot of the group, the tallest of which is about eleven feet in height, terminate in crosses, and have reticulated ornaments, among which appears the figure of the Holy Lamb, extending about half way down their surfaces, the lower portions of which are entirely plain and unadorned. The third cross is at some distance from the others, but has the same general character, and is sculptured to the base. We know not whether the monuments, which are said to bear the names of Romanized Britons, in Wales and Cornwall, bear any resemblance to these rude and massy memorials; but it scarcely requires a poetic imagination to appropriate them to some of Arthur’s warriors,* who, for love of his fairy daughter, slew each other in the neighbouring ring—

“Where Brunor, Taulas, Mador, fell,
Teelias the White, and Lionel,
And many a champion more,

* The bodies of Arthur himself and Queen Guinever were found in the reign of Richard I., “between two *pyramids*,” (query, if not rather tapering shafts of this character?) in the churchyard at Glastonbury. A cross with his name was in the tomb. The tomb of the faithful but unfortunate dog of a British chief, whose tragedy has given name to Beddgelert, is a miniature of those at Penrith, except that the central stone is much broader.

O'erpowered at Gyneth's footstool bled—
 Their heart's blood dyed her sandals red."

If any sceptic, however, be disposed to assign them to better Christians, whether of earlier or later date, we shall not shed our blood or ink in the quarrel.

Another monument of this kind appears in the interesting churchyard of Heysham, near Lancaster. Here the ridged segment of the circle, instead of rising immediately from the ground, appears to be supported by two misshapen figures of lions, or other monsters, in a sejant posture. On the border is seen the Grecian and Roman fret, as well as the zigzag which belongs to every period—Etruscan, British, Roman, Saxon, and Gothic; and on the face of the stone are the mingled forms of men and animals, which at first sight seem uncouth representations of the chase, but, if we be disposed to search for scriptural allusions, may pass for Adam naming the various orders of creatures, on the one side, and the family of Noah emerging with their companions from the ark, on the other. Nothing which has come under our observation, bears a more marked indication of the attempt of a rustic artist to imitate some Roman model, in the early ages of British Christianity, than this; and sculptures of very similar form have been discovered at Pompeii. An iron spear head was found beneath this stone some years ago, and near it the fragment of a cross adorned with scroll-work, like that on the monuments already described, but of circular form and better execution. Crosses, sepulchral or otherwise, continued for many ages to be the favourite and most appropriate modes of Christian commemoration. The names of five Christian Danes, supposed to be of the time of Canute, were thus preserved on the shaft of a cross which once stood in the churchyard of Lancaster; and the splendid honours thus done to the remains of Eleanor, Queen of Edward I., will occur to every one. The hog-backed monument, extending along the full length of the grave, with upright pillars or crosses at the head and feet, has humble imitations in wood or stone in every village cemetery.

Next, but scarcely of inferior date, we have coffin-shaped stones, plain or ridged, usually forming, at their first introduction, the actual lid of the stone coffin which contained the subject of commemoration. The ridged form of the coffin-lid, still common in the north, is said, by those who are fond of tracing analogies interchangeably between the tomb and the temple, to be derived from the pediment of the latter structure. It is certainly of as early origin as the Roman period, in its connection with this country; and, at this moment, the construc-

tion of a railway station has laid open, near the principal gate of York, an extensive Roman burial place, in which stone coffins of various size are to be seen scattered about in all directions, and almost invariably exhibiting this feature. Two, of very large dimensions, the result of a former excavation, are now placed in the north aisle of the choir in the magnificent cathedral of that city. They have ridged lids, and carved tablets, with classical mouldings and accompaniments at the sides, as if for inscriptions, which are found on some specimens preserved in the neighbouring museum. These must probably be dated late in the period of Roman domination, and from such, the form was naturally continued in places of Christian sepulture. It appears, if we mistake not, in the earliest representations of interments in the Anglo-Saxon service books. Several remarkable instances, in illustration of the fact, that the monumental stone, whether ridged or otherwise, was often the actual coffin-lid, occur in the picturesque and beautiful precincts of the church at Heysham, to which we have already referred, and shall yet again have occasion to revert. Within the cemetery of the little chapel of St. Patrick, situated on a bold promontory overlooking the bay of Morecambe, and immediately above the present churchyard, are eight excavations in the solid rock, four of the usual shape of stone coffins, and as many of the exact form of the human body, all having grooves for a lid of the same material, which would render them level with the surface of the rock, and most of them sockets for upright crosses at the head of the figure, which have long since disappeared. The chapel itself, which was a favourite place of resort for pilgrims and votaries who had escaped, or hoped to escape shipwreck, is but twenty-four feet in length, by seven and a half in width, and is perforated only by a single narrow light near the altar, and a door scarcely passable by a portly man. It is placed by the historian of Lonsdale far back in the era of Saxon antiquity. To these may be added, as instances of a still simpler mode of interment and posthumous commemoration, the discovery (*vide* *Archæol.* vol. xxvi.) of several skeletons in a field called Cross Close, near the church of Hartlepool, about three and a half feet below the surface, the bodies of which appeared to have been laid, without coffins, on the limestone rock, the heads resting on a sort of stone cushion bearing crosses, and the names of the parties in Saxon and Runic characters, probably as old as the seventh century.

Where commemoration is attempted above the soil, sometimes no other memorial of the deceased is found but a small cross at each angle of the stone coffin-lid, the symbol of his

Christian profession. His name then modestly occupies a narrow fillet, or appears on the plain surface, at one side, the cross still marking the commencement of the inscription. Afterwards the cross adorns the centre of the slab, its head branching out into an endless variety of figures, and a slender shaft or stem running down to the foot of the stone, where three or more steps form its termination, unless, indeed, as sometimes happens, there are ornamented crosses at both extremities of the shaft.

Stones thus embellished, are frequently found without any inscription; in other instances, the old plan of placing the name; and perhaps the date, at one side, is retained; or an inscription runs, as a sort of border, round the whole stone:—

“ PETRA PRECOR DIC SIC
ANSELMUS EPISCOPUS EST HIC.”

“ MORIBUS ORNATA
JACET HIC BONA BERTA ROSATA.”

“ ASKARTH CONTEGITUR SAXI HAC SUB MOLE BRIANUS
CUI DEUS ETERNA DET BENE LUCE FRUI.”

These are some of the early flowers of sepulchral poesy which may be culled from this class of monuments, when the natural desire to be remembered after death rendered the name, at least, of usual occurrence, and gradually accompanied it with some notice of office and character, and, at length, of date. This, however, seems to have been held of secondary moment, and the day and month are sometimes found without the year, even where some note of time is deemed worthy of insertion.

It is material to observe, that the earliest of these simple inscriptions rarely contain prayers for the dead. Only one of the inscriptions on the four Hartlepool stones engraved by the Society of Antiquaries is thus distinguished, and that—ORA PRO VERTORHT—in a form which well accords with the intention of offering up prayer for the consummation of bliss, both in body and soul, to the deceased party, which was usual in the early Church, before purgatory was thought of. In a series of tombs of abbots and other ecclesiastics laid open at Jervaux Abbey, eight in number, and occupying the wide interval between the commencement of the twelfth and the close of the fifteenth centuries, only one instance of the practice occurs, and that of the latest date, namely, the last of the inscriptions above given; while at Furness not one such instance is to be found, out of seven similar inscriptions not long since restored to light.

The “orate pro anima,” and “priez pur sa alme,” with occasionally an allowance of thirty or forty days of pardon, or even more, to those who should perform this office of

mistaken piety,* did, however, by degrees, creep in, on this as other kinds of sepulchral memorial, and with them many other deviations, of far inferior moment, from primitive simplicity. With or without the name, badges of office or occupation began to be added to the cross, and to fill the space on each side of it. Of these, the sword is usually prominent on the left; on the right may be found a shield, an arrow, a lance, an axe, a mallet, a ladle, a distaff, and very frequently a pair of shears, whether emblematic of the employment of the deceased, or, more sentimentally, of the office of Atropos in cutting short the thread of life. The only instances which have occurred to us, in which the shears are accompanied by an inscription, appropriate them to females: it need, however, be no marvel to find these, as well as other tokens of civil employment, in combination with the sword, to which, according to modern notions, they would be a most incongruous adjunct, when we recollect that tailors were hereditary retainers of considerable importance in the households of our northern chiefs; that charters are extant from the southern Earls of Warwick and Warren, which assign much the same honourable station to the master-cooks of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries; and that all ranks of retainers and civil functionaries were, in those unquiet times, constrained, in self-defence, to be men of the sword, and liable to be summoned by their lord to the field. On tombstones of this class at Middleham, the sword is accompanied by a bunch of keys and a staff, probably denoting the offices of porter and seneschal in the neighbouring castle. It is sometimes found in conjunction with ecclesiastical emblems, in which case our judgment must be balanced between the allusion to spiritual authority, and that general state of preparation for temporal warfare which converted the church tower into a fortress, and rendered the priest, even down to the period of the Reformation, a paymaster, and occasionally a leader of the forces. Once we have seen it in elegant association with the harp of a nameless minstrel, and that in a situation which seemed to realize the conception of Fitz Eustace—

“Where, through groves deep and high,
Sounds the far billow;
Where early violets die
Under the willow.
Soft shall be his pillow.”

* On a stone in Windsor church is, or lately was, the inscription—

“Ideune de Audele, Abesse de Burnham, gist ici.
Dieu de sa alme eit merci,
Qui pur la alme pri,
Ane et jour de pardon avera.”

The romantic churchyard of Heysham, already referred to for its Saxon if not British remains, furnishes this specimen also ; and if we might venture to mingle with the monotonous details of antiquarian description one more allusion to the poetic attractions of the scene, we should be tempted to transcribe the effusion of another nameless minstrel :—

- “ Torn from their rock-hewn coffins now
 The votaries’ bones are cast ;
 The chieftain’s tomb beneath the brow
 Rough waves have worn at last.
- “ But still the harp he loved so well
 Adorns the minstrel’s grave ;
 Thence, when the wildest tempests swell,
 Retires the observant wave.
- “ Or if some billow rolling near
 Its sparkling foam should spread,
 It adds but to the frequent tear
 By the green willow shed.
- “ And there, when Heysham’s knell reveals
 Some peasant’s mortal lot,
 And sire, and dame, and stripling kneels
 Around the hallowed spot ;
- “ No swain so rude, but greets the bard
 Who cheered their fathers’ care,
 With artless signs of fond regard,
 That time may not impair.
- “ No chief so proud, who roams, perchance,
 These hoary relics by,
 Unheeded by a thoughtful glance,
 Unhonoured by a sigh.”

We are inclined to derive these representations of implements, denoting office or employment, on our coffin-shaped monuments, from the actual deposit of such implements in the coffin—a custom which prevailed from the earliest periods, and extended over the most distant countries. To this the prophet Ezekiel is supposed to allude (xxxii. 27) : “ They shall not lie with the mighty of the uncircumcised, who are gone down to hell (the grave) with their weapons of war, and they have laid their swords under their heads.” The tomb of Sir Adam de Clidewrowe, at Slede, near Ribchester, is ensigned by a lance and sword, and may well recall, by its general accompaniments, the account given by Plutarch of the discoveries made by Cimon in the tomb of Theseus :—

“ Εὐρέθη δε θήκη τοῦ μεγάλου σώματος, αἰκμή τε παρακειμένη χαλκῇ καὶ ξίφος.”

And, to come to more homely memorials of the occupations of life, and those of a period more nearly approaching to that of the monuments now under notice, a gilt distaff was found in the tomb of Jeannette Bourbon, queen of Charles V. of France, on the violation of the royal sepulchres at St. Denis by the French republicans, in 1798. But, indeed, discoveries of this kind, in earlier or later times, are so general as hardly to need illustration.

Some of the allusions are of a more fanciful character, suggested apparently by the situation or cast of mind of the parties concerned in the construction of the monument. Thus at Marrick, a house of nuns, one of the sisterhood is commemorated by a crossed tombstone, on which the four compartments formed by the head of the cross are occupied by as many hearts, the centre by an intricate love-knot, the base by a closed book and the osculatorium, or pax, on which the kiss of charity was in latter days imprinted—all, of course, indicative of celestial affections. At Furness, situated near the coast, these memorials have somewhat of a nautical character. On one is an escallop, which may either have a local reference, or be the symbol of a pilgrim from beyond the sea; on another, the emblem is a marine bird of prey, extracting a shell-fish from its calcareous cell—an operation often witnessed near the spot, and no inapt representation of the removal of a monk from the cloister, by the power of the universal destroyer.

On the tombs of the higher ecclesiastics, the mitre and crosier take the place of the sword and other symbols of secular employment, in which case the head of the crosier is usually turned inward, where an abbot is designated, his jurisdiction being internal over his own house; and outward, where a bishop is commemorated, to denote his external authority over his diocese. The chalice, however, is the most common ecclesiastical emblem, and is not unfrequently placed on the centre of the stone, the shaft of the cross being run through it, or even in the centre of the foliage which forms the head of the cross, as well as in the usual position at its side.

In the later specimens of this kind of monument, the stone loses its taper form, being no longer the lid of a coffin, and more space being required for the devices with which it is crowded; for as in the architecture, heraldry, and seals of the Tudor period, plain surfaces, at first its peculiar feature, are now abhorred, and the most ascetic disciple of St. Bernard does not hesitate to adopt the most incongruous and unecclesiastical devices, which may suffice at once to fill up the unoccupied spaces, and gratify the punning humour of the age.

The first abbot of Joreval was content with a stone perfectly plain, except that the words

“TUMBA JOHANNIS PRIMI ABBATIS JOREVALLIS”

ran along its left side. The last who was allowed to repose within his monastery, though his monument is now removed to Middleham, places in its centre a crosier, so intertwined and spiculated at the head as to bear the nearest practicable resemblance to a *thorn* bush, the foot being lost in the bung-hole of a huge *tun* at the base of the stone. About midway, and transfixed by the shaft of the thorny crosier, is a broad and spreading mitre, ornamented with cinque-foils, the strings interlaced with the initials of his name, “R. T.,” which extend themselves, on each side, over the whole lower surface between the mitre and the tun. Above, and struggling for room with the head and spikes of the crosier, are two square and scalloped shields, surmounted by foliage, bearing the monograms of Jesus and Mary, accompanied by the implements of the passion. Around is a broad border, at the angles of which appear the like monograms in small circles, intersecting the following legend, which will unravel the mystery of the central devices:—

“Orate pro anima dompni Roberti Thorneton abbatis hujus domi Jorevallis vicesimi secundi.”

If any vacuum occurs among these various enrichments, it is carefully filled up with atom-like leaves and dots. So far, and so far only, does it imitate *nature*.

Nothing can surpass the elegance of some of these tombstones in their earlier period, arising from their taper form and the graceful slopes and mouldings of their champ edges, as well as the foliage of the cross-heads. One, at Furness Abbey, to a lady of the noble family of Lancaster, lords of that extensive district, who, however, has no other memorial on her tomb than the words

“DOMINA CHRISTINA SECUNDA,”

inserted on the sloping edge of the right side, is not excelled in delicacy of design by the purest classical sarcophagus; and the study of this early class of monuments would tend greatly to improve our modern style of tombstone, even where little more is aimed at than the covering of the grave with a plain slab.

The remark which was made in our notices of ecclesiastical architecture, as to the harmony of subordinate accompaniments with the main distinctions of the respective styles, is strikingly exemplified in the lettering, as well as general form and ornaments, of these memorials. In the Norman, Early English, and Decorative periods, we have the flowing Longobardic, a near approach to the Roman character, gradually, however, diminishing in the freedom and boldness of its curves, till the stiff and

angular Black-letter comes in with the Perpendicular style; and again a fantastic form of Longobardic, sometimes assuming the semblance of animals, knots, and other quaint devices, reappears with the licence of the Tudor period, the precursor of the modern Roman capital. It may be well also to observe, that while dates of any kind are by no means characteristic of our early monuments, as the discriminative antiquary finds unceasing cause to lament, the Arabic numerals at present in use do not appear before the fifteenth century.* The crossed tombstone is more frequent in the northern than the southern counties: several curious examples, however, of very early date, have been engraved by Gough, from Chesterton, near Cambridge, where the elevation of the ridge on which the cross is raised, in bold relief, has rendered it, in latter days, a convenient coping for the churchyard wall.

This ancient mode of commemoration is at least exempt from one charge which is supposed to lie heavily against sepulchral monuments of more modern date—the cross, with the name of the party, or the cross alone, or at most the tokens of his calling, with such an inscription as might suffice to fill the narrow border of the stone, allowing little scope for the indulgence of personal vanity or posthumous flattery. Even the effigy of the deceased, which after a time began to surmount the plain slab or coffin-lid, at first deemed sufficient for the greatest of princes, prelates, and dames, did not always appear in a posture very indicative of the existence, or at least the prominence, of such feelings. At Ely is a slab of the usual size, and taper form, found in St. Mary's church, but now removed to the cathedral, to which probably it originally belonged, the whole face of which is occupied by a representation of St. Michael the archangel, under a canopy rich in architectural ornaments, bearing up, in a sort of cloth, the diminutive half-length figure of the deceased, with uplifted hands, scarce discoverable amidst the splendid drapery, plumage, and other attributes of his patron. No name appears, nor any inscription, except

“SCS MICHAEL ORES P' ME,”

* This fact, alas! is sadly humbling to the ambition of parish clerks, virgers, guides, and other functionaries laudably zealous for the antiquity of the buildings under their care. We have been shown, on the strength of a fancied resemblance between the common monogram *ihc* and the date 191, a precious gem of ecclesiastical architecture, which passed with its worthy precentor, and many admiring disciples, for an undoubted specimen of the second century; and could point to a mansion of high, but still far below *Saxon*, antiquity, where the accidental chipping off of the first figure in the date 1680, on one of the latest additions, has misled the owner into the immovable persuasion that he possesses a domicile handed down to him unimpaired from the times of the Heptarchy.

in small characters, on the canopy ; but from the crosier which accompanies the suppliant in his ascent, and the resemblance of some of the architectural ornaments to the shrine of St. Etheldreda, Bentham supposes the person thus singularly commemorated to be Richard, the last abbot of Ely, who built the original east end of the present church, and removed thither the bones of the Saxon abbess, and other saints. He died in 1107, and his monument, besides what is remarkable in its sculpture as a work of art, must be taken, we fear, as a melancholy specimen of the covert advances of superstition, the possibility of being "beguiled of our reward" by a voluntary humility and worshipping of angels, as well as by personal vanity, and the like deteriorating admixtures, in our devotion.

• The introduction of the human figure on the slab, which was originally the coffin-lid, commences a new and important era in the history of our sepulchral antiquities. The origin of this very natural and obvious mode of commemorating the dead may be traced in the representations of the deceased party which usually surmount an Egyptian mummy-case. Such representations also appear on Etruscan monuments. They were probably derived to us, with many other variations in our architecture, arts, and general habits, from the Crusades ; and their oriental origin is confirmed by the circumstance, that at their first appearance they are usually raised in half relief, though they soon assumed that boldness of form and fulness of proportion to the human figure which, elevated on altar tombs and surrounded by shrines and canopies, often enriched with many subordinate beauties of sculpture, and bearing traces of splendid enamel, jewellery, banners, and armorial trophies suspended over the departed worthy, contribute so greatly to the ornament of our cathedrals and older churches.

The stately accompaniments of the cumbent effigy, which gradually advanced it to so great a pre-eminence over the simple slab, on which, however, it is frequently found, scarcely elevated, if at all, above the floor, partake of all the varied features of the prevailing styles of architecture. The descent also from curves, and free, bold forms, to hard and rigid lines, and thence to fantastic figures, which has been just noticed as distinguishing the lettering of inscriptions, no less than the architecture of the various ages between the early English and the Tudor periods, may be observed in the armour, attitudes, and even countenances of the effigies themselves. Compare the cross-legged knight of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, in his coat of mail and long loose surcoat, allowing full play to the limbs, and permitting the graceful folds of drapery to inter-

minge with the flexible links of the armour, his hand often grasping the sword or supporting the shield, and the whole person as if retaining the emotions of life, and in attitude to rise; with the severe uniformity of plate armour, the close surcoat, conjoined hands, and unbending figure of the “perpendicular” period, even in its most attractive specimens, such as that of the Black Prince at Canterbury; and still more with the scare-crow disguises into which the human form was trussed by the armour of later days; and this gradual change for the worse will be sufficiently apparent: though it must be confessed that the rigidity of the middle period far better suited the notion of death than either the menacing guise of the Norman warrior, the courtly affectation of Tudor times, or the negligent and easy air of the full-wigged statesmen and heroes in the days of Queen Anne, and downwards.

It is not our intention to pursue the inviting subject of cum-bent effigies and their accompaniments, which has been so copiously illustrated by Stothard, Blore, and others. We hasten to that more immediately presented to us in the work now under review—the scarcely less inviting subject of MONUMENTAL BRASSES, towards which we rejoice to find the efforts of the Camden Society at Cambridge so ably and zealously directed, and which have heretofore kept us on our knees, with dabber in hand, from early morn till closing eve, covering quires of tracing paper with powdered lead, to the amazement and sore misgivings of the uninitiated in antiquarian craft.

Sepulchral brasses are first found amongst us towards the close of the thirteenth century; and we are happy to possess, by dint of the process just described, the vera effigies of Sir Roger de Trumpington, from Trumpington church, near Cambridge, supposed to be the oldest specimen now remaining; as well as *fac-similes* of all the brasses within the precincts of that famous University—the relaxation of hours less pleasantly spent in the senate-house. Monuments of this description are valuable for the memorials they have handed down to us of costume and other characteristics of their respective periods, in which their comparative cheapness enabled them to expatiate more at large than was usual in sculpture. They are not, however, the exclusive property of any particular class, but may be found, in place of a sculptured effigy, on the altar tomb, and beneath the gorgeous shrine of the prelate or noble, as well as on the lowly floor, where they commemorate the parish priest; the indigenous gentry; the dame of the mansion, with her lap-dog, scent-box, and fan of feathers; or the merchant, with his purse and coun-

ters, the good housewives who were successively blessed in the participation of his wealth and virtues, and the hosts of children with which they blessed him in return.

Sometimes, the brasses, both of earlier and later days, were richly enamelled; and the colours of the arms, both on the shields and mantles of the figures, being thus represented, gave them a very lively and magnificent appearance, and rendered this rather a costly than cheap mode of commemoration. A curious instance occurs at Carshalton church, Surrey, where it pleased Mistress Margaret, wife of Nicholas Gaynesford, Esq., of that place, having been "one of the gentylwymmen of the most noble Princesses Elizabeth, wyfe of King Edward the Fourth, and Elizabeth, wyfe of King Henry the Seventh," to be represented on her tomb in the gown of "cremesyne velvett" which she wore at the coronation of those princesses—the rest of the plate, on which appear her husband and eight children, being gilded, without distinction of colours.

The earlier brasses have usually the effigy or effigies under engraved canopies, corresponding with the architecture of the period, and enriched with armorial bearings, these being again surrounded by a fillet of brass bearing the inscription; but frequently, especially in later days, the canopy is omitted, and the figure stands alone, upon a base which exhibits the inscription. It is often diminutive in size, though plates are found not less than ten feet in height and five in width; and we have seen instances in which economy was consulted, where it was wished to have the figure of life size, by making the head and hands only of brass, and forming all besides in outline on the stone. Half-length figures are also by no means uncommon. Perhaps the most rich and beautiful specimens of sepulchral brasses are at St. Nicholas's church, Lynn, dated in 1349 and 1364; but monuments of this kind, displaying much taste and elegance, are to be found at a period when the beauties of sculpture had greatly declined, of which that of Dr. Walter Hewke, Master of Trinity Hall, Cambridge, in the ante-chapel of that college, affords a beautiful specimen, but little anterior to the Reformation; and that of Archbishop Harsnett, at Chigwell church, Essex, is a still later instance, scarcely surpassed, either in size or workmanship, by the earliest and best on record. Both these are engraved in the work before us. In the former, the deceased is represented in sacerdotal vestments, with hands uplifted on his breast in the attitude of prayer. The broad clasp of his cope bears a figure of the Saviour in glory, in the act of benediction, and on its border appear the twelve apostles

beneath canopies, each distinguished by the usual attributes. On a scroll above the figure, the head of which has unfortunately disappeared, are the words—

“Of your charete pray for the soule
Of Master Walter Hewke, Doctor of Cano.”

On a smaller scroll, in engraved characters (the rest are embossed), are the words—

“*Sancta Trinitas, unus Deus, miserere nobis.*”

Beneath the feet are the following lines, which, in the scarcity of verse-makers in those days, served for more than one of the Cambridge doctorate—

“Gloria, fama scolis, laus, artes, cetera mundi
Vana nimis, valeant, spes michi sola Jhesus.
Suscipe Walterum, bone Jhesu, in fine dierum,
Qui obiit anno Domini Millo quingentesimo Christo.”

The date at present on the plate is 1510, but Dr. Hewke's mastership of Trinity Hall commenced in 1512, and his will, by which he founded a divinity fellowship in that society, is dated in 1517. The effigy and inscriptions, therefore, were probably placed in his lifetime, and a small space may be observed after the final figure for the insertion of the actual date of his death, which, as in numberless other instances, his executors have neglected to supply.

The broad border of the cope affords room for the display of much taste and elegance, and very minute and curious engraving, in the monuments of ecclesiastics. That of Dr. Hewke, which is unusually rich, is the only instance of the kind in Cambridge, where the dress of the degree mostly supersedes the sacerdotal vestment; but at Great Shelford, not far distant, is a fine specimen, in which the letters of the name, “Thomas Patesle,” have been inserted in the circles, which, alternately with lozenges, occupy the place of the apostles, in the example before us. We commend this brass to the notice of the Camden Society, as, although much mutilated, it exhibits to great advantage the style of canopy and other accompaniments which prevailed in the best period of sepulchral brasses. The subject, also, is well worthy of commemoration, as he appears, from the inscription preserved by Randal Holmes (Harl. MSS. 2129), to have rebuilt the church, and furnished it with books, vestments, painted glass, and other pictures and ornaments, at his own expense. He was a prebendary of Southwell, as well as rector of Shelford, and died October 31, 1418.

The monument of Archbishop Harsnett represents that prelate in a mitre, rochet, and richly embroidered cope; but the

latter of a more loose and flowing character than is found in earlier examples. His right hand clasps a book to his breast, his left supports a crosier; around are four shields—first, that of the see of Chichester, impaling Harsnett; second, Norwich; third, York, with the same impalement; fourth, Harsnett alone. The figure and shields are bordered by a fillet of brass, bearing at its angles the four evangelists, and midway on each side a circle with a six-winged cherub, between which appears the following inscription, from which the contractions have been removed:—

“Hic jacet Samvell Harsnett, qvondam vicarivs hvivs ecelesiæ, primvm indignvs Episcopvs Cicestriensis, dein indignior Episcopvs Norvicensis, demvm indignissimvs Archiepiscopvs Eboracensis, qvi obiit xxv. die Maii, anno Domini, 1631.”

Beneath the feet of the figure are these words—

“Quod ipsissimvm Epitaphivm ex avndanti hvmlitate sibi poni cvravit Reverendissimvs Præsvl.”

This prelate was born at Colchester, 1561; and, previous to his attainment of the mitre, was chaplain to Archbishop Bancroft, and Master of Pembroke Hall. He opposed the decrees of the Synod of Dort, on the question of predestination, and seems to have resolved, by his will, and even the fashion of his monument, not less than his life, to make a strenuous protest against the popular fancies of his day, whether on matters of ecclesiastical usage or doctrinal sentiment. To this, probably, we are to attribute the particular directions given as to the episcopal vestments, against which so furious a warfare was waged by the Puritans, and which the custom of that and the preceding generation had rather discountenanced on the seals and tombs of Protestant prelates. In his last testament he “commends his soul to God, hoping to be saved through the merits of Jesus Christ his Redeemer, professing to die in the ancient faith of the true Catholic and Apostolic Church, called the primitive Church, *i. e.*, in that faith that was professed by the holy fathers next after the blessed apostles; *renouncing from his heart as well all modern Popish superstitions, as all novelties of Geneva.*”*

* Of the same character are his directions respecting the Master of the Grammar School which he founded at Chigwell. He is to be a graduate, “a man skilful in the Greek and Latin tongues, a good poet, of a sound religion, neither Papist nor Puritan, of a grave behaviour, of a sober and honest conversation, no tippler nor haunter of alehouses, *no puffer of tobacco*, and above all apt to teach, and severe in his government. He is to teach Lilly’s Latin and Cleonard’s Greek Grammar; for phrase and style, to infuse into his scholars no other than Tully and Terence; for poets, to use the ancient Greek and Latin; no novelties nor conceited modern writers,” &c. &c.

He directs his body to be buried in the parish church of Chigwell, at the feet of Thomasine, his beloved wife, ordering a marble stone to be laid over his grave, "*with a brass plate molten into the same an inch thick, whereon was to be stamped the effigy of a bishop, with his mitre and crosier staff;*" and, as if in anticipation of the stormy period then near at hand, a period most fatal to brasses, he orders "*the said brass to be so rivetted and fastened clear through the stone, as that sacrilegious hands might not rend off the one without breaking the other.*"

It is satisfactory to know that these precautions have not been ineffectual, though the brass has been preserved from another and equally dangerous species of injury, rather by its being removed from the ground and placed in an upright position, than the thickness of its substance or the strength of its rivets. This precaution against sacrilegious *feet* it is impossible to blame in small and crowded churches, however much it is to be deprecated where the removal is wanton, and uncalled for by the situation of the stone. An inscription recording the fact proves that at Chigwell the change of position has been effected in a spirit well worthy of general imitation:—

"The above monumental stone was taken up, in order to preserve the curious brass-work on it, from the pavement in the chancel, and pieces of stone are laid in a manner which exactly describes the place it was removed from."

We are not aware of any monumental brasses of later date at all to be compared with that of Archbishop Harsnett; but very handsome figures are occasionally to be found in which the armour of the day is combined with laced collars, jack-boots, cloaks, and other minute characteristics of the costume, male and female, of the time of Charles I., of which the family monuments of the Penns, at Penn church, Bucks, may be mentioned as fine examples. The latest of these bears the date of 1671.

The brasses of the fifteenth and early part of the sixteenth centuries bear ample testimony to the full growth of that deplorable superstition and idolatry, the gradual advances of which we have noticed in earlier monuments. After all the pains taken by zealous advocates of the Reformation to efface such memorials, the traces of which are everywhere discoverable in the erasure of obnoxious portions of inscriptions and the removal of unseemly accompaniments, where the chief object of commemoration remains, we have not unfrequently met with representations of the Supreme Deity, under the guise of a venerable old man crowned with the tiara, before whose throne the Saviour is extended on the cross, and the Holy

Spirit is seated on one arm in the form of a dove, the object of adoration to the kneeling company below. Representations of this kind occur at Woburn, Bucks, and Cookham, Berks. Sometimes the holy Virgin, supporting the dead body of her Son, is the central object towards which the eyes of a devout family are directed; and while the father offers the prayer "*O fili Dei miserere mei*," the mother responds with equal zeal, "*O mater Dei memento mei*." This is the design of the beautiful brass of "*Andrew Evingar, cytezen and salter of London*," in the church of Allhallows, Barking—a structure abounding in monumental brasses, of various age and device, often happily of more value as memorials of civic piety, though none coming near to this as works of art. Or, again, amidst pathetic addresses to the Deity on behalf of the departed, such as "*Jesu, help!*" "*Mercy, Jesu!*" "*Grant mercy!*" "*Sancta Trinitas unus Deus, miserere nobis!*" we have such notices of the blessed Virgin as the following:—

"*Virgo Dei digna, peccantibus esto benigna !*"

"*Nos precibus matris salvet sapientia Patris !*"

"*O blyssyd ladye of pite, pray for me,
That my soul savyd may be.*"

These are often accompanied by mournful representations of the state of the departed, of whom one Humphrey Somerset (in the Savoy church)—

"*Doth call and cry,
With lamentable esrikes
And good devotion,
All devout Christian men
And women that pass hereby,
Pray for my dolorous soul,
For Christ's bitter passion.*"

Another (Henry Bigg, sometime of the Guard to King Henry VIII., buried at Windsor), after commending his wife and children to the "*peticon and holsom praer*" of the reader, "*their sowlles to save and purchas their charter*," adds for himself—

"*The body of me, Harry, lyeth here in grete necessite,
Cawlllyng for prayer trustyng everlasteyng felysite—
For whose sowle of your charite
Say a pater noster and an ave.*"

Another (Christopher Askowe, gentilman, in Woburn Church, Bucks), besides the words "*Miserere Domine*," on a label issuing from his own mouth, and "*Rest I desyer*," from the mouths of

his children, has this address to the passing stranger on a plate beneath his feet :—

“ Loke, svch as we are svch ye shalle be,
And svche as we were svche be ye,
Of that whiche was vnsur now are we surteyne ;
O blessed Trinitye saue vs from payne !
As ye wold be prayed for, pray ye
For vs to the most glorious Trinitye !
For be ye svr when ye haue alle done,
This paygan (pageant) shalle ye play ye wote not how sone.
Though nowe that we have the more nede,
Sey a pater noster, ave, and a crede.”

Such melancholy instances might be greatly multiplied, but it is more gratifying to remark an approximation to primitive and scriptural sentiments on the solemn subjects of our prospects beyond the grave, and the means of securing the safety of the soul, as we approach the period of the Reformation, when it was a second time proclaimed, as with a voice from heaven, that “blessed are the dead which die in the Lord,” and they who are unrighteous at the moment of dissolution must be unrighteous still.

The old allusions to the callings, occupations, and amusements of the deceased parties, are still occasionally found on brasses, though more sparingly than on the early class of monuments which preceded them; arms and “merchaunts’ merkes” having mostly taken the place of more arbitrary symbols. Thus, on the splendid monumental brass of a mayor of Lynn, before alluded to, that of Robert Braunche, 1364, we have the lively representation of a memorable feast at which he presided, with a gorgeous array of minstrels and servitors, and abundance both of guests and good cheer, duly seasoned, however, with the monitory lines—

“ Cum fex, cum humus, cum res vilissima sumus,
Unde superbimus, ad terram terra redimus.”

The merchant of the staple plants his feet or pillows his head on his woolpack, instead of the favourite greyhound or armorial cognizance which serves that purpose with the noble or knight. And not only do the ensigns of the chase retain the place they have occupied from the earliest ages, but the love of field sports is thought deserving of particular commemoration among the virtues of a worthy squire of the fifteenth century, whose effigy adorns the church of South Mims, Middlesex, and whose exploits are detailed on his epitaph, with a minuteness which implies no slight relish for such pastimes in the “vates sacer,” as well as the subject of his verse :—

“ Qui jacet hic stratus ? Thomas Frowyk vocitatus,
 Moribus, et natu, gestu, victu, moderatu,
 Vir generosus erat, generosaque gesta colebat.
 Nam quod amare solent generosi plusque frequentant,
 Aucupium volucrum, venaticiumque ferarum,
 Multum dilexit ; vulpes foveis spoliavit,
 Ac taxos caveis ; breviter, quæcunque propinquos
 Intulerant damna, pro posse fugaverat ipsa ;
 Inter eos etiam si litis cerneret unquam
 Accendi faculas, medians extinxerat ipsas,
 Fecerat et pacem ; cur et pacis sibi pausam
 Det Deus, et requiem quæ semper permanet. Amen.”

We smile at the thought that such hilarious doings should ever have been deemed fitting accompaniments, either in device or description, for the solemnities of the grave ; but were we equally candid with our progenitors, would not the pompous inscription which describes the father of his tenantry—the upright senator, the ornament of general society—too often dwindle down into the plain matter-of-fact declaration, that the deceased gave excellent dinners, dealt havoc among foxes, otters, and pheasants, and was incomparable at a five-barred gate?

From first to last in the history of monumental brasses, a small strip of this metal, without effigy or device, was sometimes deemed sufficient for the commemoration of the greatest personages ; and such is the memorial on the floor of the Savoy chapel, for the celebrated Bishop Gawain Douglas, bearing date 1522 :—

“ A noble lord of Douglas blood,
 With mitre sheen and rocquet white—
 Yet showed his meek and thoughtful eye
 But little pride of prelacy ;
 More pleased that in a barbarous age
 He gave rude Scotland Virgil’s page,
 Than that beneath his rule he held
 The bishoprick of fair Dunkeld.”

In all its varieties, this class of monuments has been more exposed to spoliation than any other which our churches contain ; and for this we must blame not only the Iconoclasts of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, on whom the vituperation of antiquaries is most apt to descend, but a sort of suttlers and hangers-on of their own body who best deserve the name of Iconoclepts, and against whom it behoves all true lovers of antiquity to uplift both hand and voice. We have known instances in which the simplicity or cupidity of a country sexton has been brought to consent to the removal of such memorials of past ages, by the promises of respectable looking personages, who assumed the specious but most fallacious title of *restorers* of

brass or glass, and whose professed intention was to bring back the object entrusted to them in more than primeval beauty; and we have heard of a conscientious collector, whose friends had continually to follow him like *Lité* after *Até*, pacifying as they could the clamours of parish-clerks, and other ecclesiastical guardians, on the removal of loose brasses, and the like relics, which were missed and traced to his haunts. One of the finest brasses at St. Alban's has, we believe, disappeared, within no very remote period, under this process of appropriation; and never shall we forget the account given us by two antiquarian cronies, to whom one of this tribe had promised the sight of a precious *morceau* as a temptation to dine with him, of the chagrin with which he informed them that "the abbey people had found him out," and taken off their dessert to the residence of Duke Humphrey.* The general disregard and neglect with which such memorials were once treated, may have furnished both opportunity and some sort of palliation for such malpractices. But this, we trust, is far from being the case at present; nor is the sacrilege, we venture to hope, to be named among existing enormities.

In the latter day of brasses, figures similar to those which appear on them are found indented in stone, the depressed parts being sometimes filled with a composition, presenting the subjects of commemoration in black outline on the light surface of the stone—a process which is said to have been at one time common with respect to the engraved lines of the brasses themselves. Stones bearing groups of figures thus indented appear at Hornsey church, near London, and Beaconsfield, Bucks; but they are not of frequent occurrence.

It is unnecessary to dwell on mural monuments, which date from the latter part of the sixteenth century to our own days, and of which the hint seems to have been given by altar tombs, with canopies slightly projecting from the wall, on the face of which the brass is inserted, instead of on the altar slab. Such monuments are not uncommon in the Tudor period. Those

* While on the subject of sacrilege, it may be as well to remind a more laudable class of investigators of brasses, that they must not be scrupulous as to the removal of matting and carpeting in old churches, and that a pew which tantalizes them by cutting the figure in two, may, with all due reverence for vested rights and interests, have occasionally to be *dealt with* after the approved fashion of Church reform. We rejoice to add to the claims of the Cambridge Camden Society on public estimation, that it has circulated a most useful collection of "Hints to Churchwardens," on the best method of preserving the venerable buildings and relics entrusted to their care, and has actually effected the restoration of several beautiful monuments of antiquity, in parishes where there was no other prospect than that of their utter ruin, so far as local resources were concerned.

which follow the revival of Roman architecture have seldom any thing to recommend them but cumbrous costliness, unless it be the frequent exhibition of family groups surrounding the altar in a posture of devotion, which we fear may too commonly put to shame the neglect of family devotion by their living descendants.

Sometimes, however, a species of scenic representation is attempted, which agreeably varies the general uniformity of early mural monuments; and the curtains of the chamber being drawn aside, we are presented with the affectionate mother amidst the tender objects of her care, swathed up like living mummies; or the commander reposes in his tent, guarded by grim-visaged sentinels, with matchlocks and bandoliers, while the page leads forth his charger amidst all the ensigns of a martial camp. Such monuments appear in Chingford and Barking churches, Essex. The latter, to Sir Charles Montague, of Cranbrook, 1625, is a very curious exemplification of the military costume of that time.

Perhaps the earliest specimen of that cumbrous order of monuments which seems chiefly designed for the display of varieties of marble, or their imitations, and which we have sometimes observed in most unbecoming situations, is the memorial of Catharine, Duchess of Suffolk, who died in 1580.* This excellent lady brought the name of Peregrine into the Bertie family, from the memorable circumstance of the birth of its heir in a church porch, in Flanders, during her wanderings as an exile and confessor for the Protestant faith. Her representatives seem to have resolved to make amends for the fluctuations of her lot in life by a monument, which should be the very image of stability and solidity. It occupies one entire side of the Willoughby chapel, in Spilsby church, Lincolnshire, and shuts it out from the adjoining aisle, the back being covered with monitory texts and verses, as the front is with the busts of the lady and her husband, the somewhat "salvage" bearings of the Bertie family, and all the exuberant ornaments of the Elizabethan age.

In later monuments of this class, not excepting those of our heroes and statesmen during the last war, we have usually been

* In Padworth church, Berks, is, or lately was, a huge monument of this tribe, which yet the constructor modestly styles "*Ingentis amoris monumentum exiguum*," the situation of which is precisely the centre of the space behind the communion table, in a semicircular Norman apse, as if the good lady whom it commemorated were designed to be the object of worship to the congregation. The creed, the Lord's prayer, and ten commandments, which it has displaced, serve to conceal from view a handsome arch of the same period, at the entrance of the nave. The monument bears date 1711.

reminded of certain humble specimens of nautical theology, which, however, have, on the whole, rather the advantage of their superiors in *Christian* sentiment:—

“ Kind Neptune, to my children be
A faithful friend in each degree :
Conduct their father through the tide,
Till God shall call him to my side.”

“ Blow, Boreas, blow, let Neptune’s billows roar,
Here lies a sailor landed safe on shore ;
Though Neptune’s waves have toss’d him to and fro,
By heaven’s decree he harbours here below.”

Nor after all that Chantry, Flaxman, and others have done to improve our national taste, have we yet anything to boast as to the general style of sepulchral memorials, either public or private.

The multiform tablets of later days have doubtless done much to disfigure and injure the architecture to which they are adjuncts, by the removal of capitals, mouldings, and other important members, and sometimes the weakening of the walls which support them; yet difficult as it may seem to guard against the evil, without an absolute prohibition of the practice which has led to it, we cannot reconcile ourselves to the unfeathered nakedness which is courted and commended in most of our modern churches; still less to the consignment of the memorials of former benefactors and worthies to dust and darkness, at the foot of staircases, or in outbuildings and lumber-rooms, which we have sometimes been grieved to witness on the re-erection of an ancient fabric. Under careful supervision and control, which we would have established by law in competent ecclesiastical authority, over epitaphs and monuments alike, spaces will usually occur which may be conveniently and ornamentally filled by mural monuments: and we have seen more than one of recent date which has most successfully followed the purest models of ancient architecture, and added much to the beauty of the church in which it was erected. No modern churches, whatever be their style, can for a long period possess the interest which belongs to one of our “ealdan mynstres,” which occupies its original site, and retains its original form, rich in the accumulations of subsequent ages, and but little visited by the hand of violence or innovation.—But they need not be debarred, by any arbitrary enactment, from such acquisitions, as gratitude, affection, and piety may yet be disposed to contribute, to their architectural decoration, as well as to their spiritual efficiency.

Nor must we conclude without an earnest and solemn protest

against that heartless apathy, which, under the assumption of superior light and freedom from vulgar prejudice, is rendering us familiar with the violation, not of the monuments only, but the bodies of the dead, and the sacred places, where it was once hoped, according to the impressive terms of the consecration service, that they would “rest in peace, and be preserved from all indignities.” Pennant complained that the demolition of the church of St. Christopher-le-Stocks, to make way for the fabric of the bank, “occasioned as much injury to the memorials of the dead and disturbance of their poor ashes, as ever did the impiety of the fanatics in the preceding century.” Much the same scene was witnessed, when, a few years since, the venerable collegiate church of St. Catharine, near the Tower, with its two burial grounds, was swamped for the construction of docks; and at length we have seen the edifying spectacle of the removal of good old Miles Coverdale’s remains to the church of St. Magnus the Martyr, because that of St. Bartholomew, in which they had reposed for nearly three hundred years, was wanted “to make room for the building of the new Sun Fire Office.”

To our apprehension, the act of consecration should be a perpetual barrier against all secular intrusion; and if any extreme cases may be imagined in which this principle must give way to overwhelming necessity, they are of a totally different character from those demands which we now continually hear for the sacrifice of churches and cemeteries, on the slightest suggestion of taste, commerce, or supposed convenience.

The impression of local sanctity, and those motives to which we referred at the outset, as dictating the universal feeling of reverence for the human body, even when in ruins—the desire to retain the dead in honourable remembrance, and to gather their remains around the spots where they learned their hope of a blessed immortality—are too closely interwoven with the purest impulses of our nature, the holiest aspirations of Christian faith, and, we will add, the best interests of civil society, to be thus wantonly trifled with at every whim of fashion, every craving of fancied expedience; and deeply as we lament the superstitions which have at various times been grafted on these natural impulses, we hold the very lowest and worst to be far preferable to that false philosophy, which affects to set at nought whatever concerns not the mere animal comforts of man, and, while limiting his view to objects so far beneath his immortal destiny, as fatally ossifies the hearts of the living as it desecrates the bones of the dead.

- ART. IV.—*Five Sermons on the Parable of the Rich Man and Lazarus, preached before the University of Cambridge, in January, 1841: to which is added a Proposed Plan for the Introduction of a Systematic Study of Theology by Students designed for the Church, after taking their B.A. degree.* By the Rev. JAMES HILDYARD, M.A., Fellow and Tutor of Christ's College. London: Rivingtons. 1841.
2. *Remarks on the Necessity of Attempting a Restoration of the National Church.* By the Rev. W. GRESLEY, Prebendary of Lichfield. London: Rivingtons. 1841.
3. *Clerical Education, considered with an especial reference to the Universities.* By the Rev. CHARLES PERRY, M.A., Fellow and late Tutor of Trinity College, Cambridge. London: Parker. 1841.
4. *Observations on the Statutes of the University of Cambridge.* By GEORGE PEACOCK, D.D., V.P.R.S., &c., Dean of Ely. London: Parker. 1841.

WE confined ourselves, in our last paper on the University of Cambridge, to the present state of *General* Education, leaving the more important topic of *Religious* Education to be treated in the present number. Our observations on the former subject led us to the cheering conclusion, first, that it was very doubtful whether the system now adopted was capable of much amendment; but that if it were, secondly, the men now governing at Cambridge were precisely the best in whose hands the power of reform could be placed. With regard to religious education, we may not altogether adopt the same language; and creditable as are the attainments of the younger clergy, well directed as is their zeal, and excellent as are their characters, we cannot help thinking that, did Cambridge avail herself of her many religious opportunities, her sons would take far higher ground even than that which they now occupy. We set out by allowing at once that we do not require a strictly professional education, but only so much knowledge of divinity as every well educated man *ought* to possess. But, alas! there will be continual cavillings, both as to that *quantum*, and also as to what constitutes a *respectable* clerical education. The list we shall give of works and studies for the latter, will perhaps startle a few who think Scott's Commentary the one book needful, and that all the rest may be gathered from the "Record."

1. THE HOLY SCRIPTURES.

With the Commentary of Augustine Calmet—we say Calmet, because, of all modern commentators, Adam Clarke has been the

only one who brought sufficient learning to the task ; and there are two objections to his Commentary—first, that he was not a member of the Church ; and, secondly, that he was very fanciful in his hypothesis : his work will, nevertheless, well repay the student who consults it. As to Henry, Scott, Girdlestone, &c., these are all matters of taste ; any accomplished divine may make as good a family commentary extempore before breakfast.

Hales' and Usher's Chronology ; Graves on the Pentateuch ; Faber on the Three Dispensations ; Faber's *Horæ Mosaicæ* ; Newton on the Prophecies ; Biscoe on the Acts ; Butler's Analogy ; Paley's Evidences ; Bishop Sumner's Evidences ; Paley's *Horæ Paulinæ* (by Prebendary Tate).

2. THE LITURGY, ARTICLES, &c.

Burnet on the Articles ; Pearson on the Creed ; Wheatley on the Book of Common Prayer ; Palmer's *Origines Liturgicæ* ; Cardwell's Documentary Annals ; Lawrence's Bampton Lectures ; Jones of Nayland on Baptism ; Wall on Infant Baptism ; the Four Sermons on the Sacraments set forth by Cranmer (see Tracts of the Anglican Fathers).

3. ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY AND ANTIQUITIES.

Mosheim (Soame's edition) ; Soame's History of the Anglo-Saxon Church ; Soame's History of the Elizabethan Church ; (parts at least of) Collier's Ecclesiastical History of Great Britain ; Bingham's *Origines Sacræ* ; Wordsworth's Ecclesiastical Biography ; Hooker's Ecclesiastical Polity.

4. PURE DIVINITY.

Faber on Election, Justification, Regeneration ; Archbishop King on Predestination ; but a list here would be too long to print.

We here say nothing of practical religion—nothing of the study of such works as will unveil to the student the workings of the unregenerate heart and the temptations that assail the Christian—nothing of those works which will embody the experience of the aged minister in the mind of the youthful curate ; we speak only of the bare framework which is necessary to support the subsequent structure, and we are quite sure that no one who has been in the habit of moderate but regular study will think that we demand too much in giving such an outline of clerical studies. It will be observed that we say nothing about the fathers or the medieval writers, and require no more than can be acquired in the vernacular tongue. Now when we come to

compare this—which we allow to be a meagre and incompetent outline—with that which the University actually requires, *one Gospel, Paley's Evidences*, and the *fact* of having sat for *twenty hours* before Professor Corrie! what can we say? There is, it is true, an increased and increasing sense of the responsibility attaching to the sacred office; a higher class of intellects are engaged in the work of the ministry, and there is also an “*esprit du corps*” which continually urges the younger clergy to fresh exertions and to new acquirements; there is, moreover, a hallowed zeal which makes the salvation of souls a labour of love—and the love of Christ constraineth those who are the ministers of his Church to shrink from no labour, to fear no danger, when the glory of the Lord and the spread of the Gospel is concerned.

We rejoice in all this; but it gives no reply to our query. Is the University taking the stand she ought to take? Is she doing all that the Church has a right to expect from her? What she does is good, so far as it goes; she is preparing the soil; she is manuring it, and making it strong and fertile, and capable of bearing many good crops. Now it is never pretended that the studies of the University are, with regard to the clergy, anything more than preparatory; they are means to an end, and the end is to strengthen the mind, so that it may be able rightly and skilfully “to divide the word of truth”—that it may bring the powers of severe abstract reason to bear on the truths of the Gospel—that it may strip heresy of its sophistry, and schism of its cloak of maliciousness—and that the torch *prepared* by science may be lighted at the altar of divine truth. There are, therefore, two points of view from which our argument is to be surveyed; the one is the *religious* education of laymen, the other the theological education of clergymen. That a lamentable degree of ignorance is displayed on theological subjects by those students of our Universities *not* intended for the Church, will perhaps be granted on all hands. It is not to raise a laugh, though the subjects be laughable indeed, in *one* respect, that we shall relate an anecdote or two of recent examinations, but to point a moral. An amiable youth (*puer ingenuus*) being asked, who was Moses? replied (with a significant look which implied that he could say more did the topic permit him, but that he thought a hint sufficient), “Moses, Sir? Ah! I recollect; a very unpleasant transaction in the family of Potiphar!” Once again: a student being examined for priest’s orders, and being told by a fellow-candidate something about Phocas, the emperor, spelt the name *Focus*, and thus betrayed the fact that he had got his information by the ear, and not by reading. Were we inclined,

we might multiply stories like these; but we are not writing a jest book, and if we were, *such* things should provoke tears rather than laughter; but we have related them because they came to us from the examiners themselves, who could and did detail many more. We feel, therefore, convinced that no thoughtful person will deny the necessity of some addition being made, in the shape of Christian instruction, to the undergraduate course at our Universities. Professor Whewell did, indeed, at Devonport, characterize religion as “a thing about which the best and wisest of men have differed!” and thereby add the weight of his powerful and respected name to the infidel tendencies of our day; but we would hope that at Cambridge the *genius loci* would once more prevail over his mind, and that he would become once more the *Christian* philosopher. By the bye, we have not yet done with the distinguished but misled President of the British Association; we shall have to speak about the peripatetic philosophers *en masse* in another article. To return, therefore, to Cambridge: the best and wisest of men *never have* differed upon the importance of religion, the necessity of searching the Scriptures, the advantage of early instilling the principles of religion into the human mind; and if one person be pointed out to us who has “differed” on these topics, and therefore has denied them, we declare, with the most utter disregard of all the names that may be arrayed against us, that the individual in question had *ipso facto* forfeited his claim to be one of “the best and wisest of men.” But we are not now engaged in a logomachy with Professor Whewell, who, after the excitement of his speech was over, was doubtless both ashamed and sorry for what he had said; but we are engaged on the very important question, whether any addition can be made to the studies of the undergraduate course, which shall tinge them, as it were, with religion? The objections to any alteration are manifold, and deserving much consideration, and they have, for the most part, been put forward in a manner which displays at once good feeling and good taste; and as we said in our former article on General Education in the University, so we now say as to Religious Education, that we entertain no doubt but that the wisest plans will be preferred, for that no public body was ever under the rule of more able or more honest men than Cambridge is at present. We shall, therefore, while we offer our suggestions to such men with the greatest deference, offer them at the same time with boldness—for we also have been undergraduates.

The first and chief objection seems to be, that to require any

additional theological knowledge from the general student will occupy time which he can ill spare, inasmuch as he has, under the present system, only just time enough to prepare for his scientific and classical examinations. Now this is taking for granted that the classics and mathematics, thus acquired, are acquired as an end, not as a means; for if they be simply valuable on account of the discipline they afford to the mind, then a little more or less will be of small moment. So far as *mental discipline* is concerned, it is probable that the fourth or fifth wrangler may have received as much benefit from the effects of mathematical study as the senior wrangler. If, however, the student do look upon them as an end—if he determine to pursue the investigation of science, and to make mathematics the staple of his future studies, doubtless he will do so, and as doubtless is it that he will be none the worse a philosopher for knowing somewhat of the God who made him, and the religion which he professes. Again, if *all* have to study the same theological subjects, all will start perfectly fair; none will have to complain that in the mathematical or classical tripos he was thrown behind A. or B., because he was obliged to study divinity, for A. and B. were under the same obligation. On this subject Mr. Hildyard speaks very well; he observes—

“In all proposals that have been made for introducing the study of divinity, in any material degree, into the University, during the three years’ residence of undergraduateship, we are fairly met by the difficulty of determining the amount to be required of *all* classes of students, without endangering their steady application to the other acknowledged branches of a liberal education; while if, during this same period, an attempt were made to discriminate between the different professions, it would either lead to a disguise of the real aim of the student (in many cases, indeed, unknown to himself, or undetermined up to the time of taking his degree), or would put the candidate for orders in a disadvantageous position as regarded his prospects in college, from having had demands upon his time, to which his competitors had not been subjected; whereas it was rather for the particular benefit of theological students that much of the benefactions of our foundations was bestowed, and certainly never contemplated by the donors that their bounty should be counteracted by what would thus prove, in many cases, an exclusion of the very persons for whom it was designed.”

On these grounds it has been wisely decided to institute no course of theological study, properly so called, during the ordinary period of residence :—

“It follows, then, either that we dispense altogether with what might reasonably be considered the chief object of an institution, professedly designed for training up a supply of the regular clergy of the land; or some method must be adopted, by which a short course of

divinity may be engrafted on the stock of acquirement already possessed in the other branches of learning by the recently graduated B.A.

“And this, we think, might be accomplished, without interfering, more than would be expedient, with the established order of studies in the University, or increasing materially the expense already unavoidably incurred in completing the academical career—a thing as much as possible to be deprecated, especially when affecting a class, whose parents, from obvious causes, are often least in a condition to bear any addition to their burdens in this respect. This last, indeed, added to the apparent inconvenience of retaining a large number of graduates in the University for any length of time, has acted hitherto as the principal obstacle to assigning the period *after* taking the degree for the exclusive attention to this object.”

Now Mr. Hildyard proposes a plan which he thinks would secure the advantages of a theological education, and at the same time avoid any interference with the present course of study. This plan has for its principal feature the institution of a periodical examination, at which all Bachelors of Arts, who had taken that degree not less than two terms previously, might present themselves, without having been bound to reside during the intervening period, and then and there attain a certificate of fitness for ordination. Mr. Perry, in his excellent Letter to the Bishop of Lichfield, remarks—

“Your lordship will, I think, agree with me upon the propriety of abstaining from any interference with the course of instruction preparatory to the B.A. degree. Whatever additions may be desirable in the theological portion of that course (and perhaps some additions may hereafter be beneficially introduced), these must always be considered as constituting a part of the education in arts, and not of the education in divinity—that is, they must be imposed on all our students indiscriminately, as being essential elements of the education of every Christian scholar, and not of the clergy only. I would suggest, therefore, in the first place, that no person should be allowed to enter his name as a student in theology, until after he has proceeded to the degree of Bachelor of Arts. Whether he should do so immediately upon taking this degree, or defer it to a yet later period, might be left to his own discretion.”

And this brings us to the consideration, that both these plans are liable to a valid objection, in that, while nominally they put the student to small extra expense, and no extra residence, they virtually entail upon him considerable outlay of money, and the addition of at least three academical terms to the period of his college education. The young man who enters Cambridge at nineteen and a half, takes his degree of B.A. at twenty-three, when he is by age qualified for deacon's orders. Now he ought also to be morally and intellectually fitted for them, but the

plans we have alluded to keep him another year "unproductive." It may be, and often is, the fact, that the young man has been supported with some difficulty hitherto, and looks to the attainment of a curacy as the means of releasing his parents from a heavy burden. If we are to be told that it would be, and will be, well to prevent persons so situated from entering the Church at all, we can only say that none would rejoice more heartily than we in seeing an array of curates, all tall, handsome men, all exceedingly learned and remarkably orthodox, all well fed and well favoured—well born and well bred, and all worth 500*l.* per annum of private property; but when are we to see so glorious a vision?—and, moreover, will these "nice men," so fit for suburban chapels or churches in the neighbourhood of "the squares," offer their services to the Bishop of Exeter, for the remote fishing and mining villages of Cornwall? to the Bishop of Chester, for the large but miserably poor congregations of manufacturing Lancashire? to the Archbishop of York, for the radical-ridden townships of the West Riding? What is to be done with the dioceses of Bangor, and St. David's, and Carlisle, and Ripon, and Llandaff, and St. Asaph, where there are no Exeter-halls, no evangelical carnivals?

All the schemes which have been propounded as yet for the better attainment of a theological education, bear reference to the clerical vocation, and only, as it were incidentally, touch upon the *general* religious knowledge of undergraduates. Now, though it is certainly true that the great object of the Universities is general, and not professional education, it is as certain that the education there bestowed ought to be *sufficient*, and to require only the superaddition of professional knowledge to render it complete. Looking at the subject, therefore, in this point of view, we must bear in mind that the great principle upon which the clergy have objected to the Government plan of education has been, that religion has been treated as a thing "about which the best and wisest of men have differed;" whereas *they* very rightly maintained that religion was the basis of every *proper* education, and that it was impossible to teach religion without teaching the *doctrines* of religion.

Now, when we look once again to the University, we find, practically, a different system countenanced by the clergy—a system which says, teach men mathematics, and, if they like, classics; but do not trouble them about religion, unless they are intended for clergymen; then they may, if they choose, hear Pearson on the Creed, and if they do *not* choose to hear, they may go to sleep—only they must be in the lecture-room for *twenty* several hours, and the Professor must read. Thus

there is a necessity for a religious education for the labourer and the mechanic, but no similar necessity for the physician, the barrister, and the private gentleman. The cotter *must* know something about the Bible, but the nobleman may do very well without it. Nor is it more than a mere fallacy, and a very silly fallacy too, to assert that this is all *preliminary*, and that the Universities are occupied in giving the last strokes to a finished education. Our reply to this objection is twofold: first, that it is not true; and, secondly, that it would prove nothing if it were. But, first, it is not true a youth is taught addition and the rule of three in lectures at Cambridge, and solemnly examined by the University, with a view to ascertain whether he understands them or not. He is taught the Gospels in Greek, and examined in the most elementary parts, not only of that language, but also of the Latin, and this not merely at his matriculation, nor even at his "previous examination"—better known by its slang name of "*little go*"—but also in the examination for his degree; and the replies often given show how great is the necessity for impressing this elementary character on the examination. But, in the second place, even if the objection were true, it would prove nothing for the objector; for it might be replied, that, though it was not possible, in all cases, for the University to *confer* elementary information, it was both practicable and her practice to ascertain that her members possessed it. And here we decidedly object to Mr. Hildyard's views on the subject of making religion a part of the ordinary education. He says—

"Nor do we think anything would be gained to the cause we are advocating by the mixture of theological studies, to any definite amount, with the other requirements for a *degree*, as is the case at the sister University—to the prejudice, we are satisfied, of the sound learning and stability of judgment, which an *exclusive* devotion to the classics and mathematics united is so admirably calculated to bestow, during the years of elementary education. We nevertheless cannot but feel, that, on a comparison, in the eye of the public, our own University must, in respect of attention to this branch of its duties, be invidiously contrasted with its ancient rival, if not with the foundations which have arisen in our own times, and which have wisely made attention to divinity a main element in their constitution.

"The University of Durham, more especially, undertakes the theological training of its students; while in the London University, though the study of divinity is not *compulsory*, there is considerable encouragement held out to all who make it their object, and examinations are regularly established for this purpose, which are respectably attended. A theological seminary, we believe, has recently grown up at Chichester, and at Wells (and has been meditated in other cathedral towns), with a view in some measure to meet the wants of those who

obtain little or no assistance at the University, preparatory to entering a profession requiring such varied attainments and accomplishments as that of the Church. But these local establishments, it must be remembered, as they do not offer the enlarged advantages of an University on the one hand, so are also liable to serious objection on the other grounds of at least equal moment.

“It would be superfluous to allude to the industry with which the Romanists, and many of our dissenting communities, direct the professional education of those designed for their ministry, if it were not that comparisons as to the degree of our respective theological attainments are frequently drawn, to the disparagement of the clergy of the Establishment, by those who, ready enough to cavil *without* cause, are not sparing when a *just* ground of censure is thus afforded them. Perhaps if the practice of English prose composition were more general amongst us (as it would become, if an *original sermon* were an essential part of the examination as above proposed), we should hear less of the complaint now referred to, and which, it cannot be denied, is not altogether without foundation.”

We think, on the contrary, that the Oxford system is, in this instance, decidedly in the right, and that the more Conservative feeling of that body generally is owing to their practical acknowledgment of God's eternal truth, by making theology an *essential* part of an Oxford education. We say Conservative feeling, for we are speaking of laymen; and though we do not always find religion where we see Conservatism, yet we rarely, very rarely, find the former without the latter.

And here let us boldly meet and acknowledge the difficulties of our position in another respect. To say that the University of Cambridge is a Whig body, would be, in the highest degree, absurd. Yet how has it arisen, that when the late Government (we say late, because, though while these words are written it exists, by the time they are published the waves of Time will have closed over it)—when the late Government wanted a consistent clever man, of good character and Whig principles, to make the same into a bishop, they were necessitated to look to Cambridge for him, simply for this reason, that in that University religion has been treated as “a thing about which the best and wisest of men have differed”—because men of character and talent have fallen, for want of safeguard, into Whiggism—because the sophistries of liberal declaimers have found minds unprepared to combat them—minds, too, of a high order, but which were too totally absorbed in science to weigh the *religious tendencies* of political principles. A man of lax theological principles, or erroneous political tendencies, might shelter himself at Cambridge under his devotion to science; by a tacit interpretation of University law, differences on such subjects

were to be kept in the back-ground. One man might be an ardent admirer of the semi-infidel Scotch metaphysicians—another an equally ardent admirer of Whig-Radical administrations—another might strongly doubt the literal interpretation of the doctrine of the Trinity—might strenuously differ from the Athanasian Creed, and be very sceptical as to the personality of the devil; and yet all, because equal believers in the differential calculus, and because moral and upright in their outward conduct, be reckoned among the “best and wisest of men”—they had not run counter to the prejudices of the University. Now an Oxford man, who held similar views, would be looked upon as a black sheep; he must have torn away from his mind the very essence of his Oxonianism—destroyed the very band which held him to his *Alma Mater*; and hence, though Oxford radicals are to be found, and Oxford neologians, they are for the most part in such bad odour, and looked upon with so great suspicion, that making bishops of them is a matter not to be thought of even for a moment.

Were there no other proof than this of the defectiveness of our system, we should, we consider, have reason enough to change it. If we turn to the different colleges, and mark the variety in their internal management, and in the tone given to their society, we shall be enabled to go a step further, and fix the largest share of the blame precisely on that college which ought to be most scrupulous, because of its great weight and influence—*Trinity*. We know well *how many* men there are in that college who practically neutralize the evil; who, by their religious counsels and their religious example, have nourished a spirit of true unobtrusive godliness, of sound EVANGELICAL HIGH CHURCHMANSHIP. And here we would, with the most affectionate respect, mention the venerable Archdeacon Thorp; but the fact is, alas! notorious, that if a respectable Liberal is to be found in the Church, Cambridge must furnish him; and if in Cambridge, the search must be directed to Trinity! We look upon the system of Cambridge, with all its faults, as by far the best extant; but we would fain see it perfect, and one importation from Oxford would, we think, make it so. We look upon Trinity College, Cambridge, as the first of collegiate institutions; and if its members would allow one improvement to come to them “from over the wall,” it also would be a near approach to perfection.

And why not? Hear Mr. Perry again, a man whose opinions are not to be lightly esteemed:—

“It is impossible to consider, with any degree of attention, the constitution and history of these institutions, without arriving at the con-

clusion, that, so long as such a course of instruction in theology is wanting, they are neglecting one of the most important of the objects for which they were founded, and for the attainment of which their statutes were framed, and many of their privileges bestowed. For few, if any, of those acquainted with the subject, would venture to deny, that, while a liberal education in every branch of science and learning—an education co-extensive with the wants of the nation at large—was intended to be afforded in these national academies, regard was more especially had to the study of divinity, in which it was expected that the greater number of students would proceed, and for which the most careful provision was made, agreeably to the habits of those times, by the public lectures of the several professors, and by the series of acts and exercises imposed upon the candidates for the successive degrees.”

And this brings us to consider the question of expense. We would, on every ground, avoid entailing any extra burden on those who are about to enter on the work of the ministry; the “qualifications” have been for some time gradually rising, and we think they have now risen high enough. We do obtain gentlemen, and we do not like them the worse because, for the most part, *poor* gentlemen. We cannot expect that men of independent property, who can live where they prefer, and make themselves useful as much in one locality as in another, will voluntarily choose to reside in remote and half-civilized districts. Men, on the other hand, who are dependent on their own exertions, *will* undertake such cures, and *work* for themselves a way to moderate preferment. But this subject of expense is a serious one. Mr. Hildyard says—

“With regard to the apprehension of considerable expense being incurred, in addition to the chargeableness of an academical education, already in some instances oppressively felt, it has been suggested to the writer of these remarks that this formidable objection might be obviated, by a general alteration of the period at which residence should commence in the University, from the *Michaelmas* to the *Lent* Term, whereby a portion of the time and expenditure, now required for the ordinary degree, would, in the case of candidates for the Church, be simply transferred from their first year’s residence (as now calculated) to the period between graduating and passing the theological examination; while, in all other cases, an *entire relief*, to this extent, would be seasonably afforded, as well as to those even of the other class who should make it their *option* to be non-resident during the above interval.

“It would, we believe, be found in practice, that, supposing this plan adopted, no additional cost would arise, even on the most unfavourable supposition, of a continued residence up to the examination at the division of the Easter Term next following the B.A. degree. For, in point of actual *time*, the interval from October to January, and from

February to May (in both cases inclusive) is the same ; and if the latter months appear to involve the consideration of *two* quarters, whereas the former embraces only *one*, it must be remembered, that, under the working of the *present* system, the charges to the incepting Bachelor for the quarter in which he takes his degree are nearly the same (commons excepted), whether he reside or not ; so that the proposed change would merely have the effect of transferring to the Easter Term, after his degree, the charges now incurred during his first Michaelmas Term."

Mr. Perry, too, whose plan is not very dissimilar to that of Mr. Hildyard, while he allows that there would be some additional expense, remarks—

"Before I conclude this letter, I would beg, my lord, to notice an objection which may be alleged against the above scheme, upon the ground of the additional expense * which would be thereby occasioned to those who are preparing to enter the ministry of the Church. To this I can only reply, that, if a special education for their holy office be needed, additional expense must be incurred in acquiring it ; and that the above plan would, I believe, be attended with as little as is possible, consistently with the effectual attainment of the desired end. The expense of living in college is moderate ; and there are many ways by which a meritorious student may contrive to increase his little income. The use of the public libraries would much diminish the expense to which he would be necessarily put for books. The lectures of many of the professors are at present gratuitous, and the others might be rendered so by an increased endowment of their chairs, which it is probable that those friends, to whom I have already referred as most anxious to promote the success of this attempt, would be able to procure. Thus, if provision could be likewise made for the payment of the annual examiners, the entire instruction might be afforded freely, without any charge either upon the students or upon the Universities."

Our reply to this will be very brief: first, we do not think the plan necessary at all ; for no one has ever contended that the younger clergy, as a body, are insufficiently learned. We have already noticed the great discrepancy between the theological attainments of these young men, and the means furnished to them by the Universities. We would rejoice to see a theological tripos at Cambridge ; but we would not make it compulsory on any one to strive after its honours, nor would we virtually

* The Address to the Archbishops and Bishops, from which some extracts have been already made, notices this objection to "superadding a theological course to the usual academical period." It is not, however, really so great as it at first sight appears. For the larger number of the students at our Universities take the degree of B.A. about the age of twenty-two ; nor is it desirable that they should defer it to a later period. They have, therefore, an interval of twelve months before they can be admitted to deacon's orders ; and this would appear to be the proper period for pursuing their theological studies.

make it so by declaring a certificate of examination necessary for testimonials. For what are college testimonials? They are simply certificates that A. B. has lived correctly, and learned as much as he and the University thought fit. The layman who intends to continue so has as undoubted a right to them as the candidate for orders; and we find Mr. Hildyard saying—

“This would be an admirable addition to the present form of college testimonials, which, whatever be the pains taken in granting them, it is notorious, by no means warrant the conclusion, that the persons receiving them possess all the qualifications for the ministry which they describe. Whereas the certificate of approval by examiners, appointed from the University at large, which would now accompany them, would not only be a security against the *inequality* of regulations in particular colleges, respecting testimonials for orders, but would always be a sufficient guarantee that the possessor was at least qualified, in respect of *attainments*, for appearing before the bishop.”

We see any mistake properly guarded against by making the certificate an addition to the testimonial, but making the *certificate* itself the thing *necessary* for ordination. But, in order to this, the bishops are to be asked; and is it very likely that they will transfer the right of examining candidates to the University? They know best what is required, each in his own particular diocese, and some may have *strong* opinions. The late Bishop of Peterborough, for instance, would hardly have been satisfied with the assurance of some living dignitaries as to the soundness of a candidate's theological views. The public orator has been named, we believe, as an examiner; but there are many episcopal quarters where that individual's certificate would weigh little enough. *Generally speaking*, however, we are aware that this objection is not very forcible; for, with perhaps a few exceptions, there would be more difficulty in making a bad choice than a good one of examiners: yet the more weighty one remains. If the body thus constituted examines in the same, or nearly the same, subjects as those in which the bishops are known to examine, is it not either a work of supererogation, or a taking out of the *proper* hands the examination of candidates for orders? What is the real meaning of the following:—

“This is, of course, not intended to supersede the private episcopal examination, but would tend much to relieve the labour of their lordships, and give uniformity to their mode and practice of examining (a point highly to be desired, though at present almost unattainable), while the University itself would escape the now but too just imputation of throwing off its own shoulders, upon the right reverend prelates, the entire odium, as well as the toil and responsibility, of ascertaining the fitness, in respect of acquirement, of all candidates offering for the ministry; whom their lordships are thus compelled either to reject, at

great personal inconvenience, or to accept, to the still greater prejudice of the Church.

“ To which may be added, that the candidates for orders would thus be early apprized of the nature of the examination they would have to undergo, and not, as under present circumstances, be subjected to the uncertainty in this respect, which arises from their not knowing the particular diocese in which their title will place them, and consequently the course of reading recommended, and amount of attainment required, by such bishop as they may then have to appear before. We believe the inconvenience arising from this source is felt to a very serious degree ; nor does there appear any remedy for it, except from the adoption of some such plan as that above suggested.”

It is, in fact, telling us that the bishops do all the work now, but that Mr. Hildyard would like to save them the trouble. If the examination in question were established, would the prelates give up their own ? We imagine not ; and then all that would be gained would be, that the candidates would be asked the same questions twice, instead of once.

Turn we now to another topic connected with this, which is the establishment of theological colleges in the various cathedral towns, several of which, at Chichester and Wells for example, are in full operation. Mr. Perry objects to them : he remarks, in his excellent and often quoted Letter to the Bishop of Lichfield :—

“ I confess, my lord, that although I am sensible of the necessity which existed for some immediate measure in order to meet the exigency of the case, and although I owe, and feel, the most respectful deference for the wisdom and judgment, as well as the zeal and piety, of those eminent men, the heads of our Church, who have recently founded theological colleges in their dioceses—yet I cannot divest myself of a degree of apprehension, when I contemplate the possible issue of these institutions. The character of the instruction which will be given in them will obviously depend entirely upon the opinions of the *few* individuals by whom they may be for the time conducted ; and as we know that dangerous errors have heretofore been openly avowed, even by learned and distinguished members of the Church of England, what security is there, that some of these, or similar errors, may not be adopted by the very men who shall hereafter possess the superintendence of this instruction ? And if such an event should at any time occur, I ask again, what security will there be against the insidious introduction of these errors, and their ultimate prevalence among the students ? A fatal heresy might spring up unnoticed, and produce its baneful fruits, in many a youthful mind, before the attention of the Church was directed towards it, and any effectual measure could be taken to eradicate it.

“ I trust, my lord, that I shall be pardoned for expressing the fears which I entertain upon this point. I have been emboldened to do so,

because I believe that they are felt by your lordship as well as by myself ; and because I think, that the more fully the subject is considered, the more reasonable will my apprehensions appear, and the more likelihood will there be that the claims of the Universities, which I have ventured to advocate, will be generally admitted.

“Neither is the introduction of erroneous doctrine the only danger against which it is necessary to provide in the education of the clergy. There is another danger—less obvious, indeed, but not less real—the danger of acquiring narrow and contracted views of human nature, and of the object and duties of the ministerial office. Such views are most injurious to the interests of true religion, in any country, and in any age, but especially in our own, which are distinguished by so wide a diffusion of intelligence, and so much real or affected liberality. They are not unlikely to prevail in a small society, composed of persons, all of whom are of the same condition, are used to the same habits, are engaged in the same studies, and are looking forward to the same object ; but they are effectually excluded by that enlarged intercourse with men of various tastes, habits, and employments, of comprehensive understandings and cultivated minds, which the clerical student would enjoy at the Universities. I am sure that your lordship will regard this matter as of no slight importance in its bearing upon the present question.”

We do not at all participate in these fears ; first, because the students in the theological colleges are, for the most part, if not entirely, such as have already taken their first degree at one of the Universities ; secondly, because, being under the immediate eye of the bishops, there is small probability of their being otherwise than well conducted. But it will be said that here is an additional expense, without the great advantage attaching to the University plans. The fact is, that a little self-interest mixes with even the best feelings, and is occasionally to be found even in “the best and wisest of men.” Now these colleges present motives powerful enough to draw students to them, independently of the unquestionable theological benefit to be obtained thereby ; for when it comes to be recollected that these are the bishops’ own colleges—that a young man who distinguishes himself there, distinguishes himself under the very eye of his diocesan, and therefore enters the Church under highly favourable auspices, we need not wonder if these institutions prosper ; and that they are calculated to do immense good, we entertain no doubt at all. In this case, the extra expense is compensated by an immediate and palpable advantage : quiet and seclusion from excitement, books and assistance in using them, intellectual society, and able directions as to study ; such are the benefits offered by the diocesan colleges, and most gladly should we see them rising under the wing of every cathedral. Mr. Perry

seems, however, to fear that they may be made *substitutes* for the Universities; and if this *should* take place, then the evil effects, both to the Church and to the individuals thus thrust into her service, would be very great; but this is a danger we do not contemplate. Still less do we fear that narrowness of view of which Mr. Perry speaks; it is, we think, clear, that many students will voluntarily enter a diocesan theological college who would be very unwillingly compelled to reside two additional terms at Cambridge: and as it is not likely that a bishop, who had established in his own diocese a college for clerical education, would refuse to ordain members of it who had graduated at Oxford or Cambridge, and afterwards studied under his own inspection; so it would be no longer necessary for persons who had a view to titles in such dioceses to pay any regard to the University regulations at all.

But we must return to our first proposition, which we think we have sufficiently, if not formally, proved—viz., that, so far as the clergy are concerned, the changes required are unnecessary. Our second proposition is, that something must be done to Christianize the ordinary course of study—to rescue Cambridge from the list of places where religion is counted as “a thing about which the wisest and best of men have differed”—to create a marked difference between the University in which Professor Whewell has displayed the most brilliant scientific attainments, and the Association of Peripatetic Gastronomics, in which he has exhibited so marvellous an obliviousness of theological truth. Who are the Church? What is the Church? Is it a certain number of right reverend prelates and reverend priests? No: it is the body of the Christian people. Mr. Gresley, in an admirable pamphlet, lately put forth, speaking of schemes for the extension of the Church, says:—

“Doubtless many excellent persons have engaged in them under a strong sense of duty, and have effected much good in various places; but there has not been called forth that commanding energy and self-devotion which bears down all obstacles before it, which inspirits the good, rouses the dormant, drags with it the lukewarm, and forces even the hostile to lend a helping hand. Such a spirit, once kindled, would become with many a predominant motive, and would soon accomplish even more than was required. When the tabernacle of the Lord was to be built in the wilderness, Moses gathered all the congregation of the children of Israel together, and told them what the Lord required of them. ‘And they came every one whose heart stirred him up, and every one whom his spirit made willing; and they brought the Lord’s offering to the work of the tabernacle of the congregation, and for all his service, and for the holy garments; and they came, both men and women, as many as were willing-hearted, and brought brace-

lets and earrings, and rings and tablets, and jewels of gold.....And all the women that were wise-hearted did spin with their hands, and brought that which they had spun.....And the rulers brought onyx stones, and stones to be set for the ephod, and for the breastplate.And they spake unto Moses, saying, The people bring *much more than enough* for the service of the work which the Lord commanded to make.' Let us not despair of kindling such a zeal amongst the people, if the legitimate means are taken. There is something of this spirit even now exhibited amongst ourselves, though, as yet, in a manner quite unworthy of the work to be done. It is too much, however, the fashion, amongst those who long for better things, to speak harshly of the various expedients whereby money is now with difficulty scraped together for sacred purposes. Let us not be too ready to judge. Let us believe that there is often something of pious enthusiasm even in the humblest efforts. Let us look on them as an index of a good spirit; and let us endeavour, not to check, but to draw it out, and fix it on higher objects, and render it holier and more self-devoted."

And how are such things to be done now, but by imbuing the spirit of the rich and powerful with a love of the Church? As it is, the poor man, *educated* religiously, gives his mite, which he can ill spare; the rich man, instead of building and endowing a church, *as his forefathers did*, gives a guinea!—not because he is altogether careless about the matter, but because it has never been made a part of his *education*. Hear Mr. Gresley once more:—

"Multitudes of persons I am persuaded there are, in the upper and middle classes of life, who would willingly do infinitely more than they do, if *they were but told, by those who had a right to tell them, what they ought to do*. It is true that they receive continual appeals from individuals, or from self-constituted societies, circulars without number from every part of the country: but these appeals are often made in such a manner, the amount of the demand is so small, that, instead of appearing a solemn duty, an air of ridicule and levity is thrown over the whole affair: those who are petulant throw the demand from them with contempt; others, who are more good-natured, give 'their mite,' as they term it, grudging only the trouble caused them by sending it."

This applies only to one effect of a love for our Apostolic Church, but the statement is *true*. Again, if any Church object be proposed at Cambridge, as a matter of subscription—if, in fact, the *Church* appeals to the University for money, with what alacrity do all—graduates and undergraduates, individuals, and colleges, and the corporate body of the University—reply to the call! And who cause this? Is it the Thorps, and the Caruses, and the Perrys, and the Wordsworths, and the men of St. John's, who are called bigots by the enlightened among

their neighbours? Or is it the "wisest and best of men," who feel that religion is a thing which may be differed about? We do not make the getting or giving of money for Church purposes a test of Churchmanship, though it would make no bad one—for a man must, in these days, love very much what he is willing to give money to; but we take the fact as a proof that the feeling exists, and as an encouragement to those who are fostering it. But it is not individual exertion, though that is doing much—it is not the labours of those devoted and self-denying men whom we have instanced (and the list might be extended to a great length, were we to speak of the smaller colleges)—but it is the *fiat* of the University we want. We long to hear the voice of the senate exclaiming—"You shall not be heathens; you shall know your duty, whether you practice it or not—you shall be examined as to the faith you profess. Nor shall you, in future, sign the Articles, and call yourselves Churchmen; whereas, in fact, you know not what those Articles are." The mathematics *do* form the best of mental discipline; they *have* encircled the University with a glory that no time can dim: but we do not therefore put them above religion, nor do we believe a *Christian* education complete because a student is master of the newest and most abstruse work that can be written in algebraic symbols.

We have said before that we would not require *professional* education—nay, we might do even without lectures; only make it compulsory to attend two services at St. Mary's on Sundays. Surely this is no hardship, save to such as think, with Professor Whewell, that religion is "a thing about which the best and wisest of men have differed," and *pace tanti viri*: and much as we admire his splendid talents and magnificent philosophical acquirements, the fewer such theologians as he is, either at Cambridge or elsewhere, the better. What would quite satisfy us, would be a sufficient examination at the time of taking the degree, to convince the University that the examinee knew and understood Scripture history; the articles, creeds, and formularies of his Church; the nature of a Church itself; the grounds of the separation between the Churches of Rome and England; and so much of the ecclesiastical history as may enable him to understand the ordinary allusions made by divines and historians. Now if anybody shall tell us that so much as this is incompatible with the studies of the University, we reply, that they foully calumniate that body, and that, were their assertion true, the present system ought not to remain in existence another moment. What! are men to be allowed to remain in the most *disgraceful* ignorance on religion and religious subjects, because

they are so much taken up with optics, and mechanics, and trigonometry, that they have no time? Will the persons who make such an assertion go a little further, and provide proxies to be damned for them? But the whole theory is absurd, and is *not* the will of the University. Dr. Peacock speaks of *professional*, not general education, when he shows the impossibility of introducing theology, *to any great extent*; and because his words embody the objections which are made by all the most considerable of those who doubt the propriety of reckoning divinity among our ordinary studies, we shall quote him at some length:

“The fundamental studies of the University between admission and the first degree are general, and not professional; and we may venture to predict, from experience of the past, that all attempts to combine them will fail, unless they can be included in the examinations for honours, as well as for ordinary degrees. But very serious objections may be stated to such an intermixture of subjects in the same examination, unless it be for a fellowship or scholarship, where the general character of the attainments of the candidates is made the object of enquiry, and not their comparative proficiency in one; for not only would such a combination increase most seriously the difficulty of accurate and satisfactory classification, but would merge the character of the mathematician, the scholar, and the theologian, in one common result, where their separate influences would no longer be traceable. The adoption of such a system would tend to destroy, likewise, the predominant influence of our mathematical and philosophical studies, which are so well calculated to form the foundation of that high character for sound sense and correct reasoning which is the proudest result of our system of education, and the best preparation for the successful prosecution of professional studies. And though it may be highly desirable to encourage the more general acquisition of classical knowledge, the want of which is so justly complained of in some of our more distinguished mathematicians, who are elected fellows of colleges upon the credit of their places in the mathematical tripos alone, yet it would be difficult to secure this amalgamation of classical and mathematical studies by an examination in which both were combined, without leading, sooner or later, to the partial sacrifice of mathematical and philosophical studies to others of a less severe and repulsive character. The same reasons which induced the University to make the mathematical introductory to the classical tripos, would apply with still greater force to prevent their union in a common examination.

“It is this incompatibility of professional and general studies, as long as they are not equally contributory to academical success, which would induce us to recommend their entire separation in time as well as in examinations; shortening, as we have proposed, the period devoted to general studies; reducing considerably the range and variety of the subjects of examination, so as to bring them fairly within the grasp of every well-educated and industrious student; and postponing

the systematic pursuit of professional studies to the year immediately following the first degree. By such an arrangement, the University would be enabled to exercise a much more powerful influence than at present upon professional education, and would be enabled to retain within her bosom large classes of students, who are now compelled to draw the draughts of knowledge from other fountains than those which she offers to her sons."

There is not one word here which makes against our proposition. We gave, in our last number, reasons why we believed that any change in the relative academical importance of scientific and other studies would be injurious. We think so still. We would still maintain mathematical pursuits in all their present pre-eminence; and we know well that all we have stated as necessary, in a religious point of view, might be acquired without *any* additional *labour* at the University. Every student ought to know more when he enters. We presume that, as it is, he occasionally reads a religious work, now and then reads a chapter in the Bible, opens from time to time his Prayer-book, has heard of such men as Augustine and Chrysostom, and would be somewhat ashamed, if he were asked who they were, to confess ignorance. We can fancy such a question and answer as the following, in a new edition of the "Art of teaching how to be Plucked:"—

Examiner: "Who was Adam?"

Examinee: "I never meddle with theology; for, as Professor Whewell beautifully observes, religion is 'a thing about which the best and wisest of men have differed.'"

But this, we apprehend, would be classed as the answer impudent. Seriously speaking, we do not believe that the examination to which we refer would subtract *one* hour from the scientific studies which we allow to be so necessary. Unless a student is to lead a life of entire heathenism—to discard altogether Bible, and Prayer-book, and Church, and sermons, and Church history—to have an edition of Euclid bound like a Prayer-book, to take to chapel, and to go to sleep during the sermon, when there is one: unless he does this, we do not see how he can avoid having some little knowledge of the more elementary parts of our holy religion. Now if, instead of thus "differing," as "the best and wisest of men" have done, he pays attention to what he hears in his college chapel and at St. Mary's Church—if he reads daily a chapter or two in his Bible (if the Septuagint, or Greek Testament, so much the better)—if he converses upon matters theological occasionally—if he reads Mr. Burn's "Englishman's Library," to mention no more

formidable works—then he will be well prepared for such an examination as we have named.

There has been a noble and generous rivalry between Oxford and Cambridge in matters of learning. The high classical attainments of the dwellers on the banks of Isis spurred on the members of the sister institution to establish the classical tripos. The glory of those great names that are, as it were, the gems in the crown of science, have caused a closer attention to be paid to mathematics at Oxford. Neither has been slow in adopting any plan which, in the other University, had been instrumental to the promotion of learning; but there is one dark spot on the star of Cambridge which, as yet, she has not wiped away—one Christian glory in the system of Oxford which, as yet, she has not adopted, and that one is, the care to make all her members *Churchmen upon principle*. To be members of Christ's visible Church is a privilege which, great as it is, is of small value unless improved. It will avail little to have been baptized in the helpless period of infancy, and to have signed the Articles of an Apostolic Church in utter ignorance of their nature, and with the subscriber's head full of sines and cosines, and arcs and tangents.

Can this be called sound learning and religious education? Is this a fit preparation for a life which is to be spent in God's service, as much at the bar, in the senate, or in some lay profession, as in the ministration of his holy mysteries? Closely akin to the unintentionally infidel sentence which we have so often quoted, and which we will not again repeat, is the idea, that theology is the science of priests, and religion a business of particular persons, and at particular seasons, and under particular circumstances, and in particular places; making our life a kind of patchwork—chequered with religion and irreligion, and embodying itself in the phrase, "if the heart be right, it matters not how the head lies." Why are not our churches ever open? Why are not morning and evening prayers *daily* read according to the rubric? Why is not the eucharist administered weekly, and attended by crowds of devout communicants? Why do the wealthy make a difference between themselves and their poorer brethren in the house of God, and build up high pews, with soft cushions, and luxurious hassocks, and crimson curtains, and brass railings? Nay, we know a worthy baronet who had a fire-place made in the wall of his pew, and, in order to avoid an unsightly chimney, built a large cross over the termination of the aisle through which the pipe was carried; and then he poked the fire and warmed himself, to his great comfort and edification, while his neighbours were only warmed by their de-

votion. Why are these things permitted? What are "free sittings?" Why was our Church dismantled of her prebends and canonries? Why were ten bishoprics at a stroke cut off from the Irish Establishment? Why is the term "Catholic," even now, almost always exclusively applied to the Romanists? Why are fancy fairs—we might have said, vanity fairs—and bazaars, and similar fooleries, adopted to raise money for churches and schools? Here is a string of questions which, were we inclined, we might easily multiply; but the reply to them all is the same—it is because the rich and powerful sons of the Anglican Church are *not grounded* in her principles. And why are they not? There are many melancholy answers might be given to this question; but we deeply fear that one of the causes is, that the University of Cambridge has *not* done her duty. She is enthroned in the hearts of so many, and deservedly so—in none more than in our own—she shines with a lustre so dazzling, and all her proceedings are stamped with so high an authority, that it requires no common boldness for those who love her to speak out, and give her, uncompromisingly, the words of warning. The scum of society, who have gathered only poison where she planted fruit, may invent and circulate stories about her corrupt state; but those who best know her, know well that her state is *not* corrupt, and that she lacketh only "one thing." It is a fact, that those who now rule there would do well to recollect, that Oxford, Durham, Dublin, and King's College, are all places of "*religious education*." Cambridge and No. 116, Gower-street are *not*. Let not this be asserted twice. It is in vain to tell us of a long list of tutors and masters, who take care that religious instruction is attended to—it is in vain to show how the evil is thus practically neutralized; this is but assuring us of the religion and virtue of men whom the world knows to be devout and excellent. **THE UNIVERSITY DOES NOTHING.** There is, we once more repeat, abundant material. Rightly does Mr. Gresley say—

"A strong feeling exists amongst the members of the English Church—a feeling not confined to any one section, but general and urgent—that the time is come for making an effort to supply the ordinances of religion, and pastoral superintendence, to all the people in the land, and to make our Church, what it has long been only in name, a national institution. The lamentable inadequacy of the present Establishment is too painfully forced upon our notice to be denied or excused. When we see the ungodliness of our dense population, the strange forms of error which yearly spring up, the unbridled sinfulness which is rife amongst us, the masses of human beings which live and die without even the ordinances of religion—insomuch that it has become a vain boast to call ourselves a Christian people—who can con-

template these facts without shuddering? Who can think of them without at the same time reflecting with awe, *what may be his own personal share in the responsibility* for so many souls lost, so much dishonour done to God? Even taking the lowest ground, who can shut his eyes to the danger which exists of the disruption of all our social institutions by the sudden outbreak of such ungodliness, even now scarcely kept within bounds by the force of human law? What security have we that the masses of the people will not band together, and overturn in wild confusion the whole fabric of society, if they be not restrained by the moral power of conscience?"

And again, in suggesting a remedy—

"Seeing, however, that the various modes adopted by existing societies have hitherto been ineffectual in accomplishing anything approaching to what is required, it may be well to consider whether some new engine, or some new principle, may not be brought into operation. A restoration of the Church can never be effected without a great change of feeling amongst Churchmen, or rather without a development and expansion of the good feeling, of the existence of which we have so many proofs. We shall do nothing great until the minds of Christian men are imbued with a sense of the paramount importance of restoring their Church, for the glory of God, and for the sake of the souls of their brethren."

And a change of this kind is not to be made by operating on the minds of one generation, though *much* might be done thus; but by training the *rising* generation—by pouring into the minds of the youthful aristocracy the knowledge of the Church's claims—by instilling into their understanding the facts, that their duty and their interest alike require them to support the Church, and also (which is a different thing) to maintain the Establishment. Let them be informed that the preservation of our constitution—of a due gradation of ranks and orders—depends much upon their exertions; and let those exertions be directed into a right channel by a religious education. In a word, let the University of Cambridge insist on all her members being acquainted with their duty towards God and their duty towards their neighbour; and let her satisfy herself that they *are* so. We have spoken strongly on this topic, because we feel strongly; but we trust that we have not spoken intemperately. We are quite sure that we feel the deepest respect towards, and the most entire confidence in, the governing body of the University. We believe that each is trusting to others, and *all* only need to be awakened to the fact that they themselves must speak and vote.

ART. V.—*Amenities of Literature ; consisting of Sketches and Characters of English Literature.* By I. D'ISRAELI, D.C.L., F.S.A. 3 vols. London : Moxon. 1841.

A HISTORY of English vernacular Literature seems to have long engaged the attention of Mr. D'Israeli, and he was prosecuting his enquiries in that most interesting path of knowledge, when, in a temporal sense, his friends were afflicted with the melancholy intelligence, that the night had descended upon him, and that the hour of toil was over. He was arrested, we are informed in the Preface to the present volumes, in the midst of his studies, by the loss of sight. The papers now collected are the members of that complete and harmonious frame which the author cheered himself with the hope of creating—a hope no longer to be entertained. Such an affliction reads like an affecting commentary on the complaint of Spenser—

“ This daie's ensample hath this lesson deare,
Deepe written in my heart with yron pen,
That blisse may not abide in state of mortal men.”*

The propriety of the title of these volumes has been called in question, and Mr. D'Israeli is willing to commit it to the consideration of his readers ; not, however, without a word of introduction and apology. He thinks that the miscellaneous literature with which he has been accustomed to amuse himself, and, let us add, the public, has never obtained a distinctive appellation. Blair borrowed a name from France for his lectures ; while Goldsmith, with some affectation, entitles his review of European literature, “ An Essay on Polite Learning.” The Italians, in their “ *Letteratura Amena*,” and Pliny, in his general description of “ *amœnitates studiorum*,” appear to furnish an authority for the name Mr. D'Israeli has bestowed on the present Miscellanies. A contemporary critic, who objects to the word *Amenities*, supposes it to have been derived from the quaint vocabulary of Sir Thomas Brown ; but neither the critic nor the author seem to be aware that the title of *Amenities* has already been given to an extensive work in Latin—“ *Amœnitates Literariæ*,” which appeared at Frankfort in 1730, in fourteen volumes. They are properly miscellanies of literature ; the amenity depending, in great measure, upon the taste of the reader. We will give the contents of the thirteenth volume, which we happen to have recently consulted :—

* *Faerie Queen*, b. 1, c. viii, § xlv.

- “ 1. Elogium D. Lucæ Schrœkii.
2. De Atheismo Platonis.
3. De Eximiis Suevorum in Orientalem literaturam meritis.
4. De Auctore Librorum de Imitatione Christi.
5. Pentas Epistolarum Renati Massueti.
6. De Stratonis Lampsaceni Atheismo.”

A copy of this work was bequeathed to the British Museum by Thomas Tyrwhitt. Mr. D'Israeli's Amenities have predecessors in method, not in matter.

The first volume opens with some remarks upon the Druidical institution, in which we find little to require notice; no new facts are communicated, and it may be doubted whether Mr. D'Israeli has been accustomed to travel along those roads where new facts in history are likely to be found. Nor do we think that the paper on Britain, the name of England, or the Anglo-Saxons, will reward the industry of the reader. They are pleasantly, though ambitiously, written, and have the merit of presenting circumstances familiar to every scholar, in a dress not ill adapted to attract the vulgar. What can Mr. D'Israeli tell of the Anglo-Saxons, which Sharon Turner and Palgrave have not already communicated? Surely nothing: and his essay is accordingly a review of what other writers have performed, and would have found its appropriate place in a literary journal. It is, however, a curious fact, and worth repeating, that not one of our historians, from Milton to Hume, “ever referred to an original Saxon authority.” The first rays of steady light—for the torches of Spelman and Hickes had died out—were cast over this venerable literature by the lamp of the diligent Sharon Turner in 1805.

We turn very gladly to the next chapter, which contains some pleasing remarks upon a few resemblances between Cædmon and Milton. Perhaps to some of our readers the name of Cædmon will be new, among the many supposed sources of imagery to Milton; and they will be surprised to hear that the learned Sharon Turner beheld, in this work of the Anglo-Saxon *a Paradise Lost in rude miniature*. Rude indeed! But the fancy has not wanted other propagators. Conybere discovers a vivid resemblance between the rebellion and expulsion of Satan and his angels in Milton, and the pictures in Cædmon. Nor is the similarity confined to the single coincidence of *subject*—it extends also to its *treatment*: and D'Israeli observes that the Pandemonium of both writers opens with the same scene and the same actors: Cædmon saw the fiend, with his companions, falling from heaven, during three days and nights—Milton beheld them rolling in the gulf of fire

“ Nine times the space that measures day and night
To mortal men.”

Cædmon (we follow the argument of D'Israeli) describes the expressive name bestowed upon the evil angel by God ; Milton speaks of

“ The arch-enemy,
And thence in heaven called Satan.”

The Saxon monk places Satan and his legions in the same fearful atmosphere of flame and darkness in which they are painted by the English poet. Nor is the manner of their torment unlike ; fire and ice are the instruments of punishment which Cædmon and Milton employ. Here also Dante might be included in the parallel. The Satan of Cædmon is chained in the dungeon of perdition ; Milton displays the adamantine chains, in

“ A dungeon horrible on all sides round.”

But the evil spirit of Milton was to be potentially active ; he was to wander to and fro upon the earth, according to the will of the omnipotent Governor. The English poet accordingly represents Satan in the eager pursuit of vengeance ; he raises his head from the surge of flame, and busies himself in those schemes of wickedness which were only to work out his own more complete and terrible damnation. While, therefore, Cædmon despatches an emissary to fulfil his design upon the inhabitants of Paradise, Milton, in his glorious verses, brings the fallen angel before us in his journey. Cædmon sends the messenger of Satan *through the doors of hell* ; Milton unfolds

“ The infernal doors, that on their hinges grate
Harsh thunder.”

The angel of the Saxon dashes aside the flame with his hand ; the Satan of the English poet lifts up his mighty frame from the lake, while—

“ On each hand, the flames,
Driv'n backward, slope their pointing spires, and, roll'd
In billows, leave in the midst a horrid vale.”

Lastly, in the page of Cædmon, Satan appears as an angel who had been the brightest and fairest of the heavenly host, and so beautiful in form, that he resembled the stars in lustre : with the same glory he is reflected in the verse of Milton—

“ His form had not yet lost
All its original brightness, nor appear'd
Less than archangel ruin'd.”

And again :—

“ His countenance, as the morning star that guides
The starry flock, allured them.”

These coincidences of thought are certainly curious, and the reader, who has examined them, will naturally enquire, with D'Israeli, whether Milton was ever acquainted with Cædmon. We shall endeavour to answer this interesting question, out of the information which the industry and penetration of D'Israeli have given to us.

It may be regarded as one of the most singular curiosities of literature, that a work like that of Cædmon, which was impressed upon the popular mind during six hundred years, should have disappeared, not only from observation, but from “any visible existence.” It was written, according to the supposition of Anglo-Saxon scholars, in the seventh century; and Mr. D'Israeli is inclined to regard it as an attempt to familiarize “the people with the miraculous and the religious narratives in the Scriptures, by a paraphrase in the vernacular idiom.” The only known manuscript of Cædmon was given, by Archbishop Usher, Francis Junius. “During thirty years of this eminent scholar's residence in England, including his occasional visits to Holland and Friesland, he devoted his protracted life to the investigation of the origin of the Gothic dialect.” By such a man the manuscript of Cædmon was hailed with delight; and accordingly, about three years before the complete blindness of Milton, Junius printed this MS. at Amsterdam: this was in 1655. The composition of “Paradise Lost” was commenced in 1658, carried on in tempest and darkness, under the influence and protection of

“ White-handed Hope,
The hovering angel, girt with golden wings;” *

and the poem appeared in 1667. These dates are conclusive as to one point—they restrict Milton's knowledge of Cædmon to the *single manuscript of Junius*. Now, was Milton acquainted with Junius? If so, would the northern antiquary have entrusted the manuscript to his hands? If he had entrusted it, could Milton have read it? The last enquiry is the most important. D'Israeli answers it in the negative. He remarks that his Saxon annals, in the history of England, are derived from Latin authorities; that in the list of subjects proposed by the poet, as subjects for dramatic composition, the only references, for the Saxon stories, are to Speed and Holinshed; and,

lastly, that among the languages with which we are informed by Phillips that Milton was acquainted, we discover no reference to the northern dialects. These are strong objections, but they are not conclusive; and the recent discovery, that Milton possessed some knowledge of *Dutch*, seems to render it very doubtful whether, in *this field of acquirement, the terminus may not be incorrectly placed.*

In the year 1834 appeared, in America some memoirs of Roger Williams, the founder of the state of Rhode Island. This person visited England in 1651, "to obtain the repeal of a charter granted to Mr. Coddington." In these memoirs the following memorable passage occurs: "It pleased the Lord to call me for some time, and with some persons, to practise the Hebrew, the Greek, Latin, French, and Dutch. The Secretary of the Council, Mr. Milton—for my Dutch I read him—read me many more languages." This very curious literary fact was communicated to D'Israeli by Robert Southey, to whom the history of our poetry is so deeply indebted, and who will delight a future age, as he has instructed and refined the present. To the same writer we owe the following interesting observation, which D'Israeli quotes from a private letter—"Vondel's 'Lucifer' was published in 1654. His 'Samson,' the same subject as the 'Agonistes,' in 1661. His 'Adam' in 1664. Cædmon, Andreini, and Vondel, each or all, may have led Milton to consider the subject of 'Paradise Lost.' But Vondel is the one who is most likely to have impressed him. Neither the Dutch, nor the language, were regarded with disrespect in those days. Vondel was the greatest writer of that language, and the 'Lucifer' is esteemed the best of his tragedies. Milton alone excepted, he was probably the greatest poet then living." D'Israeli gives no date to this communication from Southey; but Vondel had been spoken of, in relation to Milton, in one of the early numbers of the "Foreign Quarterly Review." * "He preceded (it was observed) him, of whom a kindred genius has beautifully and appropriately said, 'his soul was like a star, and dwelt apart.' Compare him with Milton—for his 'Lucifer' gives the fairest means of comparison—how weak are his highest flights compared with those of the bard of 'Paradise;' and how much does Vondel sink beneath him in his failures! Now and then the same thought may be found in both, but the points of resemblance are not in passages which do Milton's reputation the highest honour." A French critic, Audiffret, on the other hand, speaks of "Lucifer" with great

* No. iv. p. 49.

admiration, and considers the chorus at the end of the first act to be extremely sublime. Vondel commenced his religious poems in 1612, with a tragedy upon Jerusalem; but it was surely an oversight in Southey to call him the greatest poet, with the exception of Milton, at a period when Dryden was alive; although, indeed, he had not hitherto produced those works upon which his reputation now depends.

Mr. D'Israeli sums up the question, to be submitted to the verdict of criticism, with clearness and good sense. "To read Dutch (he observes, with confidence well-placed), was not to read a Saxon MS., which, even with the assistance of Mr. Thorpe, causes many a Saxon scholar to stumble in his journey through it." The character of Junius is thought to preclude us from supposing that any intimacy subsisted between the scholar and the poet; and since "Paradise Lost" appeared during the life of Junius, Mr. D'Israeli believes that the patient explorer of Gothic antiquities would have recognized and claimed the gold, of which Milton is said to have plundered his favourite possession. Upon poetical originality, Mr. D'Israeli remarks: "The nature of Ennius was no more the nature of Virgil, than the nature of Cædmon was that of Milton; for what is obvious and familiar, is the reverse of the beautiful and the sublime. We have seen the ideal being,

‘ Whose stature reached the sky, and on his crest
Sat Horror, plumed,’

by the Saxon monk, sunk down to a Saxon convict, ‘fastened by the neck, his hands manacled, and his feet bound.’ Cædmon represents Eve, after having plucked the fruit, hastening to Adam with the apples—

‘ Some in her hands she bare,
Some in her bosom lay
Of the unblest fruit.’

However natural or downright may be this specification, it is what could not have occurred with the bosom of our naked mother of mankind; and the artistical conception eluded the difficulty of carrying these apples,

‘ From the tree returning, in her hand,
A bough of fairest fruit.’ *

In Cædmon it costs Eve a long day to persuade the sturdy Adam, an honest Saxon, to ‘the dark deed;’ and her prudential argument, that it were best to obey the pretended messenger of

* Book ix. p. 850.

the Lord, than risk his aversion, however natural, is very crafty for so young a sinner. In Milton, we find the ideal; and before Eve speaks, one may be certain of Adam's fall, for

‘ In her face excuse
Came prologue, and apology too prompt,
Which, with bland words at will, she thus address'd.’

A description too metaphysical for the meagre invention of the old Saxon monk. We dare not place the Milton of our forefathers by the side of the only Milton whom the world will recognize. We would not compare our Saxon poetry to Saxon art, for that was too deplorable; but to place Cædmon in a parallel with Milton—which Plutarch might have done, for he was not very nice in his resemblances—we might as well compare the formless forms and the puerile inventions of the rude Saxon artist, profusely exhibited in the drawings of the original manuscript of Cædmon, with the noble conceptions of the immortal designs of the Sistine chapel.” (t. i. pp. 77-9).

We cannot agree with every word of this agreeable criticism. The great errors of Mr. D'Israeli reside in his love of rhetorical glitter, and in a most unwise and restless passion for paradoxes. This ingenious passage exemplifies the second defect in a very striking manner, without leaving out the first. Virgil borrowed a few jewels from Ennius; is Ennius, therefore, to be compared with Virgil? Milton and Cædmon coincide in viewing the wonderful history of the temptation and the fall of man under one aspect; does the recognition of their agreement imply their equality? Fuseli said that the invention of a painter lay in his selection; the aphorism was only an unacknowledged translation of a remark of La Bruyere on invention in general; but it conveyed a truth. The “Market Cart” of Gainsborough, his “Cottage Children,” his “Cottage Door,” were all hints given by country walks. Cædmon and Milton may have drawn water from the same spring. D'Israeli tells us that he long imagined the revolt in heaven to have been a rabbinical tradition: but he might have remembered that others have entertained the same opinion. “The numerous episodes (writes Sir Francis Palgrave), especially those relating to the Anglo-Saxon paraphrase of Genesis, possess an oriental character. There was no Latin version of the Bible in which they could be found; and it may be strongly suspected that they are of rabbinical origin.” * D'Israeli has been assured, by a learned professor, that no narrative of the rebellion of Satan is contained in the Talmud. We shall venture to give a contrary decision upon this question,

* *Archæologia*, t. xxiv. 342.

at the same time stating the hypothesis of Palgrave, that Cædmon was acquainted with the Hebrew and Chaldaic languages. The introduction of Christianity had influenced the amusements and the taste of the people; the legend of romance was replaced by a Scripture story, and the wonderful narratives of the Old Testament were embellished with all the rude imagination and superstition of the Minstrels. Mr. Wright includes the golden age, as we may call it, of vernacular religious poetry among the Anglo-Saxons between 680, the time of Cædmon, and 731, the time of Bede. That venerable historian informs us that many attempted to compose religious poetry after Cædmon, but that his excellence was unapproached. The following description of a march is forcible and picturesque, even in the rudeness of a prose version:—

“Then the mind of his men
became despondent,
after they saw,
from the south ways,
the host of Pharaoh
coming forth,
moving over the host,
the band glittering.
They prepared their arms,
the war advanced,
bucklers gleamed,
trumpets sung,
standards rattled;

they trod the nation's frontier.
Around them screamed
the fowls of war,
greedy of battle,
dewy feathered,
over the bodies of the host,
the dark chooser of the slain;
the wolves sung
their horrid even-song,
in hopes of food,
the reckless beasts
threatening death to the valiant.”*

In turning over the poem of Cædmon, it is impossible to forget the poetical romance of Beowulf, which was also preserved in a single manuscript in the Cottonian library. This manuscript belongs to the tenth century; but the scene and the composition of the poem are carried back into an earlier age. All the characters of the story are Danes; and Thorkelin was sent from Copenhagen in 1786, to make a transcript of the manuscript. “It was finished for the press, accompanied by a translation and a commentary, in 1807. At the siege of Copenhagen a British bomb fell on the study of the hapless scholar, annihilating Beowulf, transcript, translation, and commentary, the toil of twenty years.” An English scholar has been more successful. Mr. Kemble has given us a collated edition, with a literal version. Beowulf, a chieftain of the western Danes, was the Achilles of the north. The remark is D'Israeli's, and a perusal of Kemble's translation will confirm it. Upon such a work the student of our vernacular literature ought to linger. Beowulf possesses an intrinsic value, independent of any literary

* Wright on Anglo-Saxon Literature, &c., p. 26.

merit; it is the only perfect monument of Anglo-Saxon romance which has descended to our age;* and is said to be the earliest heroic composition now extant in any language of modern Europe.† Conybere thinks it evident that the writer was a Christian. Mr. Wright remarks that the Anglo-Saxon romances and the Homeric poems occupy the same places in the literature of the respective countries to which they belong; and he points out the interesting identity between the name of the Saxon minstrel, *scop*, from *scapan*, to *make*, and the designation of the Greek poet ποιητης from ποιειν. It may be observed that Beowulf has been appealed to as affording a complete refutation of Warton's estimate of the influence of Arabic literature in Europe.‡

While we have in our hands Mr. Wright's very pleasing essay on Anglo-Saxon Literature, we will quote, for the amusement and instruction of our readers, some interesting remarks upon education, as it prevailed in the early times of our history:—

“It is singular enough that most of the ways of giving a popular form to elementary instruction, which have been put in practice in our own days, have been already tried in the latter times of the Anglo-Saxons. We thus find the origin of our modern catechisms amongst the forms of education then in use. Not only were many of the elementary treatises on grammar written in the shape of question and answer, with the object of making them easier to learn and to understand, as well as of encouraging the practice of Latin conversation, but also the first books in the other sciences. We find this to be the case in many of the tracts written by Bede and Alcuin, as well as in those which were fabricated in their names. Afterwards, when in England the Latin tongue seems to have ceased to be, to the same extent as before, a conventional language among the learned, various attempts were made to simplify the steps by which it was taught. First, the elementary grammars were accompanied with an Anglo-Saxon gloss, in which, separately from the text, each word of the original was repeated, with its meaning in the vernacular tongue; and then, as a still further advance in rendering it popular, the Latin grammar itself was only published in an Anglo-Saxon translation. We have seen the old Latin school grammar pass through similar gradations in our own time. We owe to Alfric the Anglo-Saxon translation of the Latin grammar, which, from its frequent recurrence in the manuscripts, seems to have been the standard elementary book of the day. Much about the same time came into use introductory reading books, with interlinear versions, which differed not in the slightest degree from those of the Hamiltonian system of the present day. A singularly interesting specimen of such books is printed in Thorpe's ‘*Analecta Anglo-Saxonica*,’ the text, which is a dialogue between persons of different professions, is so arranged as to give within the smallest pos-

* Wright.

† Conybere's “*Illustrations of Anglo-Saxon Poetry*,” p. 90.

‡ See the new edition of Warton's “*History of Poetry*,” 1840. t. 1, p. 6.

sible space the greatest variety of Latin words, and so to convey the largest quantity of instruction." (p. 74).

To these interesting remarks it may be added, that the Anglo-Saxon teachers employed arithmetical problems, which are said to be frequently identical with those which we find in Bonnycastle and other popular books; and the advocates for illustrating Virgil with the *rod*, may be pleased to learn that their favourite instrument was as familiar to the juvenile scholars of the Anglo-Saxons, as it continues to be to the successors of Cowper and Southey in the venerable precincts of Westminster.

We pass over several chapters on the origin of the English language, &c., remarking, by the way, that, without much erudition, or much novelty of illustration, they may be consulted with pleasure, and by the ordinary reader with profit. Johnson has declared the impossibility of fixing the period when Saxon ended, and English began. The Saxon language, according to Mr. D'Israeli, had been corrupted by some ecclesiastical Latinisms, and some Normanisms, from the court of the Confessor, when, to adopt his own characteristic words, "the Norman-French, fatal as the arrow which pierced Harold, by a single blow struck down that venerable form," never more to rise in its pristine majesty. Mr. Wright conceives that the Anglo-Saxon preserved its purity until the commencement of the twelfth century. Mr. Hallam supposes it to have been converted into English, first, by the contraction and modification of the orthography and pronunciation of words; secondly, by the omission of many inflections, and by the more frequent employment of articles and auxiliaries; thirdly, by the introduction of French derivations; fourthly, by the more sparing use of inversions and ellipses, especially in poetry.* Bosworth† observes that the pure West Saxon prevailed only partially in England, and that the language "approached more or less to the present English, according to its relative position to the West Saxons." In many of the provincial dialects the purest remains of the Anglo-Saxon tongue are still to be found; not flowing, indeed, (to adopt the language of Bosworth) immediately from the pure Anglo-Saxon fountain, but little streamlets, retaining some of their original purity and flavour. After all, we may conclude, with Camden, that the mixture of our tongue has strengthened it, and that it combines substantialness with delightfulness, and grace with vigour.

The notice of Mandeville, our first traveller, is short, but pleasant; his probity, D'Israeli says, remains unimpeached, later travellers having confirmed the accuracy of those relations which he produces as the result of his own personal observation.

* Introduction to the "Literature of Europe," t. 1, p. 58.

† Anglo-Saxon Dictionary, xxvi.

Ctesias had long been ridiculed as the fabricator of animals which never existed, until Cuvier showed that he had only "reported the mythological creations which he had witnessed in hieroglyphical representations as actual living animals." In like manner, D'Israeli remarks, that Mandeville did not invent the monsters that startle the reader of his travels, but that he borrowed them from Pliny, or Ælian, or Ctesias. He has some claim to be called the Herodotus of travellers: his journal may be very properly lettered "*Mirabilia Mundi*." He collected many curious articles. Leland says that he saw at Canterbury an apple, fresh and undecayed, which Mandeville probably brought from the east; it was enclosed in a glass globe.

Mr. D'Israeli has evidently read Chaucer with glowing eyes; he enters into the characteristic beauties of his genius with just critical perception; he beholds him "kindling the cold ashes of translation into the fire of invention; from cloudy allegory, breaking forth into the sunshine of the loveliest landscape-painting; and from the amatory romance, gliding into that vein of humour and satire, which, in his old age, poured forth a new creation." The season at which Chaucer appeared was favourable to the originality and the growth of his genius. Fancy, instead of leading him among the haunts of classical story, conducted his footsteps into the green lands and gardens of his own country. Chaucer is truly an English poet. Fox said that, of all poets, he seems to have loved best the music of birds. He loved them as singers in the great cathedral of nature, through whose glorious aisles he was never weary of walking. The scenery of Chaucer was painted on the spot; his trees chequer the paths; the hues of his flowers are accurately delineated. D'Israeli mentions a conjecture of Pope, that Chaucer described the gardens and residences of real persons.

We have much pleasure in transcribing a portion of Mr. D'Israeli's criticism on the father of our poetry:—

"Let us join him in his walks,

'When that the misty vapour was agone,
And clear and fair was the morning,
The dews like silver shining
Upon the leaves.'

"The flowers sparkle in 'their divers hues;' he sometimes counts their colours—white, blue, yellow, and red—on their stalks, spreading their leaves in breadth against the sun, gold-burned. His grass is 'so thick, so small, so fresh of hue.' The poet goes by a river, whose water is clear as beryl or crystal; turning into a 'little way' towards a park in compass round, and by a small gate—

‘Whoso that would freely might gone (go),
Into this park walled with green stone.’

The owner of that park probably was startled when he came ‘to the little way,’ and to ‘the small gate.’ This was either the park of some great personage, or possibly Woodstock Park, where stood a stone lodge, so long known by the name of Chaucer’s House, that in the days of Elizabeth it was still described as such in the royal grant. His garden upon

‘A river in a green mead;
The gravel gold, the water pure as glass.’

And ‘the eglantine and sycamore harbour so thickly woven, where the priers who stood without all day could not discover whether any one was within,’ was assuredly some particular garden.” (pp. 262-3).

Mr. D’Israeli makes some ingenious observations upon the versification of Chaucer, and on his metrical system, as arranged by Tyrwhitt. The poet evidently, he thinks, did not wear the chains which criticism has linked for him; he did not submit to those rules of metre with which some of his commentators desire to bind him. He wrote not so much to the eye, as to the ear; not so much for readers, as for reciters. The harp filled up his own pauses of melody. The only publishers of the popular poems of Chaucer, as D’Israeli notices, were the harpers, who, in stately halls, on festive days, entranced their audience with his tale or ballad. He says, of his “Troilus and Cressida,” that it was intended to be sung as well as read. In the ancient manuscripts of his works the cadence of each line is marked by the *cæsura*; and Dr. Nott expressed his conviction, that the lines of Chaucer will be frequently found deficient in harmony if read *metrically*. This argument has been thought to derive some confirmation from a remark of Gascoigne, one of the earliest writers upon our versification. Hallam, without altogether denying the truth of this critical theory, is disinclined to concur in the extension which has been given to it; and the opinion of Gascoigne may perhaps be counterbalanced by that of Puttenham, who wrote eleven years after him.

The poetical scholar derives a peculiar pleasure from these investigations. The weapons by which Imagination performs her great achievements must always possess a charm and interest in his eyes. Like Tristram, in the “Faery Queen,” when examining the arms of the vanquished knight, the critic feeds

“His greedy eyes with the fair light
Of the bright metal, shining like sun rays;
Handling and turning them a thousand ways.” *

The spear and shield which the goddess of beauty brought to her son, and placed under the boughs of an oak, were not more dazzling than these weapons which Intellectual Beauty presents to her child :—

“ Ille, deæ donis et tanto lætus honore,
Expleri nequit, atque oculos per singula volvit,
Miraturque, interque manus et brachia versat,” &c.*

The little paper on Gower is very slight, and, we might say, superficial. “Gower stamped with the force of ethical reasoning his smooth rhymes; and this was a near approach to poetry itself. If in the mind of Chaucer we are more sensible of the impulses of genius—those creative and fugitive touches—his diction is more mixed and unsettled than the tranquil elegance of Gower.” This is D'Israeli's opinion of the old rhymers, and it is sufficiently accurate; yet Coleridge speaks with disdain of the *almost worthless Gower*; while Hallam regards him as always polished, sensible, perspicuous, and not prosaic, in the reproachful sense of the word. Campbell gives him high, if not poetical, praise, in saying that his English verses contain a digest of all the knowledge of his age. Gower was not, he happily adds, like Chaucer, a patriarch in the family of genius.

The next article relates to Langland, the supposed author of the “Visions of Piers Ploughman,” a work belonging to the epoch of Chaucer and Gower. We have heard that a new edition of this extraordinary production is preparing, under the superintendence of Mr. Thomas Wright; and, if carefully and judiciously executed, it will be a very welcome contribution to our elder literature. Whitaker, the latest editor of the “Visions,” has bestowed applause upon their author. He sees in him not only a moral satirist, an imaginative painter, and a quick observer, but a man of powerful feelings, struggling through the mist of ceremony and tradition into the clear air and sunshine of truth. Warton discovers in the “Visions” much vivacious humour, and a strong vein of allegorical invention. Campbell thinks that, after every just allowance for its antiquity, his style still indicates the tone of a mind which would have retained its energetic coarseness *in any state of society*. With these opinions we have now to contrast the admiration, rather than the criticism, of Mr. D'Israeli: “In such creative touches the author of ‘Piers Ploughman’ displays pictures of domestic life with the minute fidelity of a Flemish painting; so veracious is his simplicity. He is a great satirist, touching with caustic invective, or keen irony, public abuses and private vices; but in the depth

* *Æn.* b. viii. v. 619.

of his emotions, and, in the wildness of his imagination, he breaks forth in the solemn tones, and with the sombre majesty, of Dante." And, further on, he resumes his panegyric: "The 'Visions of Piers Ploughman' will always offer studies for the poetical artist. This volume, and not Gower's or Chaucer's, is a well of English undefiled. Spenser often beheld these Visions. Milton, in his sublime description of the Lazar-house, was surely inspired by a reminiscence of Piers Ploughman. Even Dryden, whom we should not suspect to be much addicted to black-letter reading, beyond his Chaucer, must have carefully conned over Piers Ploughman; for he has borrowed one very striking line from our poet, and possibly may have taken others. Byron, though he has thrown out a crude opinion of Chaucer, has declared that the Ploughman excels our ancient poets."

Even if we consent to accept this very warm tribute of eulogistic criticism, we may be forgiven for expressing some astonishment at Mr. D'Israeli's discovery, that the "Pilgrim's Progress" was derived from the allegorical "Visions of Piers Ploughman." He traces some relationship between the Dowell and Doble of the Ploughman, and Dobest, Friar Flatterer, Grace, the Portress of the magnificent Tower of Truth viewed at a distance, and by its side the dungeon of Care, Natural Understanding, and his lean and stern wife, Study—we are using the words of D'Israeli—and all the rest of the company who wind along to the celestial city. This suggestion has never been made until now; and it might have been well if the critic had furnished his readers with some probable explanation of the manner, in which Bunyan became acquainted with this recondite history of the wanderer on the Malvern hills. The parallel is certainly more surprising than the one indicated by Mr. Hallam, between the "Pilgrim's Progress" and the "Pastime of Pleasure," by Hawes, which was printed in 1517. The inventions of these authors, so unequal in vividness and truth of illustration, Mr. Hallam considers to be of the same class; their characters abstract in name, but personally true; and both inculcating a system under the disguise of allegory—"one of philosophy, the other of religion."

Like more presumptuous authors, Bunyan entertained a very decided opinion of his own originality; the manner and the matter, he asserted, were entirely his own. This was certainly not the truth, in the complete sense in which Bunyan uttered the boast. Southey observes that the same allegory had often been handled, and that some of these attempts may have fallen into the hands of Bunyan. Montgomery notices a striking resemblance between the passage where Evangelist directs

Christian to the wicket-gate and one of Whitney's Emblems, a book very likely to have attracted the eye of Bunyan. The "Parable of the Pilgrim," by Bishop Patrick, has also been mentioned; it appeared in 1663. No copy of the first edition of the "Pilgrim's Progress" has been found—the second was published in 1678—but its probable date was 1672. It is, therefore, quite probable that Bunyan had read it; and Mr. Conder is far from being correct in the estimate he gives of its merits. Patrick may have disclaimed the distinctions of fancy and invention; but his Parable contains both, and is a very beautiful composition. We have read the greater portion of it again and again, and always with delight. It has a more solemn gravity than the spiritual romance of him, who, in the words of Cowper, was not only well employed, but *witty* in his teaching.

Mr. St. John, a writer from whom we are often obliged to differ, but whose love of literature we appreciate and admire, very properly remarks, that Bunyan did not entirely neglect profane learning. He was not unacquainted with the romances of chivalry; but the "Spenser of the people" knew how to kindle his allegory with the richest rays of imagination; and when he borrows, it is not with the servility of want. He was rich in the faculty of knowing how to employ his possessions.

The remarks on Lydgate are pleasing, but convey no information which the poetical student will not have previously acquired. This disciple of Chaucer had already been examined with great patience, and we might say affection, by Warton, who regards him as the earliest of the writers in whose style we discover the perspicuity of our modern English phraseology. Great excellence was never combined with great versatility; and since Lydgate had the second quality, he failed in attaining the first. In more recent times, Gray has devoted a few pages of his elegant criticism to the genius of Lydgate; and, while he delights us with his own gracefulness, renews our feelings of regret that he never embalmed the poetry of our country in the history which he once projected. The eyes of Gray were brightened by the finger of taste, and what he saw he knew how to paint; while he *perceived* like a poet, he *wrote* like a critic. "Circumstance (said Gray) ever was, and ever will be, the life and the essence both of oratory and of poetry. It has in some sort the same effect upon every mind that it has upon that of the populace. Homer, the father of *circumstance*, has occasion for the same apology which I am making for Lydgate and his predecessors." The "Iliad" and the "Odyssey" live in our hearts by these little touches of beauty, sublimity, or affection. The child of Hector, turning its face to the bosom of its nurse,

has given more delight than many an elaborate poem. Virgil comprehended the beauty of *circumstance*, but he used it like an artist. What, in the "Iliad," is the result of *nature*, is, in the "Æneid," the watchful design of *art*. If we look into the early poetry of a nation, we find the same charm of *circumstance* diffusing a light and interest over the story. Thus, to take an example from the Anglo-Saxons, when Beowulf, with his attendants, approaches the Danish capital, how graphically the scene is brought before us by a few minute circumstances :—

"The street was variegated with stones,
the path directed
the men together.
The war-mail shone,
hard hand-locked ;
the bright ring-iron
sang in their trappings,
when they forward to the hall,
in their terrible armour,
proceeded on their way." *

The second volume commences with a notice of our first comedy and tragedy, and the author then passes on to consider the predecessors and contemporaries of Shakspeare. There are reasons, unconnected with the necessary limits of this article, which forbid us to follow Mr. D'Israeli's ingenious enquiries. It might not, indeed, be uninteresting to examine the arguments recently advanced by Mr. Woodward respecting the moral advantages of the drama. We can readily imagine that, under a rigid censorship—a Christian jurisdiction—the stage might be converted into a *pictorial school of instruction* ; that noble feelings, high thoughts of chivalry, eager desires after glory, nay, even some of the rudiments of the gentler affections, may be taught by poetry, thus put into action, and speaking with the vivacity and the charm of life. Bishop Percy thought that the drama might be made a supplement to the pulpit ; the famous Aquinas was willing to permit the moderate and "decent exercise of the histrionic art ;" and an anonymous English writer, more than twenty years ago, asserted that the drama and the national character react upon each other—that while the character of a nation is impressed upon its drama, its drama, in turn, is a powerful agent in forming and cherishing the peculiarities of character. Jeremy Collier, in his curious essay, has collected the opinions—the sense, as he calls it, of Christianity—upon this question during five hundred years. His own con-

* See Wright's "Essay on the State of Literature and Learning among the Anglo-Saxons," p. 9.

cluding remarks—for Collier was a very eloquent writer, and his essays upon general subjects sparkle with brilliant thoughts—are deserving of perusal. Viewing the theatre as a school of instruction, he observes—“Take them at the best, and they do no more than expose a little humour and formality; but then, as the matter is managed, the correction is much worse than the fault. They laugh at *pedantry*, and teach *atheism*—cure a *pimple*, and give the *plague*.”

Mr. D'Israeli's review of Shakspeare is extremely interesting, and gives, we think, within a moderate number of pages, a very clear and satisfactory account of the poet and of his works; of their progress to fame, and of their gradual emergence into public admiration. It was long before

“Panting Time toiled after him in vain.”

His reputation, whatever superficial purveyors of critical gossip may choose to assert, did not immediately ascend with luminous swiftness. The poet despised his own situation, and his own employments; he complained that his name was *branded*, and that his nature was almost subdued

“To what it works in, like the dyer's hand.”

In 1612, or certainly in the following year, he abandoned the scene of his popularity and of his success. The falling curtain conceals his retreating footsteps, and Criticism waited a long time before she called him to receive the crown. He was carried to the grave without one harp to breathe a note of lamentation—without one poet to hold his pall. “There was yet no Shakspeare—no national bard.” Seven years passed by before his dramatic works were sent out by his friends in the folio of 1623. Mr. D'Israeli has shown, conclusively, that the Shakspeare epidemic of admiration never spread until modern times. The famous Nat. Lee said that his “*Brutus*” had much ado in beating himself into “the heads of a blockish age.” The converse is seen in the history of Pope; his poetry was admired more during his life, than after it; although Johnson denied this assertion, and affirmed that it was only *talked* of less. At length the passion for Shakspeare reached its height, and the true lover of the poet might well exclaim—

“Must I for Shakspeare no compassion feel,
Almost eat up by commentating zeal?”

We are compelled to pass over the succeeding papers on Ben Jonson, Drayton, Rawleigh, &c. Of Drayton we shall have some future opportunity of speaking; he was a writer of great elegance, and lost the grace of motion, only because he took too heavy a burden upon his shoulders. The Drayton of the

"Poly-Olbion" is distantly related to the Drayton of the "Nymphidia," in which D'Israeli thinks that he relieved the grotesque scenes, with strains of poetic fancy, which Gray might not have despised. His imagination has not the living wheels of genius: it continually stops, or moves along with an oppressed and languid revolution. He did not possess sufficient fire to kindle the dry materials he had collected with so much diligence; and the occasional flashes only display, in bolder relief, the succeeding gloom. He speaks, indeed, with a sweet and pleasing voice; but the matter is inferior to the manner. "He cannot (is the observation of D'Israeli) be considered as a poet of mediocrity, who has written so much above that level; nor a poet who can rank among the highest class, who has often flattened his spirit by its abundance." We cannot, however, admit the truth of the assertion, that Donne's "Progress of the Soul" is the most creative and inventive poem in the language. We are well acquainted with all the works of Donne, and, while we acknowledge the eccentricity, are obliged to deny the pre-eminence of the *creation*. Nor is the remark, that Donne opened his life as a Catullus, and closed it as a St. Austin, characterized by sufficient caution. We like much better the vindication of the literary character of James, and are glad to find Mr. D'Israeli maintaining the truth of the tradition, that the monarch wrote a letter to Shakspeare; a tribute of esteem which some modern critics—Hallam in the number—have refused to acknowledge. "Davenant (says D'Israeli), the possessor of the letter, which was finally lost, gave the intelligence to the Duke of Buckingham." It is not, indeed, often that an anecdote can be traced so clearly to its source.

The remarks on Cudworth's "Intellectual System" we have read with much gratification; it is only at wide intervals that we are suffered to listen to the majestic voices of those Christian philosophers, to whom Cudworth belongs. Mr. D'Israeli represents the design of Cudworth to have been threefold; comprising, first, a confutation of atheism; secondly, of immoral theism; thirdly, of inevitable necessity. Of this gigantic edifice we only possess the first division—one court of the temple. The architect met with no encouragement to pursue his painful toil. "We learn from Warburton (writes D'Israeli) that this pious and learned scholar was the victim of calumny, and that, too sensitive to his injuries, he grew disgusted with his work; his ardour slackened, and the mass of his papers lie in cold neglect." Cudworth entrusted his MSS. to the care of Lady Masham, in the belief that filial love would protect his intellectual remains. His hope was disappointed. Instead of being regarded with

affectionate reverence, these fragments—dust from his mines of gold—“were thrown in a heap into a dark corner” of the library at Oates. Here they mouldered during fifty years, until they were sold to a bookseller, without any allusion to their character or contents. An accident discovered these MSS. to be parts of the “Intellectual System,” and they are now deposited, confused and mutilated, in the tranquil treasures of the British Museum. But it is proper to add, that Kippis, in the “*Biographia Britannica*” (iv. 549), had already given a history of these MSS. Mr. D'Israeli should have acknowledged the guidance of his predecessor.

D'Israeli conjectures that the “Intellectual System” influenced the creation of some part of the *Divine Legation*; but Warburton, he thinks, filled the subject with himself, while Cudworth desired to lose himself in the subject. “The glittering edifice of paradox was raised on moveable sands; but the more awful temple has been hewn out of rocks, which time can never displace.” The meaning of this passage is not very obvious. Cudworth and Warburton were equally fond of building upon paradoxes, and they have both found that the torrent of time is fatal to this sandy foundation. They both wanted that clear and serene vision, with which Hooker, from the high places of his intellectual grandeur, surveyed, with the eye of thought, the entire temple of Truth, which he was preparing to erect. “I have endeavoured,” are his words, “that every former part might give strength unto all that follow, and every latter bring some light unto all before; so that if the judgments of men do but hold themselves in suspense as touching the first more general meditations, till in order they have perused the rest that ensue, what may seem dark at the first, will afterwards be found more plain; even as the latter particular decisions will appear, I doubt not, more strong, when the others have been read before.” Perhaps the same pre-eminence ought to be awarded to Hooker for his *diction*, which has been assigned to him for his judgment and his argument. Never tumultuous, to translate an expressive epithet of Erasmus, it always rolls with a majestic current; deep, yet clear—without flowing over—always full:—

——“Praise enough
To fill the ambition of a private man,
That *Hooker's* language was his mother tongue.”

Boswell once read to Johnson a letter from Lord Monboddo, in which he objected to the frequent introduction of metaphorical language. Johnson defended it: “As to metaphorical expression (he remarked), that is a great excellence in style, when

it is used with propriety, for it gives you two ideas for one; conveys the meaning more luminously, and generally with a perception of delight." He might have turned to Hooker for a confirmation of his opinion. That great writer is always majestic in his imagery; he never sparkles, he glows: in comparing him with the Senecas of English prose, we contrast

"Wit's flinty spark with Genius' solar flame."

Mackintosh has apologized for the style of Cudworth,* in words which would have been applied more justly to Hooker; yet he did not need the extenuation. "He was educated (says Mackintosh) before usage had limited the naturalization of new words from the learned languages—before the failure of those great men, from Bacon to Milton, who laboured to follow a Latin order in their sentences; and the success of those men of inferior powers, from Cowley to Addison, who were content with the order, as well as the words of pure and elegant conversation, had, as it were, by a double series of experiments, ascertained that the involutions and inversions of the ancient languages are seldom reconcilable with the genius of ours." And in another page of the same character, he observes that the "Intellectual System" often looks like a translation from the work of a later Platonist. The difficulty of rendering the metaphysical expressions compelled a French translator to abandon his enterprise. Bishop Percy compared the conversation of Johnson to an antique statue, in which every muscle was distinctly thrown out to the eye, while the conversation of common men resembled, he said, an *inferior cast*. Now we see the nerves of the antique statue in the great work of Cudworth; it is the motion of a giant without grace. Hobbes might well have trembled, when this champion flung the mantle of peace from his shoulders—

"Et magnos membrorum artus, magna ossa, lacertosque
Exuit, atque ingens media consistit arena."

Having alluded to Hobbes, we may express our surprise that D'Israeli makes not even the slightest allusion to that famous person, when describing the system of Cudworth. This is a strange omission, since the "Intellectual System" was directly aimed against the irreligious opinions of Hobbes, whose treatise *De Cive* privately circulated in Paris, in 1642, had kindled the

* Cudworth was, however, a master of style, when he chose to employ it. In his sermons he has given us passages of true eloquence—clear, vigorous, majestic. Indeed, he often recalls Hooker to the memory of the reader. His phrases are peculiarly happy and expressive. He describes a mere professing Christian as hovering in a *twilight of grace*. His discourse upon 1 Cor. xv. 37, should be read with attention.

anger of Cudworth, and stirred up a war of philosophy which lasted forty years. It is a melancholy illustration of the vanity of human hopes and wishes, that Cudworth, the antagonist of atheism, should have been branded as an atheist; and that he who toiled down the summer sun in fortifying the temple of Truth, should be regarded as its assailant. But the illustration is not a solitary one. Franklin ascribed his earliest sentiments of infidelity to a perusal of the elaborate sermons preached at the Boyle lecture; James II. was able to find, in the preface of Hooker, both an exhortation and a guide to Romanism; and a Pope could venture to approve the "Ecclesiastical Polity," and declare his belief that it would obtain reverence as it grew in years.

The Essay on the difficulties encountered by the publishers of contemporary memoirs, introduces some lucid and illustrative comments on Clarendon and Burnet—a leaf from the romance of Bibliography. We venture to give a brief outline of it. The history of Clarendon, as our readers are aware, was written by the desire of Charles I., and it accordingly was immediately assailed by the adverse party. The champion of the king was received with a shower of missiles the moment he descended into the arena. Clarendon was conscious of the peril to which his narrative was exposed. Weakness and malice were alike its enemies; the patriot, who erred from infirmity, and the demagogue, who sinned from principle. "The history was not only assailed by men of a party, but by men of a family." The national glory was forgotten in ancestral pride. The authenticity of the book was questioned; and, twenty years after its publication, a member of the House of Commons declared his belief, that the history of the Rebellion had been unfaithfully printed. The tale of Calamy gave birth to a family of slanderers; and the pages of D'Israeli may be consulted for an amusing account of their impudence and their discomfiture; nor will the following remarks be perused without instruction:—

"Lord Clarendon himself not only doubted the propriety of this publication, but had even consented to its suppression till a fit season, which was not likely to be in the present age. In his remarkable will, he recommended his sons to consult Archbishop Sancroft and Bishop Morley; and it was only his second son, the Earl of Rochester, who took an active part..... The Earl hardly lived to revise his work; portions of the Life had been marked by him to be transferred to the History. The first transcript of Shaw, the secretary of the author, was discovered to be very incorrect. It was necessary that a fairer copy should repair the negligence of the secretary's. Dean Aldrich read the proofs, and transmitted them to the Earl of Rochester, accompanied by the manuscript copy, which that Earl preserved. The corrections on

the proofs were by his hand. Sprat, Bishop of Rochester, who then had the reputation of being the most skilful critic in our vernacular idiom, it appears, suggested some verbal alterations ; but it was affirmed that the Earl of Rochester had been so scrupulous in altering the style of his father, and so cautious not to allow of any variations from the original, that the strictures of Sprat had not been complied with : which, however, was not true ; for, though the Earl of Rochester would allow no hand but his own to correct the proofs, there were omissions and verbal alterations, &c." (t. ii., p. 382).

Upon this passage we may remark that it is very improbable that Aldrich should have read the proofs, without *suggesting*, if he did not *insert*, some emendations of the text. Johnson's character of Clarendon's style was brief, but excellent ; he considered that the importance of his matter supported him under the burden of parentheses, involutions, and discords. "It is, indeed, owing to a plethory of matter that his style is so faulty." An old writer said of the famous Vandyck, that he was the first painter who put the female costume *into a careless romance*. The graceful ease of his draperies has delighted every visitor to Wilton and Petworth. "Let a man (writes Richardson) read a character in my Lord Clarendon (and certainly—he adds, in a parenthesis — a better painter in that kind never existed), and he will find it improved by seeing a picture of the same person by Vandyck." Clarendon was a diligent collector of portraits by that artist : he did this from no love of art, but from a desire to possess the representations of men whom he had known.

Mr. D'Israeli has devoted fourteen pages to the examination of Skelton, a wretched scribbler who happened to be tutor to Henry VIII., and whom Erasmus commended in the "*Lumen Britanniae*." He was, in truth, a good classical scholar for his age, nothing more. His English verses are libels upon fancy. It is amusing to notice the simple credulity with which D'Israeli alludes to Dr. Johnson's remark, that Skelton had not "attained great elegance of language"—Johnson ! who never read two books through in his life, and whose disdain and contempt of Skelton must have been utterly beyond the power of words to express—

"Faciem ostentabat, et udo
Turpia membra fimo. Risit pater optimus olli."

Pope thought it no slight censure to say—

"And beastly Skelton Heads of Houses quote."

Modern criticism has not been able to discover any interesting features in his poetical (!) character. His claims, as a satirist, are briefly discussed by Campbell : "His eccentricity in attempts

at humour is at once vulgar and flippant; and his style is almost a texture of slang phrases, patched with shreds of French and Latin." Yet Mr. D'Israeli has found, in this disgusting and corrupting rhymers, the combined charms of poetry and painting; the elegance of Catullus, the playfulness of Gresset, the reality of Ostade, and the gracefulness of Albano! * Why not produce the lines which are to sustain this ill-advised eulogy?

It appears that the Rev. A. Dyce has in preparation an edition, minutely complete, of this same Skelton; and Mr. D'Israeli quietly observes, in a note, that it would form "one of the richest volumes of the Camden publications." We trust that this respectable society will not so disgrace themselves. What moral benefit can any Christian hope to confer upon the community, by thus scattering about the dunghills, which have long been rotting in the remote corners of the fields of literature, unknown and unregarded?

Laborious Chalmers has, indeed, "dropped his leaden mace," but it did not lie upon the ground. The editing mania seems now to be assuming its most malignant form. We remember that the collection of Swift's works, in a popular edition of the English Poets, called down an earnest remonstrance from the respectable portion of the press; and we shall certainly raise our voices against this contemplated insult to public virtue. Of Mr. Dyce we know nothing; but if, as his title-pages would seem to tell us, he be an accredited teacher of the Church of England, we desire to ask him, whether the publication of works like those of Greene and Skelton is calculated to promote the cause of piety and good feeling?—whether they contain a single line from which instruction, or hope, or consolation can be derived? Happily, indeed, though negatively, are they characterized by Milton, in a beautiful verse:—

"Thin sown with aught of profit or delight." †

Surely, in the wide and neglected paths of our literature, a diligent investigator may find works of equal obscurity to amuse the gentle dulness of antiquarian industry, and to reward its labour with a more salutary fruit. If it be said, as it probably may, that such books as Mr. Dyce's Greene and Middleton are harmless, because nobody buys and nobody reads them, we admit the *fact*, but deny the *inference*. A few copies will *straggle* abroad; and it will never be allowed that a blasphemous or licentious inscription should be pasted up in the market-

* See *Amenities*, t. iii., pp. 78 and 80. † *Par. Reg.* iv.

place, because only ten men in the city may be acquainted with the language in which it is written, or take the trouble of stopping to examine it. Let not the scoffer against our holy religion take occasion from such publications to say, with the author of the "Pursuits of Literature"—

"These are the lay amusements of the Church."

Mr. Mathias thought himself justified in passing the severest censure on Dr. Warton, for having included in his edition of Pope some disgraceful verses; but the vice, which in Pope was occasional, in many of the writers, whom it is the modern fashion to let loose upon the public, is inherent and constitutional. No critical physician can eradicate the disease that consumes and corrupts the vitality of their genius. The sword of Lucilius would be blunted upon these hardened offenders. It is, therefore, with no common feelings of anger and of sorrow, that we behold a minister of God's sacred word laying out his time—that time which he can never buy back again—in this profane merchandize; contented to devote all the learning of a life, ripe and profound erudition, familiarity with the treasures of poetry, with history, and with national habits—to discharge the office of

"The guide supreme o'er all the tainted plain."

We speak of Mr. Dyce with particular emphasis, because he occupies a bad pre-eminence in this critical commentatorship; he possesses learning and diligence—leisure, too, he must also enjoy: let him employ his faculties and his opportunities to a better purpose; let him remember *Σοφία πρῶτον ἀγνή ἐστιν*. Abundant sources of distinction will open to his hand. It was not of editors of Greene, or of commentators on Skelton, that an illustrious poet declared—

"Nomen in exemplum sero servabimus ævo."

In terminating our observations upon these volumes, it is not necessary to add much to the remarks we have offered during our rapid glance over the diversified landscape which Mr. D'Israeli has sketched. We shall not venture to place his latest with his earliest contributions, or presume to compare his *Amenities*, with his *Curiosities*, of Literature. It is in brief essays, lively narratives, gossiping anecdotes, pleasant observations on books and men, that our author seems to please his readers. A profound historian, or an exact critic, or a philosophical enquirer, Mr. D'Israeli never was, and never could have been. He wants dignity, acuteness, compression. His judgments of intellectual performance are often superficial, and with the vivacity, he has some of the flippancy of Montaigne. It is

unfortunate for the success of Mr. D'Israeli, in the present volumes, that he traverses ground which Hallam has so recently trodden with a firmer footstep. The analysis of Cudworth, for example, to which we have already referred, would suffer, if contrasted with the philosophical examination of Bacon, or even of Cumberland, in the Introduction to the Literature of Europe. We miss the piercing sagacity, and the didactic wisdom, and the tranquil energy. In Hallam there is no affectation of profound thought, as if

"The man
Were task'd to his full strength, absorbed and lost."

The charm of D'Israeli is to be sought in his agreeable interweaving of literary or political anecdote into his web of criticism. Thus he tells us, that when Henry VIII. wished to learn the character of a book, without giving himself the trouble to read it, he adopted the ingenious expedient of putting copies of it into the hands of two persons, differing in taste; and he formed his own judgment from a comparison of their opinions. Or, to give a longer example, turn to the following amusing history, in the paper on Surrey and Wyatt, of three strokes of pleasantry, which probably occasioned three revolutions—the overthrow of Wolsey, the suppression of monasteries, and the Reformation:—

"The Wyatts, besides their connexion with Anne Bullen, had all along been hostile to the great cardinal. One day Wyatt, entering the king's closet, found his majesty much disturbed, and displeased with the minister. Ever quick to his purpose, Wyatt, who always told a story well, now, to put his majesty into good humour, and to keep the cardinal down in as bad a one, furnished a ludicrous tale of 'the curs baiting a butcher's dog.' The application was obvious to the butcher's son of Ipswich; and we are told—for the subject, but not the tale itself, has been indicated—that the whole plan of getting rid of a falling minister was laid down by this address of the wit. It was with the same dexterity, when Wyatt found the king in a passion on the delay of his divorce, that, with a statesman-like sympathy, appealing to the presumed tendency of the royal conscience, he exclaimed, 'Lord! that a man cannot repent him of his sin, but by the Pope's leave!' The hint was dropped—the egg of the Reformation was laid, and soon it was hatched! When Henry VIII. paused at the blow levelled at the whole ponderous machinery of the Papal clergy, dreading, from such wealth and power, a revolution, besides the ungraciousness of the intolerable transfer of all abbey lands to the royal domains, Wyatt had this repartee for his counsel—'Butter the rooks' nests!'—that is, divide all these houses and lands with the nobility and gentry." (t. iii., p. 130).

We might refer our readers to many other passages in these *miscellanies*, of higher and graver interest; nor should we be

discharging our critical vocation with impartiality and truth, if we did not say that we have read a large portion of the volumes before us with pleasure and interest. In the contemplated history, of which these articles are fragments, they would have occupied a more becoming, because a less prominent, place: they would have received that chiseling and shaping which they frequently require; and the elaborate ornament which the architect has bestowed upon the *cornice*, would then, we think, have been transferred to the *column* itself. Mr. D'Israeli writes with animation and elegance: his style, if not always strictly correct, is never unpleasing; if sometimes too ambitious and rhetorical, is never vulgar. The fame which he has already acquired will, we hope, be a letter of recommendation to his last production. Nor is it a slight affliction that he is no longer able to follow, with his own eyes, the course of his intellectual *freight* down the stream of public opinion. We take leave of him with sincere respect and gratitude, for the information and the amusement which we have derived from his versatile pen. Mr. D'Israeli has outlived many battles of criticism; and, having bestowed the chastisement of no feeble hand upon the *Dares*, who challenged him after so many years of peaceful triumph, he may now say with propriety, while receiving the reward he merits—

“Hic victor cestus artemque repono.”

ART. VI.—*Your Life*. By the Author of “*My Life*,” by an EX-DISSENTER. London: Fraser. 1841.

WE must speak out! it is our duty and privilege to do so; and whilst we perform the one, we shall not be regardless of the other. At all times, and on all occasions, those who profess to instruct, lead, or excite others, either intellectually or morally, should not lose sight of their responsibility to man and to God; but in moments of crisis like the present, when so much must depend on *individual* thought, feeling, and effort, the duties and responsibilities of public writers are immense, and not one line should be written without deep reflection and the most anxious care.

The nation is divided, at this moment, into *two* classes.

On the one hand are the new Tory Administration—the old families of the country—the nobility and gentry—the great bulk of the clergy—the Universities—many manufacturers and merchants—four-fifths of the agricultural population—the House of Lords—about one hundred more than a moiety of the House of Commons—a fourth of the Dissenters who are orthodox and conservative—and that dense mass of the non-agitating portion

of the population, who, without being either learned or well educated, yet understand and feel that happiness does not spring out of disorder, and that peace is not the result of insubordination.

On the other hand are the Whigs (now out of office), or rather the Whig-Radicals, who for nearly ten years misgoverned the country, zealously supported by the Duke of Sussex, the Duchess of Kent, and even by other members of the royal family. They are backed also by a fraction of the peers and of the clergy—by a formidable minority in the House of Commons—by a large mass of manufacturers and merchants—by about one-fifth of the purely agricultural population—by three-fourths of the political portion of Dissenters, Papists, Jews, Socinians, and unbelievers—by all Whig and Radical ex-placemen—by the O'Connell tail—and by those who would again raise the Whig-Radicals to power as stepping-stones to their own plans and projects, and who look forward with anxious hope to the period when *their* turn shall come, and when *their* projects shall be carried by them into execution.

The religion, learning, property, rank, and morals of the country are, with of course some exceptions, *Conservative*. The irreligion, ignorance, immorality, and indolence of the land are, also with some exceptions, *Destructive*. The two principles which these opposing parties represent have met face to face, and one or the other must triumph. On the one side, is the principle of good; on the other, that of evil. If Whig-Radical Papism could again prevail, we might date from that moment the decline and fall of the British empire. If *Christian* Conservatism is now to take the lead, and those who not only profess, but who believe and cherish, its doctrines and principles, are to govern, then our blessed land may yet, in the order of Divine Providence, direct the destinies of the world, and assure an amount of good for ages to come, at present wholly incalculable.

But whilst we have thus stated, with all candour and honesty, the actual and relative position of the two parties into which Great Britain is now divided, we owe it not less to ourselves than to the principles which we believe and advocate, to declare, that nothing short of *Christian* Conservatism can now save this empire. There are many who are conservatives of their game, of their forest rights, of their manorial privileges, and of their political influence over their tenantry, and who spout or bluster about their Conservatism and their attachment to the old institutions of the land, and yet who do not, nevertheless, possess one iota of that *Christian* Conservatism in their character which must be the foundation of all good government, and of all true patriotism and philanthropy. These men will follow the fox-hounds, sit as magistrates, toast "the union of Church and

State" at a county or election dinner, and support Sir William this, or Lord the other, as *Conservative* candidates for the division of the county in which they reside. But who is Sir William this; and who is Lord the other? Go to them, and to their adherents, and tell them that the parish in which they reside is very large and populous; that Dissenterism is on the increase; that Popery has shown its head in a district where, till then, it was unknown; and that unless some effort be made to supply the spiritual wants of the people, the religion of their forefathers will be neglected, and multitudinous sectarianism will take the place of Christian Protestant Episcopalianism,—and they will turn a deaf ear to your remonstrances, plead poverty against the cause of God and the interests and demands of his Church, and give a practical proof that, though they *profess* to feel a lively interest in the national faith, they are as criminally indifferent as the most enthusiastic admirer of the voluntary system!

It is not enough for us, as *Christian* Conservatives, to see men placed at the head of our political institutions who are averse to agitation, opposed to Daniel O'Connell, and even anxious to preserve the *status quo* on this or that question. The country will not be one whit better governed by Sir Robert Peel than by Lord John Russell—by Mr. Goulburn than by Mr. Baring—or by the Duke of Wellington than by Lord Melbourne, unless the *Protestant* question be now looked fully in the face, and unless an end be put to all further concessions to that spirit of unbelief, of political dissent, and of papacy, which is stalking at mid-day through the length and breadth of this mighty empire. Evil is evil, and error is error, whether promulgated and supported by the drivellers of the Whig-Radical combination, or by men who falsely call themselves Conservatives, and who are yet indifferent to that *only* principle on which Conservatism can be maintained—the Protestant Episcopal religion of the State. We have not only no confidence in irreligious statesmen, such as Lord Melbourne and his coadjutors—but we can have no confidence in men who do not plainly and broadly proclaim that they only hope to repress the anarchy and disorder which now exist, by the re-establishment, in the minds and hearts of men, of a firm and unwavering conviction that *Christian* Protestantism *exclusively* supplies an antidote to that political and moral poison which, during the last ten years, has been industriously spread over the whole land. In plain terms, for the plainer and clearer we are the better, we care for *measures*, and not for *men*—for *principles*, and not for *persons*. If the Duke of Wellington, Sir Robert Peel, and the statesmen by whom they are surrounded, shall, as their enemies proclaim they will, merge their Church of Englandism in their state policy or parlia-

mentary tactics, and instead of declaring at once that they have accepted office with the view of undoing the injuries inflicted on the country by ten years of bad government, and of restoring to *Protestantism* that influence in the government of the land which for centuries belonged to it, they shall profess great concern to satisfy the Papist, and the political Dissenter, the Jew and the Infidel, by making such concessions as the Whig-Radicals have been unable to carry, we confess we shall deplore, rather than rejoice at, their appointments as Ministers of State; for so long as they remained members of the opposition, the Christian Conservatives of the country could rely on the rejection of bad measures. But how melancholy would be the duty of the Christian Protestant historian to have to record, that, after unparalleled efforts on the part both of the clergy and the people, the *principle* of a national or state religion was practically abandoned, by the concession of measures which had been uniformly opposed when the Whigs were in power.

We are not, for example, amongst those who believe that the Christian Conservatives of Great Britain can consent to any concessions on the subjects of tithes, of church-rates, of church endowments, or the church burial service. And we have a sincere and intimate conviction that if one more concession be made to Dissenters, Jews, or Papists, the united enemies of the Church will press forward with increased vigilance and zeal their demand for the total destruction of that union of Church and State which is their most formidable opponent, as well as the constant subject of their violent protests and of their fierce and unchristian hatred.

As there are some ill-informed, but pious and charitable Churchmen, who are still willingly deluding themselves with the false and groundless hope, that the political Dissenters of 1841 would be satisfied with the abolition of church-rates and with the admission of Nonconformists into the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge, we have taken some pains to collect together the very terms and expressions made use of *this year*, and in some instances very recently indeed, with respect to the Church of England, and the union of the Church with the State. It is, doubtless, well known to most of our readers, that the English Nonconformists have, for several years past, been represented by a print published in London twice a week, and which has borne the ill-merited name of the *Patriot*. Those who have read its articles, and watched its proceedings, are aware that its language towards the Church of England, its clergy, its journals, its lay-advocates, and, above all, relating to the connexion of *Church and State*, is uniformly insulting, arrogant, vulgar, and *unkind*. But this is not enough, in 1841, for the political Dis-

senters of England; and therefore another newspaper has made its appearance, entitled the *Nonconformist*, having for its motto, "*The dissidence of Dissent and the Protestantism of the Protestant religion.*" This motto will explain the fierceness of its hate to all State religions, and the anarchical character of its interminable Dissent. Its *first* number, published April 14th, 1841, contains the following paragraphs:—

"The time is now come, either to give up the cause of religious liberty in despair, or to strike a blow at the heart of affairs—to abandon the ground of expediency, and resolutely to take up that of principle. Before Dissenters can hope to make way, they must make the basis of their operations national, rather than sectarian—must aim not so much to right themselves, as to right Christianity. *The union of Church and State is the real evil against which their efforts must be directed! In labouring to sever this unseemly connexion they will serve the nation, they will aid religion, and they will free themselves.*"

And again—

"To show that a National Establishment of religion is essentially vicious in its constitution, philosophically, politically, and religiously—to bring under public notice the innumerable evils of which it is the parent—to arouse men, and more especially those who avowedly and on religious grounds repudiate it, from the fatal apathy with which they regard its continuance and extension—to ply them with every motive which ought to prevail upon them to come forward, and combine, and act for a separation of Church and State; this is the great design of the projectors of this paper."

In the second number of this fiery *Nonconformist*, the following is its *temperate* and *Christian* description of Church-rates:—

"Church-rates—an impost originating in clerical cupidity, fixed by fraud, continued only to gratify the Church's passion for ascendancy; a tax, the laying and levying of which engenders some of the meanest dispositions of human nature—craft, lying, spite; a perennial spring of bitterness; a thing that carries the war of party, of religious party too, right into the heart of otherwise peaceful neighbourhoods, and gives to men who are known in each district, and whose worth or worthlessness can be best appreciated there, power to vex, insult, worry, and tyrannize, over those who know them, and to do it all in the name of Christianity."

Encouraged by the political Dissenters for its "courage" and "daring," in these its preliminary attacks on the union of the Church with the State, and on the rates voluntarily imposed on themselves by the inhabitants of a parish for the keeping in decency and order the parochial temple of the living God; in the third number of the *Nonconformist*, its language was yet more indecent and shameful, as the following example will demonstrate. The journalist, after maintaining that Dissenters are charged by God with the "noble mission" of reforming the land, goes on to say—

“Christianity, cribbed, cabined, confined by *the State*, by a *body* of *aristocracy*, forced, as John Milton expresses it, to grind in the prison-house of their sinister designs and practices—degraded into a tool with which to mend their fortunes, and prolong their ascendancy—tricked out with meretricious ornaments that conceal or deface her native loveliness—rendered hateful to the people by the tyranny and rapacity practised in her name—Christianity appeals to Dissenters, who profess to be better acquainted with her nature and her claims, to rescue her from this humiliating bondage, and persevere in general, self-denying efforts to deliver her out of the hands of men who are ignorant of her worth.”

This is the picture drawn by Dissenters in 1841 of that blessed Church which wise men admire, great men reverence, and good men love.

But this is not the only picture drawn by the enemies of the Church in the present day. There are two others which we must give, announcing, as they do, not only determined hostility and hate, but a firm resolution to seek to obtain the *separation of Church and State*. In the fourth number of the *Nonconformist* we read—

“*A State Church!* Have Dissenting ministers never pondered upon the practical meaning of that word? Have they never looked into that dark polluted inner chamber, of which it is the door? Have they never caught a glimpse of the loathsome things that live, and crawl, and gender there? Did they never hear of simony—light-hating simony, too hideous of form for the day to look upon—burrowing and nestling within that same State Church? Has *patronage* never come across their path, to make them start, and pause, and look at its disgusting features?” &c.

And in the fifth number of the same paper we have the following description of what we designate the great preservative in this country against the spread of infidelity and Popery—a National Protestant Church:—

“An admitted evil—an evil of frightful magnitude—an evil affecting not the honour only, but the very vitality of Christian truth—the Church of England; an evil which converts a living, beautiful, gentle, life-giving reality, into a dead, offensive, peace-destroying form; which commits a system of means, appointed to work out spiritual renovation, to the management and superintendence of men, the greater part of whom bitterly repudiate the very ends those means were designed to subserve—an evil which, in all high senses, intellectual, moral, and spiritual, works like a pestilence spreading abroad over the whole land *abomination and desolation*, not merely exists in our country, but flourishes, extends itself, and is taking hold upon our colonial dependencies.”

The question then is, *Church or no Church!*—and we shall show presently that this is the manner in which the Dissenters,

who now take the lead, put the points at issue. There *was* a time when Dissenters complained of the Test and Corporation Acts, and no more: they were repealed! Then they complained of paying turnpike tolls on a Sunday: now they pay none! Then they were greatly concerned for their "Romanist brethren," and professed much anxiety for what was styled "Catholic emancipation:" but this also was conceded, like reform, *as a final measure*. Then Dissenters demanded exemption from the marriage service: and they obtained all they required. This was followed by a requirement for a general system of registration for births, deaths, and marriages: and this also was granted. But what do all these concessions amount to "whilst Mordecai is at the gate?" It was not enough that, whilst a clergyman of the Church of England is only exempt from turnpike tolls on a Sunday whilst proceeding to his *parish* Church, a Dissenting or Methodist preacher, by virtue of the general Turnpike Act, may refuse to pay the toll, though proceeding to some chapel greatly removed from his *parochial* limits, and having no connexion whatever with his *parish*. It was not enough that Popery was encouraged by the Court, the late Government, and the Government agents, throughout the land. It was not enough that greater encouragement was given by the late Government leader of the House of Commons (Lord John Russell) to the *Lancasterian* system of education in our towns and villages, than to our Church National Schools, and that it was even proposed to *exclude* from a general plan of education the influence of the resident clergy. All this was once either not meditated, or most carefully concealed; but now it is avowed that nothing short of the separation of the Church from the State will satisfy the Nonconformists in the reign of Victoria.

The *Christian Examiner and Advocate of Civil and Religious Liberty* is less frank, but not less inimical. It affects to disavow hostility to the Church, and yet its hostility is indisputable. It pretends to believe that the Church is kept in a state of vassalage by its connexion with the State, and it declares its desire for the emancipation of the Church of England. This is hypocritical. It attacks the *royal influence* in the Church, though it professes to be a Whig and Queen's journal. It opposes all legislation in matters of religion, and all endowments, all church-rates, all tithes, all appropriation of national property to established Churches, or of public money to endowed Churches, or of public grants for the professional education of candidates for the ministry or priesthood, or for the maintenance of any system of national education. This *Christian Examiner* reminds us of the case of a cruel and wicked mother, who, when accused

of desiring the death of her child, replied, "It is true, I do not give him bread, but he is at liberty to get it elsewhere. I am not bound to work for him : if I have not bread, it is not my fault; let him get it where he can." So these *Christian Examiner* Dissenters, who declare that they feel *no hostility* to the Established Church, still avow that they would deprive that Church of all its means of support. What noble allies ! what generous friends ! or rather what dangerous, secret, and hypocritical foes !

The *Christian Examiner* for March contains a jesuitical article on "the Power of Principle in the Church;" and another, "the Voluntary System defended." In the former, it exhorts "the Church to throw off at once and for ever all alliance with the State;" and in the latter, it attacks all Church revenues, and exhorts Dissenters to oppose them. The evangelical clergy are also attacked for their alleged hostility to evangelical Dissenters; and the only cure for all this is the *separation of the Church from the State !*

This friend (!) of the Church of England maintains, in its April number for this year, *that the Church is not a really reformed Church*, and insists that the principles and doctrines of all the Oxford Tracts are positively sanctioned by the English Establishment. "Raze it, raze it, even to the foundations thereof," is the spirit of all the articles published by this pretended friend, but this dangerous, because subtle and serpent enemy of our dear mother Church.

There is an article, indeed, in the May number of the *Christian Examiner*, in the shape of "resolutions adopted at a meeting of the Committee of the Protestant Society for the Protection of Religious Liberty," at which its quondam secretary, Mr. John Wilks, the late M.P. for Boston, presided as chairman, to which we must specially refer, as demonstrative of the violent hostility of even the better educated Dissenters to the established religion of these realms. In the *first* of these resolutions they complain of *church-rates* : in the *second*, of the appointment of chaplains and schoolmasters to unions—

"By which the poor resident in workhouses are compelled to unite in the services which they disapprove, and are prevented from freely attending the religious worship they conscientiously prefer; and by which the education of children, separated from their parents, and to be trained up to the creed and forms of the Church, may be converted into a means of pain-inflicting and sectarian persecution, inconsistent with benevolent feelings, with liberal principles, and the most sacred rights."

Thus the Church is reproached for taking care of the souls

of the *union children* and the *union poor*; and Dissenters are so hard driven for accusations against her, that they actually reproach and condemn her because the legislature does not provide for the preaching of a score of Dissenting oracles in every parish union. But this is not all. The *third resolution* is the one to which we specially direct the attention of such of our benevolent readers who may still entertain the belief, that the hostility of the Dissenters of 1841 may be vanquished by kindness and concessions :—

“Resolved, thirdly, that on a general survey of the lofty claims and unkind conduct recently asserted and pursued by many reverend members of the Established Church (*by whom?*), and of the disposition manifested to treat Dissenters and Methodists with contumely and wrong, and to extend and aggravate, rather than to remove or diminish, all the grievances of which they complain—*This Committee becomes additionally convinced that the union of that Church with the State will, ere long, become an evil too obnoxious to be endured; that unslumbering vigilance, combined and augmented zeal, and universal, well-directed efforts, on the part of all friends to religious liberty, are indispensably needful, and should not be delayed; and that in such exertions this Committee will cheerfully and firmly concur.*”

We have not at hand the names of the Committee who thus pledge themselves “to combined and augmented zeal,” and “universal and well directed efforts,” against the Church; but, if we are not much mistaken, *Mr. James Baldwin Brown*, the barrister, is the treasurer; *Mr. John Wilks*, of Finsbury-square, the secretary; and Messrs. Binney, James, Collyer, Cox, Clayton, Burnet, and a variety of other champions of the unrestrained right of private judgment and the voluntary principle, are the members of the Committee! We allude to their names, because, whilst the *Nonconformist* is one of the organs of the democratic Baptists, whose champion (*Mr. Knibb*) has so distinguished himself by his violence and fury at Demerara, “the Committee of the Protestant Society” is composed of men who represent the moderate (!) portion of the Dissenting community. All, however, are leagued against the Church. The Duke of Sussex, Lord John Russell, the present Duke of Bedford, and the late Lord Holland, have all presided at the meetings of this moderate “Protestant Society;” whilst *O’Connell* has likewise raved and blasphemed on its platforms against Protestantism and truth, to listening and delighted audiences.

The *Christian Examiner*, “which wishes so well to the Establishment,” has published, in its May number, an article, to show that the “non-progress of Christian Protestantism, in *Ireland*, is to be attributed to the impediments thrown in the way by the existence of the Established Church!” Can the force of

bigotry, intolerance, and enmity to the Church proceed further than this? The Church of England is called "an *alien* Church." Its influence over men's minds is falsely said to be the result of "the employment of coercive, and therefore invidious, measures in its favour." Church of Englandism is alleged "to wear a *foreign garb*." The Irish Protestant Church is represented as "a galling and continual oppression," and "while in its perpetual claims, its racking assessments, too often in deeds of blood, it exists as a *perpetual irritation*, reminding them of defeat and disaster; making them feel that it was *conquest* paved the way for its establishment, and that it is *power* that must *force* it on their conscience; thus bringing the very grace of heaven to them under the form, and with the emblems, and in the *bitterness of oppression*."

It is now necessary to turn to the proceedings of the Religious Freedom Society, whose second annual meeting was held in May last. As the Protestant Society for the Protection of Religious Liberty is the *orthodox* agitating Society amongst Dissenters and Calvinistic Methodists, this Religious Freedom Society is the organ of a motley of Socinians, Socinian-Baptists, Arians, Universalists, and all the varied shades and grades of an astounding number of every description of Separatists. Strange to say, indeed, in this Society *orthodox* and *heterodox* Dissenters meet together, though the latter greatly prevail; and at the second anniversary, over which Sir John Easthope, Bart., M.P., presided, the great Dissenting bugbear was "CHURCH EXTENSION."

Mr. Hawes, M.P., delivered himself, on that occasion, of the following observations:—

"If ever there was a time when Dissenters were called upon to unite together, it was at this moment (hear, hear); if ever the great cause of religious freedom was in peril, it was at this moment (cheers); if ever there was a necessity for firm and united exertion against the attacks of a bitter and intolerant oppression, it was at this moment (renewed cheers)."

What, then, has the Church been doing? What are these unheard-of persecutions and wrongs to which the *nominal* descendants of the Howes, the Baxters, the Doddridges, the Calamys of former times cannot submit? Let Mr. Hawes speak for himself:—

"Perhaps before long they would see the question of Church Extension brought before Parliament by an influential member of the house—a member of one of the Universities (hear, hear). Then would be the time to see of what *metal* the Dissenters were made; then would be the time to prove whether members of Parliament were to look *only to their own exertions*, or to the great Dissenting body of Eng-

land ; then would be the time to prove the value of the professions the Dissenters had put forth (cheers) : and he did not despair of the result. He believed that, when the Dissenters were fairly roused, they would speak in so firm a tone that no Parliament would dare to insult them (great cheering). He believed that the spirit which had animated their ancestors still inspired the Dissenters of modern times ; and he believed, rather than they would be trodden under foot by a party that spoke of toleration whilst practising oppression, all England would ring with the resistance of those who fought, not for the mere rights of property, but for those dearest of privileges which extended over all time (cheers). At the present moment it was not so much the civil as the religious liberties of the people that were endangered. Insidious attempts would be made to put still heavier fetters upon them (hear, hear). The question he had adverted to (Church Extension) would be brought forward before the house, and there could be little doubt but that it would pass ; *but would the Dissenters permit it ?* (cries of ‘ No, no’). . What, then, would they do to prevent it ? (hear, hear). Every class of Dissenters, every man whose *religious liberty* was in danger, was bound to unite, and they must be firm when the day of election came (cheers). If the Dissenters were only true to themselves—and he knew their activity, their spirit, their wealth—he felt sure the cause of religious liberty would not fail. No question was more unpalatable in the House of Commons than that of church-rates ; but let the question be for taxing others for the support of their own religion, and they were eager to carry the proposition, be it what it might.”

Why, we ask, was not this speech printed and circulated in every house of the borough of Lambeth ? Why was Mr. Hawes allowed to declare, without contradiction, at the hustings, that he was a “ friend, a sincere friend, of the Established Church ? ” But with this matter we cannot interfere now. We are anxious to point out that one of the grievances of Dissenters is this, that those who love the Church of England, that those who have no notion of having a *nominal* National Church instead of a *real* one, and who believe that Church Extension is essential to the moral and religious improvement of the people, are determined to bring this matter forward again and again, until the *parochial* system of the Church shall be fully carried out, and until all the parishes, hamlets, and districts of this mighty empire shall be supplied with established, national, and authorized means of spiritual instruction and salvation. But to return to the meeting of the Religious Freedom Society, and its protest against Church Extension. The following is the *portion* of the resolution passed by these Dissenting patriots respecting this subject :—

“ That all grants of public money for the extension of the Church Establishment ought to be refused and withheld by the representatives of the people ; first, as unjust to *other denominations*, whose religious worship, while maintained by themselves, is sanctioned by the laws of

the realm ; and, secondly, as uncalled for, the Church of England being already in possession of ample resources and endowments, besides comprising within its pale a majority of the wealthier classes, whose free contributions ought to be amply sufficient to meet any alleged deficiency, without increasing the public burdens."

Now as this is the joint manifesto of heterodox and orthodox Dissenters against Church Extension, headed by Sir John Easthope, Bart., M.P., a proprietor of the *Morning Chronicle* and the intimate friend of Lord Palmerston, as well as by Mr. Hawes, the member for Lambeth, and by Daniel O'Connell, the Rev. Mr. Burder, of Stroud, Rev. Mr. Burnet, of Camberwell, &c., we propose to devote a few lines to its refutation.

1. It is *not true* that the Church of England, in England, is a *denomination*, in the ordinary and generally understood acceptation of that term. The Church of England is the *national* religion of *these realms*—recognized as such, not only by the laws, but by the constitution of the country. The country, as a country, is pledged to provide for this *national* religion, but it is not pledged or bound to support any other. The country possesses the *churches* of the land, on the condition of keeping them in order; and the country has accepted the churches built by our pious ancestors, on that condition. The country took possession of the *endowments* of those churches, also supplied by their founders, and the country is bound, legally, constitutionally, and equitably, to provide for the spiritual support of the clergy of those churches.

2. It is unpatriotic, irreligious, and impious, to object to grants of public money for the extension of churches and for the increased supply of buildings for the public worship of Almighty God by the mass of the people, who would not otherwise possess adequate means. The *national* religion stands on a wholly different footing to the voluntary denominations of Romanists, Dissenters, and Calvinistic Methodists. We say *Calvinistic* Methodists advisedly, because our opinions of the Wesleyan Methodists are already in print. But even the Wesleyan Methodists, with all their mighty influence and extensive ramifications, would not pretend that, unaided by the State, they could supply sufficient chapel room for the millions of population of the whole community.

The churches of Great Britain and Ireland are *public property*, and afford gratuitous accommodation to the parishioners of each parish, without regard to their age, rank, or education. The chapels of all denominations, on the contrary, afford accommodation to those who pay pew-rents, and only offer *free seats* in the proportion of one out of one hundred of the whole popu-

lation. When we say one out of one hundred, we include the *free seat* accommodation afforded by all sects of Dissenters and Methodists.

Those, then, who object to grants of public money for the extension of churches, must, if they are honest men—to say nothing about their being Christians, so act upon one of *two* principles: either, first, they must believe that adequate church room is already supplied to the increased and increasing population of these realms—the fallacy of which statement we shall demonstrate hereafter; or, secondly, they must believe, with Mr. Binney, one of the most intolerant chiefs of the modern Nonconformist school, that the Church of England “ruins more souls than it saves;” or, in plain terms, that they would prefer the population of this empire rather to remain without any Christian instruction and means of Christian worship, than to be brought under that of the Church of England. As, however, thank God! we believe that there are few Mr. Binneys to be found, even amongst the most inveterate of the enemies of the Church of England, we shall not address ourselves to those who would prefer Atheism, Deism, Infidelity, or little short of Paganism, to exist among our population, rather than that Church of England principles, doctrines, and discipline should spread. Such sentiments are still—we would hope, at least—entertained but by few; and we would desire, in Christian candour, to believe that the mass of those who object to *all grants* of public money for the extension of churches, do so on grounds less disgraceful and unworthy.

To the objection that new churches are *not required*, we shall address ourselves hereafter, and will show how great is the want of them, not only in the manufacturing, but also in the agricultural districts. But then it is said, in the resolution which we are now combatting, that “the Church of England is already in possession of *ample resources and endowments*.” For what? For the present churches, without multiplying their number? We answer, no, not even for *them* are the resources and endowments *ample*, nor even adequate. We shall adduce facts hereafter in confirmation of this declaration—facts which the most inveterate enemies of that Church will find it impossible to gainsay. But admitting, for a moment, that the resources and endowments of the churches of Great Britain are adequate for the *present* churches and the labouring clergy, does it follow that they are sufficient to enable the Church to provide means of worship for large masses of the population wholly destitute of church accommodation, and who are in a state of unparalleled ignorance and appalling vice?

Take the case of Bristol, with a population of upwards of 104,000 souls—what is the amount of church accommodation? Sixteen churches, or 6,500 for each parish church! Take the case of Birmingham, with a population of 140,000—what is the amount of church-room there? Thirteen churches, or nearly 10,800 for each parish church! Take the case of Manchester, with a population of 275,000, at least—what is the church-room there supplied? Only seventeen, or about 16,000 souls for each church! “What a mockery is this (says the author of “*Your Life*”) of that original parochial system, the *theory* of which is as admirable as ever, but the practical working of which, owing to the want of piety in our Governments and our Parliaments, is a solemn and awful deception!” Does the Church possess ample resources and endowments to meet the calls which are thus made for new erections, and for a much vaster plan of church accommodation and instruction than any ever yet supplied? If so, where *are* these resources? In what mine are they hidden? Where has Sir John Easthope, Bart., M.P., discovered them? Is his friend and contributor, his correspondent and master, Lord Palmerston, in the secret? No; the truth is, that the Church of England has no resources whatever to meet the demand for increased church room and church instruction, and no one knows this better than the framers of this very resolution!

3. It is *not* true that the free contributions of the wealthier classes, who are Churchmen, are adequate to the providing sufficient church-room for the inhabitants of these realms. We admit that much *might* be done, as well as that much *has* been done, by the piety and zeal of individual Churchmen. We are, of course, not ignorant of the fact that many churches have been erected within the few last years by the noble and mighty of this empire; and we render them the homage of our profound respect, and our sincere gratitude. But the demand for Church Extension which now exists cannot be met by individual benevolence, or even by collective charity. Much *has* been done, and much more *may* still be effected, by individual piety and by public subscriptions; but we protest against the *principle* of thus attempting to meet the demand for an increase of *national* churches by private and individual liberality. The Church of England ought not to be expected or required to act upon the “voluntary principle.” The *national* religion is the Protestant Episcopal Church. It is the religion of the Crown. It is the religion of both Houses of Parliament. It is the religion of our courts of law. It is the religion of our hospitals, poor-houses, and prisons. It is the religion of our army and navy. It is the religion of the State! The oaths of the Queen of England

would alone make it so, as well as the great acts and pacts of the people with the Government, and of the Government with the people, which secure to these realms the perpetuity and support of that great and glorious Church to which we have the honour and the happiness to belong.

If the Church of England be the *national* Church, then its extension, or even preservation, by *voluntary* subscriptions or donations, is wholly preposterous. And if it be *not* the *national* Church, then what is the national Church and national religion? Do the *Presbyterians* affect to be in a majority out of Scotland? Certainly not. Do the *Wesleyans* defend themselves as representing with fidelity the religious opinions and feelings of the majority of the people of this empire? By no means; they are too truthful and modest to make such a declaration. Are the *Baptist Dissenters* the denomination which represents the religious sentiments, doctrines, and views of the Protestant population of this country? Not Mr. Mortlock Daniell himself, nor even the Baptist Board, who are so zealous in the cause of their sect or party, would set up *such* pretensions. Then are the *Independents* the persons who profess the *national* religion? They are, on the contrary, the least important and the least rising of all. Almost all the “isms” with which this country abounds are more prosperous than the Independents. And yet there is a national religion!—not only one established by the constitution and the laws, but likewise one established in the hearts of the people. If the Church of England be *not* that religion, again we ask, which is the denomination that represents it? In point of learning, wealth, virtue, morals, religion, and numbers, the members of the Church of England far, far exceed all others—not merely separate, but combined.

Now if there be a *national* religion, what is there “unjust” in the principle of making public grants in its favour, and towards its extension? If there be any other *national* religion, let it come forward, assert its claims, offer its evidence, supply its facts, and demand the aid of the Government and of the people. But if there be no other—if all other religions in this country are *denominations* or *sects*, and nothing more—then where is the “injustice” of granting public money for the support and extension of the *national* religion? If the Dissenters and Calvinistic Methodists were satisfied that the people of this empire had *changed* their religion—that they were no longer Episcopalians in heart and practice—and that they only looked for a suitable opportunity to shake off the Church and its clergy—then how came it to pass that they did not make it a *sine qua non* with all candidates for seats in the House of Commons

during the recent general election, that they should pledge themselves to vote, not only against church extension and church-rates, but also in favour of the separation of the Church from the State? The reason is obvious. They knew that there *was* a national religion—that that national religion was the religion of the vast majority of the people—and that no denomination of Dissent, not even Wesleyan Methodism, possesses the hearts and affections of the great bulk of the population.

Now a *national* religion never was, never can, and never ought to be, supported by *voluntary* contributions. This *would be* “unjust.” All the parishioners, in every parish in the kingdom, have all the *right*, at all times, to attend at the parish church, and receive religious instruction: the seats are free. The pews, in country parishes, belong to the different houses of which they are composed; and the poor have the Gospel also preached to them *gratuitously*. Yet, though Dissenters in *principle*, but not in *practice*, attend, on a Sabbath morning or afternoon, or both, at the parish church, when there is no dissenting meeting in the parish, or at a convenient distance from their residences, they nevertheless require that the wealthier classes should support and extend the churches by their *free contributions*! Not only do the modern Dissenters, with Sir John Easthope, Bart., M.P., Mr. Hawes, M.P., and Sir Culling Eardley Smith at their head, require that the clergy of the *national* Church shall labour for most inefficient remuneration, and be exposed to all the persecutions and annoyances to which Dissenters subject them in their various parishes; but churches are to be *national* property, and yet repaired by *individual* contributions; and new churches are to be raised and endowed for the benefit of *all* the inhabitants of a parish, whether Dissenters or Episcopalians in *principle*, and yet the “wealthier classes” are, by their “free contributions,” to supply the church-room which is so much needed!

We do not blame the Dissenters, or their “voluntary” principle, for not supplying the population of this vast empire with the means of religious instruction. We know they *cannot* do so. They are materially or physically unable to supply what is needed. Not only are they physically unable, but they are morally so likewise: for the instruction they would supply, had they untold millions to expend, would not suit the *nature* of the demand. If the Dissenters, with their innumerable creeds, could, by some inconceivable means, be supplied with sufficient funds to open in every parish of England and Wales, Scotland, and Ireland, places of Protestant worship, according to those

various creeds, large enough to contain the whole population of each parish, that population would not frequent them. Thus *morally* they would not meet the demand. Nor can they do so physically. Their chapels and meeting-houses do not contain *one-twentieth* of the population, male and female, from twelve years old and upwards. They know this to be the case, and still they know, and should feel, that it is a deplorable fact that so large a portion of the population of this country are destitute of religious instruction, and of the means of religious worship.

Now then what do the Dissenters propose *to do* in this state of things? If they will *not* have grants made for Church Extension, because they believe that Church of Englandism is not either the true or the best religion, then why do they not apply for Chapel Extension, if the country be not Episcopalian? Then, if they object to all grants of public money for either Church or Chapel Extension, why do they not appeal to the *Dissenting* population of the land? since, if the mass of the people are no longer attached to the Church, let us hope they are attached to something—for orthodox Dissent is far better than infidelity and paganism; and therefore why do the Dissenters not make an appeal to the mass of the nation in favour of the *voluntary* erection of hundreds and thousands of *Dissenting meeting-houses*? The reason is obvious: the nation is *Episcopalian*, not Nonconformist. The country is attached to the Church of England and her *parochial* clergy; and Dissenters and Calvinistic Methodists form but a small fraction of the total of even the *religious* portion of the population. And those Dissenters who are pious men cannot shuffle out of this dilemma. They cannot, as Christians, be *indifferent* to the moral and spiritual state of their fellow-countrymen. They know, or at any rate we hope to make it clear to them in the concluding pages of this article, that there are large masses of our population, in agricultural as well as manufacturing districts, who are wholly neglected, and are without hope and without God. This is a fact, and we know they will not attempt to deny it.

Then we ask of these Christian and orthodox Dissenters, “Is it right that in a land of Bibles, missions, and tracts—of schools, of public charities, and of so great a profession of religion—this state of things should continue?” They *must* reply “No!” As they value and love the souls of men, they must reply “No.” Then we ask them, lastly, “What is the remedy *you* propose to meet the evil?” This is not like a question of politics, where one set of statesmen may reply to another set, “It is no affair of ours: if we were in power, we should know what to do. It is our duty simply to turn you out; and when we are in office we shall be prepared to bring forward our measures.” Christian

men, whether Dissenters or Churchmen, cannot thus act, or thus reply. The souls of our fellow-countrymen must not be left to starve upon "husks which the swine do eat;" and if Christian Dissenters are not prepared to support the measure we bring forward as Christian Churchmen, what remedy *do* they propose for the existing evil? *They have no remedy.* They bring none forward: and in Christian candour we are, therefore, bound to hope that the ground of their opposition is founded on the conviction that there is *no necessity for Church Extension.*

To this point, then, we shall now direct our concluding remarks, and we hope that the FACTS we have collected, with much care and anxiety, will produce a conviction in the minds of some who have hitherto opposed Church Extension, on the ground that it was not required, that something must be done to meet this vast, this most deplorable evil, and that until at least something better be proposed than Church Extension, that measure must be encouraged and supported. In the performance of this duty, the *Introduction* to "Your Life" has supplied us with some well selected and striking illustrations.

Before we proceed to supply our arguments, in the shape of facts, in support of the *necessity* for Church Extension, we cannot refrain from publishing a quotation from the speech of the Rev. Mr. Giles, an Independent minister (we believe), made at the meeting of the Religious Freedom Society. The sophistry of this speech, the cheers by which it was received, and the enthusiasm of *Daniel O'Connell* in its favour, entitle it to special notice. It is a Dissenting and Papist pleading *against* Church Extension:—

"He (Rev. Mr. Giles) disclaimed, on the part of the Dissenters, anything like a feeling of hostility against the members of the Establishment (loud cheers). He cared not how many churches they built, provided they built them *honestly!* He cared not how many cathedrals they had, provided they maintained them *honestly!* (hear, hear). *He cared not how many old abbeys they rescued from the ivy and the jackdaws* (laughter and cheers), provided they did it *honestly!* He cared not how many chaplains they appointed, provided they appointed them *honestly!* (cheers). And by *honestly*, he meant that they should do these things *with their own money* (renewed cheers). He believed that all the discord that had arisen about religion was fairly to be ascribed to the introduction of *religious compulsion* (cheers). If that *compulsory* disposition could be done away with, men might then 'agree to differ.'"

This is a "specimen" of the sort of stuff which is approved and cheered by the political Dissenters of 1841! But Mr. O'Connell was there. What did he say?

"Permit, sir, a *humble* Papist to claim his share in the business of *this day.* It is *my* business, as well as that of Protestant Dissenters.

It is the business of every man, of every convinced Christian, to get rid of the reproach and the taint of a compulsory payment—of a compulsion of any kind upon human conscience (cheers). I am here to declare my conviction that a State Establishment can do nothing but injure real Christianity (cheers).....The clergy of the Establishment are active partizans in every parish; they invoke every force to bear down all opposition to the cry for Church Extension—that is, *Church plunder!*”

Thus we see, that Papists and Dissenters, both heterodox and orthodox, are united against Church Extension.

But is Church Extension not required? Let us supply a page or two of *facts*, some of our own collection, and some as published in the work placed at the head of this article, which has recently appeared, and to which we again specially invite the attention of our readers.

Let us commence with the charge of the Religious Freedom Society, that the Church of England is in possession of ample resources and endowments. Take the following specimens of ten poor vicarages as samples, selected indiscriminately, of the vast *wealth* of the clergy:—

PARISH.	DIOCESE.	VALUE.	PARISH.	DIOCESE.	VALUE.
Alton Pancras...	Sarum.....	£25	Burton Pidsea...	York	£ 42
Auborne	Lincoln	24	Burwell	Lincoln ..	51
GreatBadminton	Gloucester.....	7	Bury (Sussex)	Chichester.....	59
Barmby Moor...	Peculiar of York	50	Darsham	Norwich.....	62
Barton St. David	Bath and Wells	38	Dronfield	Lichfield	24

In six of these ten cases the vicars have *no other preferments*. The selection of these cases is made at hazard; in no cases are the individuals referred to known.

Take another set of cases, also selected wholly indiscriminately, or as they came in alphabetical order in the Clergy List. They will show the cases of populations of parishes averaging more than three thousand souls, and yet where the livings do not average more than 120l.:—

PARISH.	DIOCESE.	£	SOULS.	PARISH.	DIOCESE.	£	SOULS.
Flixton	Chester	103	2099	Guisseley Rawden	Ripon ...	108	2057
St. Germain's...	Exeter...	143	2586	Hales Oldbury ..	Wor'ster	156	5000
Greasley.....	Lincoln	184	4583	Halifax Elland...	Ripon ...	147	5000
Guisborough...	York ...	72	2210	Heptonstall	Ripon ...	120	4660
Gresly	Lichfield	108	2543				

In all the above cases, but one, the incumbents have no other preferments. We might select hundreds of such examples. We give these as specimens of the wonderful “ample resources and endowments of the Church,” spoken of by the resolution of the Religious Freedom Society!

Take a third list as specimens of places where the populations are so large that it is necessary for the incumbent to employ a

curate, and yet where the incomes arising from the livings are deplorably insufficient :—

PARISH.	DIOCESE.	LIVING.	CURATES.	SOULS.
Holme Cultram	Carlisle.....	£140.....	— ...	3056
Holyhead.....	Bangor	167.....	One	4282
Howden	York	162.....	One	4531
Ilfracombe	Exeter	150.....	One	4000
Jarrow Westoe	Durham	220.....	One	9682
Kingston (Richmond)	Winchester	119.. ...	One	7243
Leigh	Chester.....	263.....	One	20083
Llangyvelach	St. David's	159.....	Two.....	7753

“ This state of things is a vast defect in the Establishment, an incalculable drawback to the usefulness and influence of the Church (says the author of ‘ Your Life ’) ; and, above all, a crying national sin, which, unless repented of and remedied, must draw down upon us the same maledictions which cause us to ask, ‘ where are the Churches of Asia and of Greece, of Antioch and of Tyre, of Alexandria and of Hippo, Carthago and Mida, once the centre of Christendom and the joy of the Christians ? ’ ”

Another set of cases is that of the incomes of some *perpetual curacies*, selected indiscriminately, as specimens of hundreds of others :—

PARISH.	DIOCESE.	VALUE.	SOULS.
Oswestry (Trinity).....	St. Asaph	£40.....	3000
Oxford (St. Thomas)	Oxford	105.....	3277
Hexham	Durham	139.....	6042
Hillingdon (Uxbridge)	London	111.....	3043
Horton	Durham	83.....	2423
Hovingham	York	101.....	1193
Ilford.....	London	156.....	3512
Leyland Houghton	Chester	55.....	2198

Let us now turn to the question of Church Extension, and to the facts we adduce in its favour. Let it not be forgotten that in *Bristol* there is only *one* church for every 6,500 persons ; that in *Birmingham* there is only *one* church for every 10,700 persons ; and that in *Manchester* there are 16,000 population for each church. So that, in fact, if all the churches, chapels, and meeting-houses of Manchester were crammed full, every aisle, pew, and sitting, paid or free, not more than *one-third* of the total population could be accommodated. Look at *Nottingham*, with 50,000 population, and but five churches, or 10,000 for each church ! Look at *Wolverhampton*, with but three churches for 50,000 souls ! Look at *Whitechapel*, in London, with *one* church for 30,000 parishioners ! We could furnish page after page, and column after column, of the names of parishes thus inefficiently supplied.

Nor (as the author of “ Your Life ” observes) is the *inefficiency* of church room for church population confined, as is

supposed by some, to such large towns and cities as those just referred to. Take the following list of twenty places, having but *one* parish church, and one, or at most, in any case, *two* clergymen to perform all the duties of the parish:—

PARISH.	DIOCESE.	SOULS.	PARISH.	DIOCESE.	SOULS.
Alfreton	Lichfield..	5961	Aylesbury	Lincoln ...	4907
Northallerton	York	5118	Banbury	Oxford ...	6422
Alnwick	Durham...	6788	Barking (Essex).....	London ...	4524
Alston Moor	Durham...	6858	Barnstaple	Exeter ...	6840
Amlwch	Bangor ...	6285	Basford	Lincoln ...	6325
Andover	Winchester	4843	Bedwetty.....	Llandaff...10637	
Arnold	Lincoln...	4054	Berwick-upon-Tweed	Durham...	8920
Ashby-de-la-Zouch	Peterboro'	4727	Bideford	Exeter ...	4846
Staley Bridge	Chester...12000		Bingley	Ripon	9256
Astbury	Chester ...14673		Bisley	Gloucester	5896

It would be easy to draw out a list of five hundred such cases, instead of twenty, but this specimen will be sufficient to show that church-room is greatly wanted; and church means of instruction are withheld, as well in quiet agricultural districts, as in large towns and cities.

Nor is this deficiency confined to *England*. Take the following specimens of largely populated Welsh parishes, with but one or two parish churches, and generally most insufficient incomes:—

PARISH.	CHURCHES.	£	SOULS.	PARISH.	CHURCHES.	£	SOULS.
Cardiff.....	2 ...	260 ...	6187	Llanelly	2 ...	96 ...	7646
Swansea	1 ...	291 ...	14931	Llanidloes	1 ...	151 ...	4189
Llanbadarn Vawr..	1 ...	135 ...	9824	Llansamlet	1 ...	94 ...	3187
Aberstwith	1 ...	265 ...	4128	Llanvihangel	1 ...	221 ...	3576
Llandilo Vawr.....	1 ...	243 ...	5149				

Church reformers busy themselves much about *reducing*, but never about *augmenting*, the revenues of the clergy; and yet they must know that there are more than 1,000 livings under 60*l.* per annum, and 422 under 30*l.* They should also know that, if all the revenues of all the parochial clergy could be put together into hotchpot, no one would receive as large an income as a solicitor's managing clerk, or a nobleman's land steward.

The political Dissenters and Papist agitators are constantly averring, that the country is *overrun with bishops and clergy*. But how stand the *facts* of this matter? Let us see: in 1559 there were fifteen bishops and *nine thousand four hundred beneficed clergy*. Nearly three centuries afterwards there are but twenty-seven bishops, including the archbishops, and not more than twelve thousand beneficed and unbeneficed clergy! In the reign of Elizabeth there was *one* bishop of London, so in the reign of Victoria there is but *one* still; and yet the diocese of London now possesses a greater population than the kingdoms of Belgium and Holland!

But *how* is this system of Church Extension to be brought about, and carried into full effect? It must be done by *Parliament*. Mr. O'Connell has boasted, in his oration at the Religious Freedom Society, that the number of petitions presented in favour of the measure is "comparatively insignificant." Why is this? Because the clergy and laity of the Church felt no confidence in the late Government. They felt that, though it was a Government for evil, it was not a Government for good, and that it was unable, as well as unwilling, to bring forward *any* measure favourable to the Church of England. But we tell Sir Robert Peel and the Conservative statesmen of this empire that the question of Church Extension cannot be longer kept in abeyance. Those who are not *with us*, are *against us*. The Whig-Radicals of the last ten years have hoisted their flag and planted their standard. What was inscribed on them? "*Destruction to the Church!*" and "*Support and encouragement to the voluntary principle!*" They have done vast harm—perpetrated a great amount of evil—and consummated great crimes against public morals and national religion. But, with the blessing of God on prompt, vigorous, decisive, and unflinching measures, these evils are not irremediable. But then the first and foremost of all measures must be *Church Extension!* A Protestant Conservative Government must not ask for *delay*, for time to consider, and for at least one sessional pause before it plants its *drapeau* and proclaims its intentions. There is no security for the State, but in its connexion with the Church. It is not sufficient for men of baronial estates and influence to be taught to feel that churches, chapels, and endowments, schools, glebe-houses, or central-houses, must be erected by themselves. Undoubtedly the nobility and gentry of this country can do much; but far more can be accomplished by aiding the Government to compel Parliament to vote *annually some two or three millions for Church Extension and Church Endowments*. Nothing short of an annual, fixed, positive, regular support, by Parliamentary grants in favour of Church Extension, can secure to this mighty empire that religious instruction and accommodation they have the right to expect from a Protestant Crown, Protestant Government, and Protestant Legislature—all founded and in connexion with a Protestant Church and a national religion. As the Church of England is *not* a "voluntary" association, but a "national faith," it has the *right* to claim national support and Parliamentary aid; and as the Dissenters did not dare, notwithstanding the House of Commons was dissolved by a Whig-Radical Cabinet, to call upon the candidates at the late elections

to pledge themselves to vote *against* Church Extension, the friends of the Church may feel persuaded that the chiefs of the agitating portion of the public were well convinced that such pledges would *not* have been given, and that a large majority of the House of Commons will unhesitatingly pronounce in favour of that measure.

Our support to *public men* must henceforth, more than ever, depend upon their *measures*. A cowardly friend is as injurious, nay, more so, than an avowed enemy. A cowardly friend to the Church, in such times as these, would throw back Church Extension a quarter of a century; and we, and millions of Conservatives like ourselves, put forward this measure, therefore, as the test of the sincerity of every Conservative Cabinet. It is not who shall be the Leader of the House of Commons, or even who shall be the President of the Council, that interests us, and the great mass of Protestant Conservatives in this empire; but are our institutions henceforth to be governed, and is our Government henceforth to be conducted, on *Protestant and Christian principles*? The answer to this question may be found, in the measures which the Government will propose for CHURCH EXTENSION.

ART. VII.—*A Letter to the Bishop of Oxford.* By the Rev. J. H. NEWMAN, B.D., Vicar of St. Mary the Virgin, and Fellow of Oriel College, Oxford. London: 1841.

2. *A Letter addressed to the Rev. R. W. Jelf, D.D., Canon of Christ Church, in explanation of a series of Tracts, called "The Tracts for the Times."* By the AUTHOR. Oxford. 1841.

NO thoughtful man can now look around on what may be called the great masses of Christendom, to mark the tendency of the spirit by which they are severally actuated, without being convinced that perilous times are at hand; and that the only apparent means of averting the probable evils, or of passing safely through them, if they should arise, must be found in the church, and this church not only a faithful and zealous, but also an united body. Not that the masses of which we are speaking have as yet set themselves to do the evil which we foresee, or are themselves generally aware of the spirit which now impels them; but this spirit is the very opposite of that which is essential to the well-being of the church, and as its opposite will become its antagonist, as soon as it perceives that the church

does stand in its way. And it behoves the church now, while there is yet time, to prepare itself for a conflict of no ordinary kind, and which can be met successfully by no ordinary preparation.

In modern times men are brought together in larger masses than formerly, from their having, through the diffusion of knowledge, greater community of thought; and, for the same reason, they are more capable of being acted on by others, for good or for evil. But, unfortunately, they have been, for the most part, left to act upon each other, and so foster each other's evil tendencies; or have been under the influence of those whose ends were selfish, and who, for their own purposes, have made that influence a means of increasing the evil propensities of our nature, instead of counteracting them or turning them to good. These masses, left to themselves, or played on by demagogues, think only of themselves, of their own importance, and brood over it until they think themselves omnipotent; they talk of nothing less than the sovereign majesty of the people, and become in the end gods to themselves. And the spirit which actuates the lower orders, and appears in this gross and palpable form amongst them, does really mount higher—does really pervade the scientific and intellectual classes, and will in all produce the same effects, though in a manner less gross and revolting, in proportion to the refinement of the classes amongst whom it is manifested.

Who can doubt whether Chartism and Mechanics' Institutes have their counterparts among the higher classes? or that these last are at all more diffident of their own importance, or less under the despotic sway of public opinion, than the former? We fear that there exist precisely the same evils among them, and that they are only the deeper from being the less apparent. It cannot but be so, since it has been the set endeavour and boast of modern times to divorce education from religion; and as the greater diffusion of mere secular knowledge has led to these results in the lower orders, so, the better the education, the greater will be the risk of similar results. And we fear it the more, inasmuch as, among all ranks, education and pastoral authority are dropping by little and little entirely out of the hands of the clergy—the watchmen and shepherds set of God for the very ends of warning against evil and guiding men in the truth.

And the clergy should remember that the masses of which we are speaking are in the church. God has put His name upon them in baptism, and they have taken vows to be His people; and upon the clergy God has laid the responsibility of caring for

the souls of the people. Let the clergy bear continually in mind the extent of this responsibility, and, in proportion as difficulties and dangers environ the church, so gird up their strength to meet them, and to meet them in the quarters from whence the danger arises. Not to think it enough to be generally armed and prepared, as it is their duty to be at all times; but with special preparation against special dangers, expecting a special blessing from God on their endeavours—not in blind recklessness, but in the enlightened confidence of faith.

God designed that the relationship between the clergy and people should be ever the same, and in this relationship, more emphatically than in any other, *knowledge is power*; “for the priests’ lips should keep knowledge, and they should seek the law at his mouth.” If the people advance in knowledge, so must the clergy—in knowledge of every kind in which the people advance; for a man cannot continue to lead, unless he will keep himself the foremost. And as no one can deny the fact that this age is more advanced in knowledge than any preceding age, so ought the church to be more enlightened now than at any preceding period, and especially in the things of God, that all this knowledge may become consecrated to the service of God, and tend to the real blessing of man.

Theology embraces everything, because, everything receiving its being and the laws thereof from God, everything tells some tale concerning Him; and to show that it tells it truly is the province of theology. But theology must begin with the knowledge of Him; it is otherwise worse than an empty sound—it would be a falsehood. And the knowledge of God is only to be attained by means of the church, to whom the mystery hid from ages and generations was first revealed, in order that through her it may be declared to all mankind. We mean not the mere knowledge that there is a God—a fact which each one of His works attests; but the knowledge of a personal God, of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, and of our true relationship to Him: this was veiled in mystery, or only shadowed forth in types which were unintelligible till the antitype came—till Jesus Christ revealed the Father—till He, as Head of the church, committed the sacred deposit to those whom He had chosen, and gave them the Holy Ghost, rightly to apprehend and steadfastly to maintain that truth unto the end of the world. And by the church we mean, not merely the living men of this or that place, or of this or that generation, but the universal church of all ages.

The church is called to the high office of standing in the councils of God, and being His interpreter to men, at all times,

and according to the sense men have of their need. Paul said to the men of Athens, "Whom ye ignorantly worship, Him declare I unto you, God that made the heavens." He suited the instructions he gave to the state of knowledge amongst his audience; and, above all, he would not let them rest in the superstition of acquiescing under that love of mystery to which man is prone, nor let them crouch before a vague and undefined power, the creature of their imagination, but point their reverence to Almighty God. And now, when "men run to and fro, and knowledge is increased" to an unprecedented degree, the church must be able to speak equally to the point—the church must take care that the people grow not too superstitious, and, instead of the unknown, declare to them the true God. And when some are making an idol of popular opinion; others are looking no further than matter and its laws; others are saying that creeds are unimportant, and conduct everything; and a more numerous party than all, which calls itself pre-eminently the church, is resting on forms and ceremonies alone. That which is *the church indeed* should raise its voice, and proclaim, these at the best are but secondary things—there is One above and beyond these—these are not God—worship Him.

And how can this protest on behalf of God be raised, if we know not what the universal church hath declared concerning Him? We are called upon now to take the place of representatives of all ages of the church, and to say what the best of them would have said in our circumstances. For the truth of God has undergone no change; the faith of the church is one from beginning to end; the calls of duty are the same throughout all generations: but we are inclined to shrink from it as too painful a task—sometimes in false humility, sometimes in mere indolence—the false humility which declines ranking the church now with the saints of old, and aspires not in these times to so high a standing; the indolence which dreads exertions like those which sprung from their zeal and devotedness. But, next to the dishonour brought upon God, it is one of the worst features of saint worship, that it breaks up the unity of the church—that it separates into two bodies the saints of old and ourselves—that it arraigns us of impiety in aspiring to their rank, or convicts us of sacrilege in degrading them to our level.

Shall we then say that there are two churches—a primitive church and a modern church? Or shall we say that there are two kinds of human nature—a better for them, a worse for us? Or shall we say that there are two Holy Spirits—a greater for them, a lesser for us? God forbid! Their greater faith laid hold on a greater blessing; and, in proportion as our faith rises to the

height of theirs, the grace of God will be vouchsafed, in the same abundance, to us also. And we may even aspire to more; inasmuch as some of the trials to which we are exposed are such as they had not; and especially as we are often called to decide in cases which they have left doubtful, and even wherein they seem to differ. He who undertakes to arbitrate *must* assume a certain superiority; and this may be shown just as much in *omitting* to do that which they have prescribed, as in determining the best way of doing it—the arrogance may be as great in *neglecting*, as in *exceeding* their injunctions.

And it is to be observed that every assault made upon the church from without, and every heresy springing up within her bosom, becomes an occasion of teaching a new lesson to the church, and making her wiser than before; and it is thus that God overrules evil for good. Until the great heresies arose, the faith of the church might be expressed in very general terms, and a simple creed like that of the apostles' would suffice. But when it was afterwards found that, under these general expressions, heresies so enormous as that of Arius could be held, it became needful to determine points which had not been previously noticed; for which important purpose the four great councils were called, and their determinations were embodied in the other larger creeds. And if this were rightly considered there would be no dispute concerning the *filioque* of the Constantinople creed; if these words were not there *they ought to have been there*, for they were necessary to express the faith of the church *at the time*. For creeds are not foundations of the church, but founded on the faith of the church; the faith is already held, and therefore the church professes her faith in a creed—more defined, but the one faith held by the church in all times. And above all, by the great Papal apostasy, the church has been taught wisdom manifold, imprinted upon her by stripes and in blood, but so much the more indelible. She learned it while struggling for her very life—for her existence itself; and there is a reality and a power in the lessons so taught which no quiet, calm meditation, no less bitter course of experience could give. And the church will need to con over these lessons again, as we shall show hereafter.

But our object is now to mark the bold, the commanding, the arrogant stand, if you will, which the reformers were compelled to take. They could not but assume the appearance of judging the church. They could not but arrogate to themselves an equality with the primitive saints; the very attempt at reformation assumed that they had with them the judgment of the church and the mind of the saints of old—of the primitive

church—the model and meaning of reform. And seeing that light was then bursting upon the world, after long, long ages of darkness, the reformers took the control of that light, gave it the direction of truth, and brought it to bear upon all the corruptions and errors which had sprung up in the ages of darkness; reclaiming, on the one hand, liberty for the people of God—the liberty of the Gospel; and, on the other, reclaiming for the priesthood of the church precisely the standing, precisely the authority, of the primitive priesthood—the standing which priests had before the abuses came into the church.

The reformers took a higher stand than Romanism; they appealed from Romanism to the Catholic Church. They were of the Roman Church, bred in her communion, nourished by her ordinances, till, growing in spirit and strength, they could no longer be pent within the limits which Rome had imposed; and, as Romanism could not be enlarged by them into catholicity, the reformers became the catholics, and Romanism became a sect. In making this assertion we do not compare the Reformers with the Romanists of the present time, but with the Romanists of the time of the Reformation; this is the only fair mode of comparison. Thus estimated, there can be no doubt that the preponderance of learning and integrity, spirituality and self-devotedness, were immeasurably on the side of the reformers—that it was nearly all on their side, scarcely any on the other. And *such* men appealing continually to catholic antiquity, against Roman innovation, does warrant the assertion, that *they* were the catholics, and those who forced them out the sect.

Protestants will hardly believe, and Romanists will scarcely admit, the excessive ignorance which pervaded the clergy, and, *a fortiori*, all other ranks of men, at the time we speak of. Yet it is necessary to keep this in mind for our present purpose, that we may feel how much *all mankind*, how much the Romanists themselves, are indebted to the Reformation. To the reformers we mainly owe our present ability to discuss such questions as these, and from their example can point out the way in which such discussions may lead to the still more abundant blessing of mankind.

A ludicrous instance of this ignorance occurs in a copy of Gregory's Decretals, a book as exclusively for the use of the clergy, as volumes of reports are for lawyers. This edition is most beautifully printed, at the press of the Paris University, in 1505, and explanations are given in the margin both of the matter in hand and of the meaning of unusual words. One such word is *diabolus*, and the explanation given is this: "Est grecum vocabulum: derivatur autem a dia, quod est duo: et bolus

quod est morsellus : quia duos bolos tantum, de corpore et anima querit facere." That the clergy should need explanations of such words, is a proof of their general ignorance, quite as conclusive as is the gross absurdity of the explanation itself.

But it is quite notorious that the Reformation wrought a great change throughout the whole church, and was not, in its benefits, limited to those who were separated by it from the Roman communion to form the different Protestant bodies. A change was immediately perceived in the increase of learning, in the removal of many abuses, and in the introduction of many improvements. And it has been working improvements since that time to a greater extent than we commonly suppose, or the Romanists will ever allow, in raising the whole tone of that body, and, if we may use such an expression, in Christianizing the Papacy.

We advisedly use the word *Reformers*, in speaking of these men, in preference to the word *Protestants*. Protesting against error is a good thing, but reformation is more than protest—it is a far higher work, and requires far mightier instruments; and we mean thereby to assert, concerning Romanism, that there were not only corruptions and abuses, against which it was needful to protest in order that they might be put away, but that the foundations themselves were out of course in the Papacy; and that these needed to be revised and reformed. And the term Protestant has become awkwardly associated, in these latter days, with independence, and lawlessness, and dissent; and these common characteristics of many who call themselves Protestants have been even thought the necessary fruits and inevitable consequences of the Reformation. But it should be remembered that Protestants have not the monopoly of turbulence and agitation in our days; and these are rather characteristics of the age, than of any party or creed.

The reformers did not merely protest against error, they set themselves to discover and establish the truth; they traced the evil practices to the false principles from whence they arose, knowing that thus only could they prevent their recurrence—thus only extirpate them. And in the various confessions which they prepared, particularly in the Augsburg, Helvetic, and Saxon, they declared fully what they believed to be the orthodox Catholic faith. They based these declarations on Scripture, the consent of the primitive church, and those summaries of Christian doctrine comprised in the orthodox creeds.

To meet these declarations put forth by the Reformers, the Romanists were constrained to call the Council of Trent, which council took up the Confession of Augsburg point by point,

and gave its own counter-statements in the same order, and embodied them in sundry canons, which became the law of the Papal Church. But would these canons stand the same test as the Augsburg Confession?—were they based upon Scripture?—are they in conformity with the orthodox creeds?—are they *Catholic*? Those who prepared them knew that they were not; they added, therefore, to the canonical Scripture the apocryphal books, which then, for the first time, were put upon an equal footing of inspiration; and they framed a new creed by adding twelve additional articles to the creed of Constantinople, the first of which would enable them to say and to do anything and everything they pleased. What could more plainly manifest Pope Pius to be the head of a new sect? What could more decidedly give all the advantage to the reformers?

We have thought it necessary to make these general remarks, in order that we may be the better understood in the observations, to which we shall now proceed, on **THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND—THE OXFORD THEOLOGY—and THE TRACTS FOR THE TIMES.**

In the progress of the Reformation—as being among the first to embrace it, among the most steadfast to hold it fast—England occupies a very conspicuous place: and that not merely politically, not merely as the champion and rallying point of the Protestant states, but in the far higher and more arduous warfare of faith. England has not only been one of the foremost in resisting oppression and contending for liberty, but foremost in determining and asserting what is the truth. That true liberty consists not in the breaking down of all barriers—in the removal of all restraint, but in defining the proper bounds and limits which God has set for each man, that each may have perfect liberty in his own sphere, without encroaching upon another; in knowing the order which God has appointed, and keeping that—for His service is perfect freedom; in taking up the yoke of Christ—for His yoke is easy, and His burden is light.

In the higher, in the spiritual warfare—in following the glorious army of martyrs who have fought the battles of the church—the Universities of our land, and especially that of Oxford, have occupied the foremost rank. Long before the time of Luther, Oxford had yielded Wickliffe, and many other eminent men, who, by their protest against Papal abuses, and their bold declarations of the truth, had prepared the way of the Reformation in England, against that time when the men, called, *par excellence*, the reformers, should arise. And, at the Reformation, England not only furnished her full quota of reformers, to help forward the work; but, when the work was done, set herself

to the far higher work of rendering the blessing permanent, by gathering up all the scattered truths of the various reformers, examining what truths were held by the papacy, and should still be retained; and, by combining all from each party that could be held, without compromising the truth, to make the nearest possible approach to a Catholic Church. How far they succeeded, the result has proved, in the permanent and increasing prosperity of the Church of England, and in the commendations bestowed upon her institutions by divines who are not of her own communion. Objections, it is true, have been raised, and from opposite quarters—one party maintaining that the Church of England has cast away too much, in not retaining more of the Papal forms; another party asserting that she is Papal, in retaining so many. But these opposite objections neutralize each other, and go far towards proving that she has happily attained the golden mean.

We have long been inclined to think that the opinions of men depend more upon their temperament, than their understandings, from observing certain religious and political opinions so often go together. And certainly a latitude should be allowed for such differences of opinion as do not compromise any truth—do not impugn any essential doctrine. This latitude the Church of England allows, and greater than this cannot safely be given. Those who seek for greater latitude may not perceive, or from their own peculiar temperament may disregard or brave, the dangers which others perceive; but it is the bounden duty of those who do perceive, both to point them out, and refuse to incur them.

The greatest peril which the Church of England has yet encountered occurred during the time of the Commonwealth, when republicanism had the upper hand in the state, and the presbyterians in the church. These endeavoured to remodel the church so as to satisfy themselves, and yet include a large proportion of the members of the Church of England: and the theological fruit of their endeavours is the Westminster Confession, a beacon to warn against such attempts to compromise, a work which has scarcely a pretension to theology.

The first lines of a similar assault upon the Church of England have been opened, in our own days, by the authors of the *Tracts for the Times*. The assault is similar, but proceeding from an opposite quarter; and we protest against any imputation that we are drawing any parallel between the Oxford divines and the puritans—they are opposites. But as the Church of England was assailed *then* on the ground that she retained too much of Popery, so she is *now* assailed on the opposite ground,

that she has not retained a sufficient number of the doctrines and forms held by the Roman Catholic Church.

And the mode of defence must be the same. It must be shown that everything which the Church of England expressly enjoins has been adopted *because* it is according to Catholic doctrine—that everything which she expressly prohibits is forbidden *because* it is contrary to sound doctrine—and that those things which have not been enjoined, or forbidden, are *indifferent*, provided they do not impugn any Catholic doctrine or practice. But each individual should be slow to do a thing which may appear indifferent, without the sanction of the church; for every individual is limited and partial in his judgment, and cannot be sure that the thing which he thinks indifferent would be so esteemed by the church.

These three principles, concerning things enjoined, prohibited, and indifferent, will be found of the utmost importance in the controversy now going on in the Church of England. We say *now going on*, for the school of theology which has arisen at Oxford within the last ten years, and which is best known to the world by a series of publications called *Tracts for the Times*, will not cease to exist by the discontinuance of these publications. Its exertions will only be diverted from that mode of operation to find another; the principle which animated those exertions is living still, and must and will find some way for giving itself expression.

Before coming to the *matter*, we wish to say a word on the *manner*, of these publications. They appeared as Tracts, written by “members of the University of Oxford,” a title which, to the credit of Oxford be it spoken, gave them, in the eyes of the public, a semblance of authority. Yet the names of the authors were not given, and we knew that they were never countenanced, and sometimes discountenanced, though not formally suppressed, by the heads of the University. And what rendered the fact still more anomalous and perplexing was, that the whole spirit and tendency of these publications inculcated a distrust of private judgment, and deference for authority—reverence for, not merely the express commands of those who are over us in the Lord, but for their known desires, even when they have not been formally expressed.

Our only knowledge of the quarter from whence these Tracts proceeded was the title given to them as coming from Oxford. The writers took to themselves the credit of belonging to Oxford, and they should have taken heed, in their publications, to insert only such things as Oxford would esteem to be a credit to her: and they should not have exposed themselves to the

charge of inconsistency, in so strongly insisting upon submission to traditional authority of past centuries, concerning the truth and extent of which there is room for question, if they themselves were not in the same subjection to the living authorities in the church, of whose charge over them, and of whose mind and intention in the matter, there can be no question.

But, having pointed out this obvious inconsistency, we acquit the writers of these Tracts of anything approaching to deceit on the one hand, and of any disrespect to their superiors on the other. So much the contrary, that we think nothing can be more creditable to both parties than the kind and dignified manner in which the Bishop did at length interfere, or than the respectful and submissive manner in which Mr. Newman received the intimation. But we are quite sure that there is much too ready an appeal to the press, on religious topics, in these our days; and also that there is a certain halo of saintship surrounding the heads of the church of ancient times, which dazzles and blinds all who are not on their guard: so that a bishop of the second or third century may seem a much more important personage than a bishop of the nineteenth; forgetting that it is from the *office* that church authority proceeds, and not from the *man*.

And in speaking of the general character of their writings, we have no wish to employ less favourable language than that of a friend, who writes—

“No man, however widely differing from them, can open any of their publications without perceiving that they write with learning, ability, calmness, seriousness, command of temper, a strong sense of responsibility, forbearance, and courtesy of language towards their adversaries.” And also that “No man can know anything of their lives without being aware that they act consistently with their professions—that they are more than usually strict, circumspect, self-denying, and (as far as man can judge by outward demeanour) pious.”

And, in justice to Mr. Newman, we quote, from his Letter to the Bishop of Oxford, the following sentences:—

“I have been accustomed to consider that it was my duty to acquiesce in the state of things under which I found myself, and to serve God, if so be, in it. I have set my face against considering the differences between ourselves and the foreign churches, with a view to their adjustment. Our business is with ourselves—to make ourselves more holy, more self-denying, more primitive, more worthy our high calling. Let the Church of Rome do the same, and it will come nearer to us, and will cease to be what we one and all mean when we speak of Rome. I have tried to feel that the great business of one and all of us is to endeavour to raise the moral tone of the church. It is sanctity of heart and conduct which commends us to God. If we be holy,

all will go well with us. External things are comparatively nothing. Whatever be a religious body's relation to the state, whatever its regimen, whatever its doctrines, whatever its worship, if it has but the life of holiness within it, this inward gift will, if I may so speak, take care of itself. It will turn all accidents into good—it will supply all defects—it will gain for itself from above what is wanting." (p. 45).

We do not wish to feel or express anything but respect towards the *man* who penned these sentences: as an individual, may he long enjoy the peace and comfort which personal holiness will give. But the *theology* of these sentences is quite another question, and it is with the theology alone of these publications that we desire to interfere.

Is it then really the case that the relation of the church to the state—its regimen, its doctrines, its worship, are comparatively nothing? Had the poet truth on his side when he wrote—

"For forms of government let fools contest,
Whate'er is best administer'd is best:
For modes of faith let graceless zealots fight,
His can't be wrong whose life is in the right?"

If these things be so, surely these gentlemen might have spared themselves the trouble of writing these ninety Tracts, which are almost exclusively occupied with such topics as Mr. Newman now repudiates. But it is not so; and these expressions of Mr. Newman, coupled with another sentence in the same Letter, furnishes us with the points upon which we will now join issue with him. The other sentence is as follows:—

"Our controversy with Romanists turns more upon facts than on first principles; with Protestant sectaries, it is more about principles than about facts.....paralleled in the common remark of our most learned controversialists, that Romanism holds the foundation, or is the truth overlaid with corruptions."

Mr. Newman evidently supposes that the controversy with Rome is seldom, if ever, concerning principles; but chiefly concerning practices, which have nothing to do with principles; or corruption of principles which are still truly held, and from which the corruption being removed, the principle would remain unimpaired. And he has said the same thing in other words, in a passage quoted above: "Let Rome do the same (that is, become more holy), and it will come nearer to us, and will cease to be what we one and all mean when we speak of Rome." From whence it follows that he also supposes that when our most learned controversialists said "that Romanism holds the foundation, or is the truth overlaid with corruptions," they meant to say that each corruption had a foundation of truth which still remained unimpaired thereby, or, at the least, that the corrup-

tions brought in no false foundations—contained no such principles as are inconsistent with, or subversive of, the truth.

We verily recommend these gentlemen to keep aloof from controversy—they will some day catch a Tartar. A clever Roman casuist would infallibly entrap them, as poor Spencer was entrapped: he could not perceive the difference between *a* church and *the* church; and when Vaughan, of Leicester, had convinced him that there is a church, Vaughan himself could not save him from jumping to the conclusion that the church is the Papacy.

On the contrary, all our most learned controversialists have laboured to prove that there is not a single error in the Church of Rome which does not involve some false principle, that does not rest on some false foundation—that it is not sufficient to get rid of the corruptions, unless the evil principles are also eradicated. And that though Rome does also hold the foundations of truth, without which she would have ceased to be a church, and the light would have been totally extinguished; yet the truth was so hidden by the ponderous masses of error, that they were justified in speaking of it, *as a whole*, in the strongest terms of reprobation—calling it, as a whole, antichristian and apostate.

In illustration of what we mean, we refer again to the creed of Pius IV., by which every Roman Catholic is bound. This creed holds the foundation of the Catholic faith, for it contains every word of the creeds of Nice and Constantinople; but Pius added a short beginning and a long conclusion to the orthodox creed, by which he made it the Roman creed. It begins—“Ego N. firma fide credo et profiteor omnia et singula, quæ continentur in symbolo fidei, quo sancta Romana ecclesia, utitur, videlicet;” then follows the orthodox creed entire; and the twelve new articles, embodying all the prominent doctrinal errors of the Church of Rome, wind up the creed of Pope Pius—the only authentic exponent of the one faith professed, fully and unequivocally, by every ecclesiastic of the Roman communion. The twelve new articles begin thus—“Apostolicas et Ecclesiasticas traditiones, reliquasque ejusdem ecclesiæ observationes et constitutiones firmissime admitto, et amplector.” The various doctrines concerning Scripture, the seven sacraments, transubstantiation, the entire personal presence under each kind, the worship of images, purgatory, condemnation of heretics, and salvation only in the Church of Rome, follow: and it is wound up in the most solemn manner by the oath of the individual:—

“Hanc veram Catholicam fidem, extra quam nemo salvus esse potest, quam in præsentì sponte profiteor, et veraciter teneo, eandem

integram et inviolatam, usque ad extremum vitæ spiritum constantissime (Deo adjuvante) retinere et confiteri, atque a meis subditis, vel illis quorum cura ad me in munere meo spectabit, teneri, doceri, et prædicari, quantum in me erit, curaturum, ego idem N. spondeo, voveo, ac juro : sic me Deus adjuvet, et hæc sancta Dei evangelia.”

Now here is an instance of holding the foundations, yet so holding them as to make a whole, the principles of which are contrary to those foundations. An orthodox, a catholic creed—a creed framed in the East, and including the orthodox of the Greek and every other communion, is perverted by its collocation so as to be exclusively Roman—to be sectarian, and not catholic. And the additions are not enlargements of the matter contained in the orthodox creed, to combat new heresies, as the Apostles’ creed was enlarged in the Nicene; but they consist of *new* matter, unsanctioned by the primitive church, if not actually repudiated, and therefore heretical and false. And beyond the general false principles which this creed, considered as a whole, inculcates, each separate article introduced by the Romanists contains in it some erroneous principle, or some doctrine which is contrary to the Catholic faith—as we shall presently show.

Or if we take our illustration from the canon of Scripture as determined by the Council of Trent—the Romanists receive all the books of Scripture which we, and the whole church, hold to be canonical: and so they may be thought, in this point, to hold the foundations of truth. But unto the canonical, they have added the apocryphal books, because these last seem to support certain of their doctrines which receive no support from the canonical books; and the Scriptures, *as a whole*, are, in the Roman Church, made to bear the odium of these her false doctrines. And all this with the glaring inconsistency that Jerome himself, whose vulgate version they have canonized, declares, in several of his prefaces, that the apocryphal books are not canonical. The principle violated, in this instance, is that adverted to by the Apostle Paul, who makes it the chief privilege of the Jews, that to them were committed the oracles of God. The apocryphal books were not found in Hebrew—were not found in the custody of the Jews: and if this principle be conceded, there is no reason why the book of Enoch, from Ethiopia, might not be received as canonical, or the book of Mormon, from America.

In forming our estimate concerning *bodies* of men, it has always been deemed equitable towards them, and is the only safe way for ourselves, to judge of them by their *corporate acts*, and not from the acts of individuals. Even in the earliest and

purest ages of the church, we look not at isolated individuals to form our standard of Christianity; and we know, from the history contained in the fifteenth of the Acts, that they themselves had sometimes occasion to correct and reconcile the discordant opinions of individuals, by appealing to the collective wisdom of the church. And we need to bear this in mind in studying the fathers, all of whose writings come down to us as the writings of individuals, and often only imperfect fragments even of these. So that we have not always the means of knowing *the whole mind* even of the individual, and never the means of ascertaining the judgment of the church concerning him, excepting where she has interfered to condemn error, and the inference that there is no error when there has been no interference.

In following the fathers during the best times, we must take Scripture, and the solemn decisions of councils, for our guides, or we shall be, like children, tossed about with every wind of doctrine. And much more in later times, and especially concerning those points to which the attention of the church has been directed, and on which she has pronounced solemn decisions, it is mere folly to appeal from these decisions to the opinions of cotemporary individuals, however excellent, as men, those individuals may be. We confess, therefore, that we set very little value on the *catena patrum* which the writers of the Tracts have been at the pains of collecting, and least of all on those selected from the Church of England divines, to weaken the force of the Articles. We deny that they have such a tendency; and if they had, it would be disgraceful to the authors, proving them traitorously undermining a fortress which they had sworn to defend.

But in all these cases we make great allowances for inaccuracy of expression, leaving room for misapprehension, and want of perception of the consequences which would follow from any mistake. And really we believe there have been numbers of most excellent men in the church who, partly from simplicity, partly from continual occupation in the daily round of duties which burden the conscientious parish priest, do not understand doctrine, and do not care for their deficiency. But then such persons should not meddle with these questions; nor should they be appealed to as authorities in such questions.

Of Mr. Newman we desire to speak with the greatest respect, believing him to be a conscientious and most excellent man. But we are sure that he could not be aware of the full import of what he was writing when he penned the following sentences in his Letter to Dr. Jelf:—

“I desire that it may not be supposed to be utterly unlawful, for

such private Christians as feel they can do it with a clear conscience, to allow a comprecation with the saints, as Bramhall does ; or to hold, with Andrewes, that, taking away the doctrine of transubstantiation from the mass, we shall have no dispute about the sacrifice ; or, with Hooker, to treat even transubstantiation as an opinion, which, by itself, need not cause separation ; or to hold, with Hammond, that no general council, truly such, ever did or shall err in any matter of faith ; or, with Bull, that man was in a supernatural state of grace before the fall, by which he could attain to immortality, and that he has recovered it in Christ ; or, with Thorndike, that works of humiliation and penance are requisite to render God again propitious to those who fall from the grace of baptism ; or, with Pearson, that the name of Jesus is no otherwise given under heaven than in the Catholic Church." (p. 16).

We are not sure that we understand the meaning of a thing being "utterly unlawful," which a man may do with "a clear conscience;" but we suppose it means that, where a man is satisfied with his own private opinions, he need not trouble himself about the authoritative decisions of the church ; and the church, or his lawful superiors, need not interfere with him. What opinions, and what manner of holding them, *would peril a man's salvation*, is a totally different question ; and would have been, we conceive, clearly expressed, if such had been Mr. Newman's meaning.

The question, as we understand it, is, whether or no is it the duty of a private Christian to regulate his faith by the faith of the church ; as expressed in her recorded judgments, and embodied in her living teachers ? And we answer, unhesitatingly, *yes* ; and we say that it is the duty of their teachers to tell them so. This, common modesty and Christian charity seem to require—the modesty of distrusting ourselves in comparison with those whom we call our teachers, the charity of believing those who have a duty to fulfil are competent and sincere in discharging it. And we cannot but regard *isolated opinions*, even of such men as Andrewes, and Hooker, and Bull, and Pearson, as the opinions of individuals, or of private Christians. In this we are not denying the right of private judgment, but giving it true liberty, by assigning its proper place. Private Christians have always some pastor to whom they can look up for counsel in religious matters : to their pastors they should state, without reserve, everything which their private judgment may teach them, that it may receive approval or correction from persons more competent than themselves : and we do not see how they can in any other way have "a clear conscience." And Andrewes, Hooker, Bull, and Pearson should, in like manner, have taken the judgment of their superiors in the church

on any isolated opinions they may have formed. And no doubt such private Christians, going to those from whom they were entitled to expect the judgment of the church, would have their private judgment informed and rectified, and would be shown that such opinions as the church had protested against are "utterly unlawful."

The ground is shifted in the points which Mr. Newman mentions, and therefore we meet him at disadvantage; for comprecation with saints is a question *toto cælo* different, in its relationship to God and to ourselves, from invocation of saints: and so of all the other points enumerated. But we waive this, and proceed to show that, in this milder, in this altered form, all the points, in so far as they are condemned by the Church of England, are "utterly unlawful."

Invocation of saints, or comprecation with saints, have one point of error in common; they both regard the departed saints as *complete persons*, and so make void the resurrection of the dead. The Scriptures, and all orthodox confessions, keep before us the truth that death is a dissolution of soul and body—that the departed saints sleep in Jesus—that consequently they are not *persons*, and perform no personal acts until the re-union of soul and body, until the dead in Christ shall arise at His second coming. So also sacrifice in the mass, however it may be modified, derogates from, and seeks to add something to, the one sacrifice once offered by Christ Jesus for the sins of the whole world, whereby he hath perfected for ever them that are sanctified: a truth also struck at in the Papal doctrines, concerning humiliation and penance. Transubstantiation, or consubstantiation, or any form of expression in which the real presence is implied, involves a mistake concerning the persons and offices of the blessed Trinity: for the orthodox doctrine is, that, since the ascension of Christ, He sitteth at the right hand of the Father, until He shall come again to judge the quick and the dead. His personal presence is in heaven, and He is with His church by the Holy Ghost, the other Comforter, whom He promised to send from the Father, and who, proceeding from the Father and the Son, doth, in the unity of the Godhead, continue the promised abiding of both with the church. The statement that man was in a supernatural state of grace before the fall, by which he could attain to immortality, and that he has recovered it in Christ, is a statement involving errors manifold. It is absurd to consider a supernatural state of grace, and the attainment of immortality, as the same thing; and it is absurd to speak of man's *attaining* to immortality before the fall. Virtually man *had* immortality, for he had life, and that life could only be

forfeited by disobedience ; while man continued obedient, *he was immortal*. And it is still more absurd in meaning, and loose in expression, to speak of a *supernatural* state of *grace* before the fall. Before the fall, the state of man was his *natural* state, however high that might be ; and it was a state in which he was placed by *creation*, the result, indeed, of the highest *love*, but not what we mean by *grace*. But the errors of expression are as nothing compared with the theological errors in this sentence ; for it virtually denies the Holy Ghost to be given, and implies the possibility of a fall from the kingdom of heaven.

The supernatural grace, which we attain through faith in Christ Jesus, is not the recovery of an old state, but the entering upon a new standing : the first man is of the earth, the second is the Lord from heaven. To suppose that Adam was in the state which the regenerate attain, is to mistake the Christian standing. Regeneration is by the Holy Ghost ; the Holy Ghost was not given till Christ was glorified ; and this gift is the earnest and commencement of the kingdom of heaven. The mistake has arisen from the loose way in which supernatural grace is spoken of ; whereas the very term *super* should guard us against ever applying it to the natural man, and force us to the true and reverent use of it, as the last and highest gift bestowed upon man—the peculiar endowment of the Christian church, and laying her under peculiar responsibilities.

And this notion involves the evil of weakening our faith and confidence in the eternal standing of security which we have in Christ. For if man once fell from *such a state* as that to which *we are raised* in Christ Jesus, then is it possible that a *second* fall may take place, not merely *now*, in our present probation state, but even after we get to heaven. And it moreover involves the error, so derogatory to the wisdom and power of God, of supposing the *same* thing to be done *twice*, and to be better done the second time from failure in the first experiment.

Now all these erroneous principles are inherently and inseparably contained in these several doctrines. Modify them how you will, explain them how you may, error, dangerous error, is involved in them all, and few of them contain any portion of truth—none sufficient to redeem or neutralize the error ; and therefore they are “utterly unlawful.”

It will be asked how it has happened that so many wise and good men have given a partial sanction to doctrines such as these, and not perceived the erroneous consequences ? We answer that they were so intent on other things at the time, that the errors passed unobserved. Nor will the sagacity of any private Christian, or even of any doctor in the church, preserve him

from error, unless he is careful continually to enlighten and control his private opinions, by bringing them to the test of the deliberately recorded opinions of the church. We could bring forward as long a list of *opposite* opinions held by individuals equally eminent, and frequently by the very same individuals whom Mr. Newman cites as witnesses on his side; but we have already said that we attach no weight to these isolated opinions, and the church has never hesitated in rejecting *some* of the opinions, even of men so eminent as Irenæus, Origen, and Tertullian.

The other things upon which these wise and good men were intent, were possibilities of agreement in all things, between churches which have so many points of agreement as those of England and Rome. And as the claims and pretensions of Rome are put forward with the greatest confidence and plausibility, they are (often unconsciously) regarded as the strongest; and men imagine that in becoming more Roman, they become more Catholic also. But there is a higher standard than the Church of Rome—the Catholic Church, which existed before the distinctions which characterize Romanism were known. To this higher standard all must be brought; and, tried by this higher standard, the Church of England will be found more Catholic than Rome.

And men are too prone to attach importance to forms and ceremonies, apart from the worship of God, which all forms should promote, and without which they are most idle and empty, if not pernicious. The forms and ceremonies of the Mosaic ritual served a double purpose: first, of showing the reverent and devout way in which man should ever draw near unto God; secondly, as typifying offices of Christ and of the Christian priesthood—which types necessarily merge in the spiritual reality which they typify; the type ceases in the coming of the anti-type: the co-existence of the two is an absurdity. Thus all sacrifices were typical of the one sacrifice to be offered up in Christ Jesus—the full, perfect, and sufficient sacrifice for the sins of the whole world. And sacrifice *in itself*, and stripped of its typical import, has *no efficacy*; “for it is not possible that the blood of bulls and of goats should take away sin.” (Heb. x. 4). Therefore in the Christian church there is no sacrifice, we having attained the reality signified in all sacrifice, “through the offering of the body of Christ Jesus once for all” (Heb. x. 10). And by parity of reasoning we prove, that the doctrine of a real sacrifice in the mass is untenable.

And, again, the various dresses of the Levitical priesthood, especially those of the high priest, typified the “glory and

beauty" (Exod. xxviii. 2) of Christ Jesus; as the high priest typified him in person. It is written (Heb. vi. 14), "We have a great High Priest that is passed into the heavens, Jesus, the Son of God." In the heavens are performed the functions of the high priesthood of the Christian church, and not upon earth; and by the Head of the church alone, and not by any members of His body. Whosoever, therefore, assumes any of the functions of the *high priest*, since the ascension of Christ *into heaven*, thereby incurs the guilt of trenching upon the prerogatives which belong exclusively to Jesus, the Son of God. But so much the more is it incumbent upon us to insist upon the reality and importance of the *priestly* office exercised *upon earth* by the clergy, that the priestly office may render His high priesthood a continual reality to us. And we may remark, in passing, a blunder on this point even in Eusebius, who records twice (iii. 25, v. 23), on the authority of Polycrates, that St. John wore the golden crown *πεταλον* of the high priest—a most absurd blunder, as it would infer either that John had been high priest among the Jews, and retained the high priestly crown, or that the Christian priesthood is of the order of Aaron, instead of the order of Melchisedec.

There must be a priesthood at all times, but that priesthood in the Christian church is after the order of Melchisedec, not after the order of Aaron. Unto a priesthood, suitable dress is becoming, and on this ground the Church of England has prescribed the dresses which the priests should wear in their sacred functions, and has not thought it beneath her dignity to prescribe those which, for decency sake, should be worn by them on ordinary occasions (Canon lxxiv.), "hoping that in time new fangleness of apparel in some factious persons will die of itself." And the priests should ever remember that they are the reality, not the dress; they give dignity to it, not it to them. And if the dress implies any imitation of Jewish, it then becomes a degradation to a Christian minister. And of these things the admirers of the pomp of the Roman Church will do well to beware.

Though Milton was a thorough sectarian, and therefore no authority as to what is right in the church, yet he was a shrewd observer, and worth attending to, when he points out what is wrong. Speaking of the gorgeous worship of Rome, as so imposing from being peculiarly addressed to the senses, he says—

"They began to draw down all the divine intercourse between God and the soul; yea, the very shape of God himself into an exterior and bodily form; urgently pretending a necessity and obligation of joining the body in a formal reverence, and worship circumscribed; they hallowed it, they fumed it, they sprinkled it, they bedecked it, not in

robes of pure innocence, but of pure linen, with other deformed and fantastic dresses, in palls and mitres, gold and gewgaws, fetched from Aaron's old wardrobe, or the Flamin's vestry. Then was the priest set to con his motions and his postures, his liturgies and his luries, till the soul by this means of overbodying herself, given up justly to fleshly delights, bated her wing apace downward; and finding the ease she had from her visible and sensuous colleague, the body, in performance of religious duties, her pinions now broken and flagging, shifted off from herself the labour of high soaring any more, forgot her heavenly flight, and left the dull and droiling carcase to plod on in the old road, and drudging trade of outward conformity."—*Milton on Reformation in England.*

This may be regarded by Mr. Newman as the extreme statement of a virulent opponent of Romanism; but we are not sure that it deviates from the truth, on the side of opposition, in a greater degree than Mr. Newman does in approval of Rome. Mr. Newman assigns as the *reason* for what he has endeavoured to do, that

"There is a great progress of the religious mind of our church to something deeper and truer than satisfied the last century." He thinks that "the age is moving towards something, and most unhappily the one religious communion among us, which has of late years been in possession of this something, is the Church of Rome. She alone, amid all the errors and evils of her practical system, has given free scope to the feelings of awe, mystery, tenderness, reverence, devotedness, and other feelings, which may be especially called Catholic."—*Letter to Dr. Jelf*, p. 26.

Yet, with an inconsistency which is quite marvellous to us, Mr. Newman has written, in page 16 of the same Tract, "I am not examining the scripturalness, safety, propriety, or expedience of the points in question; but I desire that it may not be supposed to be utterly unlawful for such private Christians as feel they can do it with a clear conscience, to allow 'those several points.'" How the progress of the religious mind of the church towards something *deeper and truer* can be satisfied, unless that something is *scriptural, safe, proper, and expedient*, we are at a loss to imagine.

We are quite sure that Mr. Newman is in error, and we think that we perceive the source and the form of the error; but we are far from thinking that we, who stand not in the place of teachers towards him, shall be able to make him at all perceive and acknowledge it. But we write for the public, and will endeavour to show them wherein the error consists.

We grant that there is now in the church a desire for something deeper and truer than commonplace theology, which we suppose to be Mr. Newman's meaning; but it is a mistake to

suppose any deeper or truer theology can be acquired from Rome, and a still greater mistake to imagine that we can take a part of the system of Romanism, and leave the rest : we must take all, or none. The point of view in which Rome presents the greatest semblance of a true church, is in its entireness and apparent unity ; but in every other point it is the external form alone, and not the living reality. For how is its unity produced ? Not by each individual having right faith in all the great truths concerning God, and concerning ourselves ; but by each individual having but one point of faith, which he is virtually required to profess when admitted to that church, that she is *the church*—that she cannot err either in what she does or what she omits to do, and that therefore he never need trouble himself on any other point of faith, but be content to take as truth whatsoever he hears, and be content to go without what he does not hear taught.

And with this semblance of unity there is a semblance and often a counterfeit of that which is deep and true. The members of that communion may well imagine that there is profundity and truth in the things which they are taught to believe, and persuade themselves that their teachers fathom all those depths, and apprehend all those truths, and are prepared to rest quite satisfied in the caution given not to meddle with things above them—with mysteries they cannot comprehend.

There is the greatest possible difference between the obscure and the mysterious—the difference between a vacuum and a plenum, between nothingness and infinitude ; yet on certain minds the effect is the same. The obscure and the unknown fills many minds with feelings of awe and reverence, which, calling forth our hopes and fears, may produce tenderness, devotedness, and the other feelings ; but in this case they spring from what we call *the church*, and consequently *terminate in her* : we act in obedience to what she commands, and her approval is our reward. But the mysterious has a reality beyond it, and in entering upon the mysterious we apprehend a reality, according to the measure of our capacity ; and although we know that there is an infinite beyond, yet we know that infinite to be in this sense *ours*—we have apprehended it as a reality, and rejoice in the glorious mystery. The mystery of which we are speaking has God for its foundation, and His service for its end and reward ; it rests not on mere forms, not on anything which the church says or does, not on any creature thing, and least of all on ourselves ; it apprehends God, makes Him the end of our being, and rejoices with joy unspeakable and full of glory.

The something deeper and truer, which will really satisfy

every craving of the church, must come from a deeper insight into the word and purpose of God, and truer apprehensions concerning His being and attributes; and the practical experience of our own relationship to Him, as formed in His image, and taken into union with Him through Christ Jesus. And this is far better brought out by the divines of the Church of England, than it can be seen or is taught in the Church of Rome. And to this higher, deeper, truer something, the church, with all its ordinances and means of grace, is but subsidiary. The church is not the end; God is the end. Salvation for man is not the end; but glory to God, through the salvation of man. The invisible things of faith are the realities to produce and satisfy this deeper feeling; but the spirit of Romanism is to make everything, as far as possible, visible and sensible, and everything else obscure. The intellect and the senses of man may be satisfied; but the spirit is debased and starved. Romanism is the religion of sense—the spirit, the highest part of man, must look elsewhere to be satisfied.

Having said thus much, we scarcely need add that we think the writers of the *Tracts for the Times* have mistaken the way of attaining the end which they have in view; that by any amalgamation with Rome we shall assuredly fail of raising her standard, and shall only become ourselves debased: yet we are not sure that these publications have done harm, and are inclined to think that they have done good, and perhaps more extensive good than as yet appears, or than could have been accomplished in any other way—and for the following reasons.

There cannot, we think, be a doubt that theology has been for some time past at a low ebb in the Church of England. The attention of men, in these times, is turned exclusively towards that which is practical—that which is popular; and this transferred to theology would become that which is superficial. The *Tracts for the Times* are very much adapted to such a state of things; and yet, in the subjects which they bring before the church, are calculated to force upon her theology of a higher order than either the writers or the readers of the *Tracts* anticipated. For these *Tracts* are very simply written, and in form and expression admirably suited for the times; the reader finds nothing in them to startle by its novelty, or repel by its abstruseness; and the spirit of liberality which pervades them, especially towards Romanism, is the very spirit of the age. And the very learning of these *Tracts*, which is in general a most unpopular and repulsive thing, is here made attractive—it is learning made easy: the proper extracts are all made, the catena is prepared; we admire its length and consistency—we obtain the sanction

of authority without the trouble of research. And these Tracts have certainly obtained a very extensive circulation.

And the subjects brought before the church in these Tracts are of the greatest importance, and really embrace the whole range of theology. And now that they have been mooted—now that the attention of the public has been pointed to these subjects—they *must* be discussed; all persons who are occupying seats of learning and authority in the church will be expected, and in this sense will be compelled, to instruct, in these matters, those committed to their charge. And, above all, to OXFORD will the public look for guidance on this occasion; that as the doctrines of the Tracts have been called, in popular language, the “Oxford theology,” so the public may know from Oxford herself how far she coincides with these Tracts—how far they have her sanction—that her honoured name may not be wrongly associated with anything she disapproves.

And as from the Universities especially and pre-eminently the clergy of this land take their initiation and derive continual vigour, so such a work beginning there will infuse new life and vigour throughout the whole church, and prepare the clergy for taking their true place, as instructors of the people, to guide and sustain them under those trials which seem to be coming upon the church. And the greatest of those trials, we apprehend, will come from that quarter to which the writers of the Tracts seem to be looking with the least dread—from the Church of Rome itself.

We perceive no symptoms of amelioration on the part of Rome to abate our fears, no returning favour towards Protestants to warrant our favourable regards towards her. What do we behold at the present time, but the bishops and clergy of the Church of Rome arrogating to themselves exclusive title to the office of bishop and priest, and treating all the Protestant clergy as only usurpers, and their titles therefore, *ipso facto*, as null and void? Are they not at the present moment expecting and praying for the re-establishment of the Papal supremacy in England? And are they not leaguings with all the enemies of England in their endeavours to weaken and divide our empire?

And what though we do behold Rome favouring popular agitation, and her partizans in most unnatural league with anarchists and liberals? This does not prove that she is at all more yielding to popular opinion—at all more liberal than before. But because she feels her power unbroken, she can venture amongst the anarchists and liberals without fear; because she knows that there is an iron bit in the jaws of the people, she can encourage the wild gambol of agitation, expecting to be able to pull them

up at her pleasure. She may be deceived herein, but such is her present expectation.

And as it is by virtue of an united clergy, and this clergy exercising full control over the people, that the Church of Rome is not only undismayed, but expecting further triumphs; so we, and especially our clergy, should arm ourselves with the same weapons, prepare ourselves by similar training, that we be not taken at disadvantage. There is strength and vigour among the clergy, if it be called forth—there is remaining affection among the people, if it be met and cherished. And God will never fail those who are true to themselves, and make a good use of the powers and privileges with which He has entrusted them.

It will be observed that our apprehensions of danger to the church are not limited to the clergy alone, or to the church as an establishment, and supported by the laws of the land; and, therefore, our apprehensions are not derived merely from the aggressions which have already been made upon the church, or from refusals of tithes and church-rates; nor would they be allayed by the increase of religious societies and the collection of still larger sums of money for religious purposes. It is to principles of evil that we are looking, the effects of which are only beginning to be developed; and we desire to see them efficiently met, in the only possible way, by laying deeply and broadly the foundations of truth.

There is a crisis indisputably at hand, if it has not already arrived, whose issues will be the most momentous that the world has ever seen, and, in accomplishing these, Christendom will be forced to take the most prominent part. The course of Providence has already led Europeans, as merchants or missionaries, or forced them, as warriors, into the heart of Asia and Africa; and not only Turkey, but all the old dynasties, even to the imperturbable celestial empire itself, subsist now only on sufferance of the Europeans, and may thus swell the scale of the next European convulsion. And looking at the ferment begun in Europe—at the deep principles involved—at the vast multitudes engaged—at the great ability of the agents—and at the unprecedented command of the most tremendous instruments; from all these causes combined, there cannot be a doubt that the next contest between the powers of good and evil will be on such a scale, and attended by such results, as will blot out the record of all those which have gone before, and make them seem as child's play.

And we do not shrink from the contemplation, neither do we fear the results: for God hath not forsaken the earth; and He hath given to the great Head of the church all power in heaven

and earth; and Christ has promised to be with His church always, even to the end. But to ensure our safety we must be *with Him*, we must be of those with whom He is; the church must be true to Him.

All men are at this time expecting or apprehending such a consummation, either for weal or for woe; the ardent and the sanguine looking forward to the speedy accomplishment of their fondest wishes—the timid and desponding dreading the near approach of their gloomiest forebodings. These anticipations take the character of that rank of society in which the individual moves—of those associations and interests with which he has identified himself. But there is still, at the root of the various schemes with which men are occupied, one common expectation—that things cannot go on as they have done—that we are now on the verge of a new era, big with portentous issues—and that now is the time to give direction to the helm, that we may safely ride the storm.

And each man thinks that there is no safety but with his own party. The Chartist, when he clamours for universal suffrage, entertains beneath it the fond expectation of a millennium of his own, in which equality shall bring with it peace and plenty without the necessity of toil; as if he could reverse the first fiat of the Almighty upon fallen man—"In the sweat of thy brow thou shalt eat bread." The men of science look for the realization of their *beau idéal* in a scientific aristocracy. The religious societies expect to convert the world by missionaries and tracts. And the Romanists universally believe that the time is at hand when they shall be able to realize the one thought which has ever been uppermost among them—the one desire that has ever been nearest their heart—that, wherever Christianity is professed, the supremacy of Rome may be acknowledged, and that the might of Christendom, thus concentrated into unity, may dictate faith to all the world.

In these, and the many other contradictory expectations which agitate and toss the minds of men, where can we look with confidence for guidance in perplexity—for support under trial—for blessing on exertion, but to the church where God is present? And the sign of such a church is, that she is not looking to men, or means, or even church ordinances, but to God. And such a church, acknowledging the hand of God in all things, must seek and attain to the knowledge of Him—of what He is—of what He intends—in all which His hand is working. Such a church will perceive and teach that all things are working together for good to them that love God. Let the Church of England endeavour to grow more and more into such a church; and, being such a church, we shall be safe.

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ART. VIII.—*Observations on the Genealogies contained in the Gospels of St. Matthew and St. Luke.* By W. BEESTON. London: Hearne. 1841.

WE have placed the "observations" of Mr. Beeston at the head of this paper, simply because it is usual to take a published work as the subject of review; but the effort to which we invite attention is THE CHART which accompanies this article, which is one of arrangement merely. Originating in what has been already effected by the learning and industry of another, its primary object is to present to the eye of the biblical student the result of that learning and industry, leaving the arguments by which such a result has been sustained in the volume where they are found, under the disadvantage of being "chiefly extracted from the Prologomena of the Rev. Dr. Barratt's *fac simile* of a fragment of the Gospel of St. Matthew, from a MS. in Trinity College, Dublin." A glance at the Chart will suffice to show that other purposes are contemplated. The extracts from Dr. Barratt's work relate only to the ancestry of one person; and unequalled in length and renown as is that ancestry, it evidently cannot include the mass of names which the Chart exhibits. Besides the antediluvian "sons of God," and the postdiluvian patriarchs, kings, nobles, and humbler personages of that favoured line, which one evangelist traces downward from Abraham to Jesus, and another upwards from Jesus to God; and besides every name which the Old Testament assigns to the tribe of which our Lord was both "the Lion" and "the Lamb;" the descendants of Adam before the flood, and of Noah afterwards, are given, as far as their generations are revealed in the sacred canon. Of Jacob's posterity it was impossible, consistently with any moderate dimensions, to include more than the tribe of Judah, and such names of the other tribes as were instrumental to the propagation of the tribe, or objects of genealogical comparison with it. An inspection of the line of Christ, with the least possible fatigue to the eye, has been, it is hoped, successfully provided for. From God to Thara, and from Nathan to Heli, St. Luke's genealogy of our Lord is exhibited *in a straight line*. The intermediate names, from Abraham to David inclusive (being common to St. Matthew and St. Luke), occupy a position which enables the reader to discover with ease the commencement of St. Matthew's genealogy, and how far its names coincide with those of St. Luke's. The rest of St. Matthew's genealogy, from Solomon to Mary inclusive, may also be traced down the same straight line, broken, however, by the names of three kings

after Joram, and one king after Josias, whom St. Matthew omits, but which the books of Kings and Chronicles supply; and by the names of Salathiel and Zorobabel, which, being common to the two evangelists, are intermediately and conspicuously situated. The breaches between the latter name and Abiud, and between Eliakim and Azor, are occasioned by the demands of Dr. Barratt's hypothesis. Even without that hypothesis, a comparison of Scripture with Scripture sufficiently demonstrates the defective character of St. Matthew's genealogy. Joseph and Jesus (the last names common to both evangelists) are placed according to the plan adopted in the similar preceding instances. Tradition supposes Tubal-Cain's sister Naamah to have been united with Noah; Yonah and Tehevita to Terah; and the Susanna of the apocryphal book bearing her name to Jechonias.

Of the antediluvians mentioned by name in the Bible, twelve are of the eldest of Adam's sons, and a similar number of that other seed which God appointed instead of Abel, whom Cain slew. Of the former, three are females, while all the latter are males. Four females entered the ark with Noah and his three sons, but utter darkness conceals from us to what extent any or all of the eight owed their being to the first shedder of human blood. It is recorded that "the sons of Adam saw the daughters of men, that they were fair, and took them wives;" and "corrupt before Jehovah," and "filled with violence," are phrases which seem to mark emphatically the results of such connexions; but, except the mother of us all, not one female is named in the line of the "Seed" that should bruise the serpent's head, until, in Genesis xi. 29, we read, "And Abram and Nahor took them wives: the name of Abram's wife was Sarai, and the name of Nahor's wife was Milcah, the daughter of Haran." And in Genesis xx. 12, we find Abraham saying to Abimelech concerning Sarah (the Abram and Sarai of the previous quotation), "And yet indeed she is my sister: she is the daughter of my father, but not the daughter of my mother; and she became my wife." Thus the two first marriages on record since the deluge (both of them essential to the Redeemer's lineage—for the grandson of Abraham and Sarah, and the great granddaughter of Nahor and Milcah, were father and mother of Judah) were contrary to every idea which civilized nations have since formed of a lawful connexion; and this is an objection which has been urged against other links in the chain which connects the first Adam with the last. Man would have preserved the Messiah's lineage pure and spotless in a world altogether corrupt. It is an offence to man to find in that lineage not only matrimonial unions within degrees since forbidden, but

incestuous connexions also of the most startling character. But probably the true state of the case is, that the lineage in question (allowing for its unequalled length) is actually purer than any that could be produced, either from the records of sacred or profane history.

The state of the world, since the Gospel was revealed to it, makes us very incapable judges of these things. Imperfectly as the principles of our faith are understood, and small as is the estimate generally put upon the influence of those principles upon our lives, we know not what we say when we deplore the feebleness of the "great light" in restraining men from evil. Doubtless the idols of our hearts are many, but we know not the gross darkness of nations living without God and without hope; we understand not the confusion of cities openly defying the Majesty of heaven; we can form no picture that comes near the reality of the wickedness and the woe so briefly but so emphatically implied in the song of Deborah and Barak: "*They chose new gods: then was war in the gates.*" It is the very infirmity of our thankfulness—it is the very weakness of our gratitude—for the real blessings of the latter covenant, to reflect with feelings of indignation, which is oft akin to unbelief, on the spots which obscured the Sun of Righteousness, ere it rose above the horizon of a benighted world. We are too remote from the grosser darkness of that world to know the extent to which it must have been dispersed, before men could even discern between good and evil, clean and unclean. If we saw clearly on these matters, we should behold a continual struggle going on between the patriarchs whose blemishes most offend us, and a grievous host of adverse principalities and powers. We should cease to expect perfection in any of "the cloud of witnesses," and should marvel rather that a cloud of such promise could arise at all in such a parching firmament. We should cease to regard the motes of those times of ignorance which God so compassionately beheld; and we should rather marvel that any were found to wrestle successfully against the spirit of disobedience which everywhere exalted itself against the glory of God and the peace of man: and instead of astonishment that "the friend of God" should appear before us as the husband of his half-sister, and twice equivocating concerning the latter relationship, we should rather marvel at Abram's constancy in following *His* guidance who caused him at seventy-five, and Sarah at sixty-five, to wander from their home through inhospitable countries, not knowing whither they went, and at his frequent building up of altars to Jehovah in a land where "the Canaanite was."

These reflections, digressive as they may appear, are no un-

common fruit of the most ordinary attention to the genealogies of those Scriptures, all of which were written for our learning. Besides Sarai, who left Ur with Abram, Hagar and Keturah are named as his wives, and a Concubine named Reumah is assigned to his brother Nahor. When eighty-six years old, and again when an hundred years old, Abraham becomes the father, and Hagar and Sarah the mothers (the latter having completed, or nearly so, her ninetieth year) of Ishmael and Isaac. The well-known words of Abraham, "Shall a child be born unto him that is an hundred years old, and shall Sarah that is ninety years old bear?" (Gen. xvii. 17) afford the earliest hint of the essential difference between the ancient and the modern, or rather between the oriental and the western mode of calculating the age of an individual. It is evident that Abraham could not have been an hundred, according to our way of reckoning, at the period when he spake as above, for from Gen. xxi. we learn that he was an hundred years old *when his son Isaac was born* unto him.

Every chronologist is acquainted with the canon of Ptolemy, but for which so many notices of time in the books of Kings and Chronicles would be utterly irreconcilable. For example, how could Nadab's reign of two years commence in Asa's second and terminate in Asa's third year, unless we were allowed the benefit of that loose but venerable usage which, in reigns and ages, counted any fragmental portion of a year for a whole year? It is observable in the sacred writings that extreme accuracy is blended with extreme vagueness in the estimate of dates. For instance, the application of Ptolemy's canon to the case of David, of Jehoahaz, and of Jehoiachin, would make David's reign forty-one years, and that of the two latter one year each; whereas in three places (2 Samuel v. 4; 1 Kings ii. 11; and 1 Chron. xxix. 27) forty years only are assigned to David, although at 2 Samuel v. 5, it is written, "In Hebron he reigned over Judah seven years and six months, and in Jerusalem he reigned thirty and three years over all Israel and Judah;" making, to speak accurately, forty years and six months; and, to speak according to the canon, which the reigns of Nadab, of Elah, and of Ahaziah, demand, forty-one years. On the contrary, the reigns of Jehoahaz and Jehoiachin are exactly calculated; the former at three months—the latter at three months, and also at three months and ten days, though the addition of even a shorter period than three months, or three days, to the first year of either of the three kings previously mentioned would be more than enough to swell that first year into two years.

The Chart notices Shem's death on the same line where the

names of Abraham's, Nahor's, and Haran's children appear. Without evidence that he was the Melchizedec whom Abram met, it is gratifying to reflect that their identity is not improbable.

The idea of building a city, which seems to have been suggested to the mind of Adam's first-born by his want of a place of refuge from the avenger of Abel's blood, was not lost upon the sons of Ham. The islands divided by Japheth's posterity, and the tents of Shem, are contrasted with the cities which rose up on the plains of Shinar and of Siddim, under the influence of the sons of Cush and of Canaan. Abraham is said, by the apostle, to have looked for a city that hath foundations, whose builder and maker is God, at a period when the cities of Ham's children were everywhere multiplying. In the first chapter of Genesis men may read (if only as through a glass, darkly) that while Japheth committed himself to the ocean, and Shem was satisfied to abide in tents, Ham, distrustful of any invisible protection, and with a curse upon his head, equally merited as that of Cain, betook himself to the same art and device which the first murderer had adopted, when he went out from the presence of the Lord and builded a city, and "called the name of the city after his son Enoch." Cain, the fear-stricken murderer, builds a city. Under the evil auspices of Ham cities again rise up; and it is a presumption, not unsustained by the record, that the beginning of *violence* and wrong which disturbed the peace of the new world is chargeable on the younger son of Noah.

The justification of God's dealings with the Canaanites may be facilitated by the question—who of the survivors of the deluge was the *first* to give offence? Was not the extirminating decree which gave Canaan to the sword of Joshua based on the wrongful occupation of that land by Ham and his seed? Regard the idolatōrs of Ham as having no right to Canaan—as having occupied the position assigned to Shem and certain of his family, at the original partition of the earth—and the promises of the Almighty to Abram, and Israel's journey towards Canaan four hundred and thirty years afterwards, are shorn of that empty mystery which ministers rather to the spiritual pride, than to the edification of them that are unlearned and unstable.

If Shem, or even if one of his descendants, is the Melchizedec whom Abram met in Canaan, and to whom, as priest of the Most High God (in the midst of a land of idolators), he gave tithes of all, a presumption is suggested that Shem had a claim upon that soil which Ham had not; that Shem's claim was not less clearly understood than it was fraudulently resisted by "Ham, the father of Canaan;" that Ham's portion was elsewhere, but that

having inherited the spirit which had filled the old world with violence (whereas *peace* is the emphatic distinction which adorns Melchizedec), he usurped the allotment that was pleasant in his own eyes, to the diminution of his brother's inheritance. If the sins of the fathers were visited afterwards upon their children, it was because the children inherited the spirit of their fathers—a spirit hostile to the Deity and to their fellow-men.

When Noah prophesied, “Blessed be the Lord God of Shem, and Canaan shall be his *servant*,” possibly he foretold the exaltation of one already humbled, and the abasement of one already exalted above measure. The Deity was, in his eyes, as the protector of the weaker party—the defender of him that abode under the shadow of the Almighty, against him whose trust was put in those *arts* which a guilty conscience first taught to man, and of whose discordant and oppressive tendency Nimrod's power and Jabin's chariots were the witnesses in future times.

But whether Melchizedec be Shem, or some other person, Shem is the latest link between the drowned world and that which was peopled from the ark. Noah lived to the hundred and twenty-eighth year of Terah; but Isaac was fifty years old before Shem died. Shem, whose generation was the eleventh from Adam, was competent to relate to the twenty-first generation of Adam what his own eyes had seen in the ninth generation, and what his own ears might have heard from two (Methuselah and Lamech) who were cotemporary with Adam himself—the former for two hundred and forty-three years—the latter for fifty-six years. It is a marvel for them whose days are so few and feeble to regard Methuselah and Lamech walking thus long with Adam in their maturity, and with Shem in their decay for ninety-eight and ninety-three years respectively! The remnant of patriarchal lives may be measured against our longest.

Shem outlived all his posterity whose names in Genesis xi. stand between his own and those of Terah's sons, his great grandson, Eber, alone excepted, whose time extended to the nineteenth year of Jacob. Abram himself, though five generations intervened between him and Eber, yet was gathered to his people four years earlier than Eber: and Abraham's is called “a good old age” in Gen. xxv. 27, 28, though five hundred and thirty-two years previously the youngest of all the antediluvians (Enoch and Shem excepted) died at the age of seven hundred and seventy-seven years. Imagine a man now living (in 1841) who was born two years before the battle of Hastings—for such is a true idea of Lamech's age—and, estimating each of our own short-lived generations at thirty years, the eleven

generations from Adam to Shem inclusive would swell to nearly seventy-two generations; and the eleven generations from Arphaxad to Jacob inclusive to something less than twenty-two generations.

In the Chart, Jacob and Esau's names appear on the line occupied by the twenty-fourth generation, though their father Isaac's name is on the line occupied by the twenty-first generation. Two generations are interposed between the father and the son to accommodate Jacob's maternal pedigree; and, for a similar reason, three generations are interposed between Aaron and his four sons. The reason why a generation is interposed between Judah and his twin sons may be found in Gen. xxxviii. If we possessed the names, and could trace the pedigree, of the four females who entered the ark with Noah and his sons (the former being then in his six hundredth year, Japheth in his hundredth, Shem in his ninety-eighth, and Ham in his ninety-sixth or ninety-seventh, or probably the twin brother of Shem),* how many generations might not be added to the eleven which are now reckoned?

To satisfy the account of Hezron's second marriage (1 Chron. ii. 21), the daughter of Machir's pedigree is traced up to Manasseh, the eldest son of Joseph. The name Abiah has been assigned her, because 1 Chron. ii. 24 leads to an inference that the Abiah of the latter verse is no other than the daughter of Machir of the former verse. A formidable difficulty, however, (of which no commentary within the writer's reach takes the smallest notice) starts up in the words "And after that Hezron was dead in CALEB-Ephratah." How comes Hezron, the great grandfather of him who was prince of the camp of Judah when Moses numbered and marshalled the twelve tribes, to make his death-bed in the promised land? More extraordinary marriages occur than that of Judah's grandson at the age of sixty to Joseph's great granddaughter: but even if Hezron was not born till Jacob's last year, he could not survive till the exodus without attaining his one hundred and ninety-eighth year, nor till the death of Moses without attaining his two hundred and thirty-eighth year, and therefore must have somewhat exceeded the

* Jacob is called "the younger" in reference to Esau, though his twin brother. Gen. ix. 24, compared with Gen. x. 21, and with xi. 10, prove Japheth to have been the eldest of the three sons of Noah; but it is not conclusive as to whether Shem or Ham was the youngest. Dr. Adam Clarke contradicts himself on this point; for in his note on Gen. v. 32, he says, "Ham was certainly the youngest of Noah's sons;" whereas in his note on Gen. xi. 26, he says, "It is evident from other Scriptures that Shem was the youngest son." From what "other Scriptures" this is "evident," the learned doctor does not inform us.

latter age to allow for his death at the era when Canaan was parted by Joshua among the thousands of Israel. As this is one of those *real* difficulties which commentators are so prone to evade, it may not be altogether useless to invite attention towards it. Rahab, or Rachab, was cotemporary with Joshua (vide Joshua ii., vi. 25); but the influence of this well-known circumstance on the arrangement of the position of Boaz and his illustrious descendants in the Chart, never occurred until Joshua's name and lineage up to Ephraim and Joseph had been inserted therein, and that was too late a moment for so extensive a correction. Rahab, being the cotemporary of Joshua, ought to appear on the line allotted to the thirty-fifth generation, or perhaps to the thirty-sixth generation; for Joshua was an hundred and two years old when Jericho was besieged, and Rahab's union with Salmon must have been after its capture. A chart remodelled to suit the altered position of Rahab must infer the genuineness of Joshua's lineage as it stands in 1 Chron. vii. 22-27. In the first effort on so comprehensive a scale even this grave error may be excused, especially if it be considered that, but for the lineage of a family, *not* of Judah, being added, the error would hardly have been detected. Let it suffice that the arrangement of the present Chart is not wholly satisfactory even to its author. It is a commencement that invites continuation; it offers materials for profounder study—hints for others to take and to improve on a subject too much neglected: its very mode of publication entailing much expenditure, with the feeblest chance of an adequate return. Its appearance in a work which would be bought on its own account, and on whose patrons it makes no additional demand, it is hoped will excuse its imperfections.

Of Scripture paraphrasers, and commentators on the *whole* Bible, we have enough and to spare; but a well-digested and well-illustrated treatise on its genealogical portions, is either not extant, or by reason of its price only attainable to a few. It would be a work of merit to collect on this subject, and to arrange when collected, all that is now scattered through a multitude of expensive volumes. It would be something worth the acceptance of the biblical student, if the sacred genealogies were extracted and printed, with a view to their arrangement in some such shape as that which is now submitted—a shape which, with all its imperfections, is the very best which has hitherto suggested itself to the experience of the designer, for detecting the fallacies of conclusions drawn from the survey of *one* sacred pedigree, isolated from all others. The position of one name, and that of a stranger to Judah and to Israel, may overturn

more than one air-built theory, and scatter upon the sand, where they were piled, those loosely-adjusted heaps which self-sufficiency and indolence prefer to any more solid and durable, though less pretending fabrics.

Salmon's union with Rachab may be added to the more familiar instances of unequal marriages, which contributed to the developement of the appointed Seed. On the strength of God's promises (Gen. xv. 16) it has been assumed, that from the going down to Egypt to the exodus (a period of two hundred and fifteen years) there were only four generations, two of which died in Egypt, and the other two constituted the enormous aggregate specified in Numbers i. 46. From the very scanty information we possess on this subject, it would seem that nothing was farther from the truth than the idea of an uniform number of generations in the twelve tribes ; or even of an uniform number of generations in the different families of the same tribe during a given number of years.

At the departure from Egypt, Aaron was eighty-three, Moses eighty, and Joshua is estimated to have been sixty-two—for the chronological probabilities of the book of Joshua make it necessary to interpret very liberally the term "young," applied to Joshua in Exodus xxxiii. 11, and Numbers xi. 28. Here we have Moses, the *fourth* from Levi, cotemporary with Joshua, the *eleventh* from Joseph. The interposition of a generation between Judah and his two sons makes Naasson the *sixth*, and Bezaleel the *seventh* from Judah—one the prince of the camp of Judah, the other the maker of the tabernacle. Thus the sixth and seventh generations from the fourth of Jacob's sons, and the eleventh generation from his eleventh son, are brought together. Further, we have the daughter of Zelophehad saying to Moses, and to Eleazar, Aaron's son, in Numbers xxvii. 3, "Our father died in the wilderness." Here the sixth and seventh generations from Joseph are also shown to have been cotemporary with the fourth and fifth from Levi. Achan is only the fifth from Judah, and yet he is cotemporary with Joshua. Dathan and Abiram of the tribe of Reuben, Korah and Elizaphan of the tribe of Levi, as well as Moses and Aaron, are all of the fourth generation from Levi, and Joshua was cotemporary with all these.

When the Chart is rectified (should it be duly countenanced in its present state to meet the probabilities of the maternal ancestry of Boaz), David's name will occupy the line assigned to the fortieth instead of that assigned to the thirty-sixth generation, where it now appears ; and above which (viz., on the line where Jehoshuah's name is conspicuous) it would have appeared

had St. Matthew's paternal line from Juda to David been unbroken by the generation interposed in the Chart between Juda and Pharez. St. Matthew states that "all the generations from Abraham to David are fourteen generations." On the authority of 1 Chronicles xvii. 22, 23, 25, 26, 27, it may be stated that "all the generations from Abraham to Joshua were fourteen generations." Now David's birth is divided from Joshua's birth by the great gulf of four hundred and sixty-eight years, and from Joshua's death by no less than three hundred and fifty-eight years. If the paternal generation of the house of Israel exhibits such formidable inequalities in the very few names that are submitted to our scrutiny in the Bible, how shall we take the average number of generations through the twelve tribes? How shall we take their average through the families of any single tribe? When Dan, who came down to Egypt with one son only, is seen to march out of it second only to Judah in multitude; when the increase of Benjamin and his eleven sons attains to little more than half the host of Dan; when Asher and his four sons, adding their increase to that of Benjamin, can reckon only one thousand nine hundred more than Judah, whose sons were to theirs as three to fifteen—no solid grounds seem to offer for a theory capable of adjustment to the genealogical peculiarities of every tribe, or of any one tribe, throughout its subdivisions. What we can glean from the recorded lineage of one family, or of one individual belonging to that people, which went into Egypt in a few waggons, and two hundred and fifteen years afterwards were brought out by their armies, affords the slenderest materials for estimating the number of generations which occupied those years, when individuals from the fourth and the eleventh generation inclusive are shown to have been cotemporaries in the four tribes of Reuben, Levi, Judah, and Joseph; and where, as if to add confusion to man's ill-digested theories, the tribe with the latest ancestor of the four exhibits the largest instead of the smallest number of generations. What need we any further witness of the misleading tendency of any uniform standard, which men have set up for reckoning the generations of the whole house of Jacob between the births of his twelve sons and the exodus of their descendants? In Numbers xiii. 6, and xxxiv. 19—in Joshua xiv. 6, and xv. 13—and in 1 Chron. iv. 15, appears the name of Caleb, the son of Jephunneh. In 1 Chron. ii. three Calebs are mentioned, viz., Caleb the son of Hezron, Caleb the brother of Jerahmeel, and Caleb the son of Hur (see verses 18, 42, 50). The two first-named Calebs appear to be but one individual, and that individual seems to be identical with the Chelubai of verse 9; and if the

Hur of verses 19 and 50 be the same individual, his sons Uri and Caleb were brothers; and seeing that a comparison of Exodus xxxi. and xxxii. with 1 Chron. ii. 20, identifies the Bezaleel of the former with the Bezaleel of the latter chapter, the Caleb so often mentioned as the son of Jephunneh, is almost identified with Caleb the son of Hur: for what is more probable than that the friend of Moses, forty years old in the second year of the exodus, should find the number of his generation in the vicinity of his who made the Mosaic tabernacle? This supposition would make Caleb the son of Jephunneh uncle to the divinely-taught artificer, Bezaleel. Might not the establishment of this single supposition do something towards clearing up the perplexities which abound in 1 Chron. ii. and iv.?

The Achsah of Joshua xv., xvi., and xvii., and of Judges i. 12, 13, cannot be the Achsa of 1 Chron. ii. 49, unless the words "and the daughter of Caleb was Achsa," in the latter verse, can be supposed to have no reference to the Caleb of verse 42; for that Caleb was the brother of Jerahmeel, and consequently the son of Hezron. The marginal references of our translation of the Bible are, in genealogical matters, as likely to mislead as to assist the enquirer. In Exodus xii. 37, 38, it is recorded that the children of Israel journeyed from Rameses to Succoth about six hundred thousand on foot that were men, besides children: and a mixed multitude went up also with them. In xxxviii. 26, of the same book, "for every one that went to be numbered, from twenty years old and upward, for six hundred thousand and three thousand and five hundred and fifty men." In Numbers i. 44, 47, inclusive, we read, "These are those that were numbered, which Moses and Aaron numbered, and the princes of Israel, being twelve men, each one was for the house of his father; so were all those that were numbered of the children of Israel by the house of their fathers, from twenty years old and upward, all that were able to go forth to war in Israel; even all they that were numbered were six hundred thousand and three thousand and five hundred and fifty. But the Levites, after the tribe of their fathers, were not numbered among them." In ii. 32, of the same book, it is repeated, "All those that were numbered of the camps throughout their hosts were six hundred thousand and three thousand and five hundred and fifty." Forty years afterwards, in Num. xxii. 1, 2, 51, and 64, we find that the Lord spake unto Moses, and unto Eleazar, the son of Aaron the priest, saying, "Take the sum of all the congregation of the children of Israel, from twenty years old and upward, throughout their fathers' houses, all that are able to go

to war in Israel. These were the numbered of the children of Israel, six hundred thousand and a thousand seven hundred and thirty. But among these there was not a man of them whom Moses and Aaron the priest numbered when they numbered the children of Israel in the wilderness of Sinai." In two hundred and fifteen years, seventy-five persons had multiplied to six hundred and three thousand and five hundred and fifty, at and above the age of twenty, and to an unknown multitude below that age. In forty years this enormous throng left behind them fewer males, at and above the age specified, by eighteen hundred and twenty. Those "little ones" who heard Moses when he condemned all from twenty and upwards to perish in the wilderness, made probably the chief strength of Israel at its enumeration thirty-nine years afterwards. Twenty years being the maximum age which survived through that thirty-nine years, we arrive at fifty-nine years as the maximum age in the host which was numbered by Moses and Eleazar—Caleb, Joshua, and the tribe to which Eleazar and his son Phinehas belonged, being excepted. This maximum involves an important person in that pedigree which is most prominent in the Chart. *Salmon*, the son of the prince of the camp of Judah, could not have been the husband of Rachab, nor the father of Boaz, unless he survived the fall of Jericho; and had he been full twenty years old at the date when the twelve spies returned to Moses in Kadesh, he would not have survived to cross the Jordan, but must have left his own among the 603,550 carcasses which fell in the wilderness. Assuming Salmon to have been nineteen years old at the numbering, his birth will be brought within one hundred and ninety-six years of Jacob's coming to Egypt; and, taking the latest date that can be allowed for Hezron's birth, consistently with his inclusion among the souls that came into Egypt with Jacob, let one hundred and ninety-seven years measure the generations which begin with the birth of Hezron and end with the birth of Salmon. Hezron, Ram, Aminadab, Naashon, are four generations; one hundred and ninety-seven years divided by four gives forty-nine years and a quarter to each generation, and this number added to nineteen will make Naashon sixty-eight years and a quarter, or twenty-eight years and a quarter older than Caleb was at the return of the spies, and five years and a quarter older than Joshua is supposed to have been at that event. Joshua's death at one hundred and ten years is thus noticed in the last page of Adam Clarke's Commentary, vol. i., "Joshua dies A.M. 2561;" whereas in vol. ii. of the same work, whose erudition is marred by perpetual inaccuracies and contradictions where clearness is most essential,

“Death of Joshua, aged one hundred and ten years, A.M. 2570,” appears in a chronological table which prefaces the book of Judges, as the date of Archbishop Usher, without any remark on its discrepancy with his own date, but merely with an intimation of the general incorrectness of Archbishop Usher’s chronology of the entire period occupied by the Judges. But how should commentators on the whole Bible have time for precision? What pause can they afford to allow their thoughts, when, in mere writing, they have set themselves a task better adapted to the centuries of an antediluvian than to the three-score-and-ten years of their own “span?” We dwell on the name of Joshua, because its bearing upon a more illustrious lineage seems to merit greater attention than (as far as we have been able to discover) it has hitherto met with. There are so many more names between it and Jacob, than between the name of Salmon and Jacob, that, assuming two hundred and fifteen years to have departed while Israel sojourned in Goshen, the average intervals between one generation and another are singularly contrasted in these two cases. Those of Joseph are remarkable for their extreme brevity—those of Judah for their protracted length. If eight verses of 1 Chron. vii. be first duly examined, and then compared with 1 Chron. ii. in the passages subjoined, the result may be useful in disclosing some chronological error, and perhaps in suggesting some superior plan of adjustment in the genealogical department of the sacred story:—

1 CHRONICLES.

CHAPTER II.

5. The sons of Pharez; Hezron, and Hamul.

* * * * *

9. The sons also of Hezron, that were born unto him; Jerahmeel, and Ram, and Chelubai.

10. And Ram begat Amminadab; and Amminadab begat Nahshon, prince of the children of Judah;

11. And Nahshon begat Salma.

CHAPTER VII.

20. And the sons of Ephraim; Shuthelah, and Bered his son, and Tahath his son, and Eladah his son, and Tahath his son,

21. And Zabad his son, and Shuthelah his son, and Ezer, and Elead, whom the men of Gath that were born in that land slew, because they came down to take away their cattle.

22. And Ephraim their father mourned many days, and his brethren came to comfort him.

23. And when he went in to his wife, she conceived, and bare a son, and he called his name Beriah, because it went evil with his house.

24. (And his daughter was Sherah, who built Beth-horon the ne-

ther and the upper, and Uzzensherah).

25. And Rephah was his son, also Resheph, and Telah his son, and Tahan his son,

26. Laadan his son, Ammihud his son, Elishama his son,

27. Non his son, Jehoshuah his son.

According to this account, three persons of the seventh generation from Ephraim die before the first link is formed of the chain which connects Ephraim with Jehoshuah—then we have eight names between Ephraim and Jehoshuah; whereas, between Pharez, and Salma the cotemporary of Jehoshuah and the father of Boaz, only four names appear! This contrast is sufficiently remarkable, even if verses 20, 21, 22, and the reason given for Beriah's name in verse 23, be *rejected* from the account. *Admitting* those verses, Jehoshuah's distance from Ephraim is as much increased to the extent of seven generations, more than his own parentage demands, as if those seven generations formed part of his individual line. So that after fifteen generations of Joseph's tribe, and after only four generations of Judah's tribe, Joseph's sixteenth and Judah's fifth generation present us with two contemporaneous individuals—he of the former and younger tribe being on the threshold of his grand climacteric, and he of the latter and elder tribe having not attained his majority. Surely these passages require to be subjected to the same untiring scrutiny which 1 Chron. iii. 17 to the end has undergone at the hands of Dr. Barratt, whose arrangement of the Redeemer's pedigree is adopted in the Chart. Judah's generations from Hezron to Salma being so *few*, and Joseph's generations from Ephraim to Jehoshuah being so *many*, a principle of adjustment is wanted for this twofold difficulty.*

It may serve to recommend the Chart to the student, who thinks *such* questions (though questions of genealogies) *not* of the sort denounced by the apostle, to state that, before its construction, neither Jehoshuah's nor Judah's pedigree suggested any difficulty whatever—all was smooth and easy: names and dates were regarded as so many impediments in the way of more profitable matter—as not calculated, directly or indirectly, for doctrine or for reproof, for correction or for instruction. If the difficulties of the Bible have multiplied in this pursuit, so have

* The difficulty is increased still further if the Elishama of 1 Chron. vii. 26 is identified with the Elishama of Numbers i. 10.

its beauties—beauties which he who follows in the path of commentators and paraphrasers must not hope to enjoy. The Chart will have fulfilled the least part of its object, if its use should be limited to the refreshment of the memory on the dry details of those pedigrees which it includes. Its aim is rather to suggest a mode of dealing with sacred genealogies, than to be a standard *vade-mecum* on such matters. It seeks to change mere readers of the hallowed volume, into those who mark, learn, and inwardly digest it. It seeks to impress on the self-sufficiency of a superficial generation the fact, that there is no royal road to that knowledge which some think is grasped when it is looked at. It seeks, by an example of persevering and somewhat novel drudgery, to intimate that the commentator on the whole Bible ought not to be implicitly trusted by the individual student. It would fain be, to those who may deem it not useless, what it is expected to become to its author—a step towards greater and better things on the same subject. At the same time it is hoped that the Chart will be no unacceptable companion to the most uninstructed searcher of the Scriptures. At all events, it is presumed that its *price* will be *no* bar to its circulation among all classes who take delight in the inspired pages. At the smallest charge that affords its spirited publisher even a remote chance of reimbursement, the Chart presents to the student's eye whatever pedigrees of the royal tribe of Judah are named and reckoned in the Bible. He will find one pedigree of that tribe accompanied in its progress by the names of potentates, whose greatest strength was often tried in vain against the Daughter of Zion, when her weakness seemed hardly to require a blow for the extinction of her name and race—Egyptian, Assyrian, Babylonian, Median, Persian. What trophy now endures of those victories which laid prostrate so many nations? With these the tender plant, the blossom out of a dry ground, contrasts its lineage in the Chart. Assyria fades, but Judah has still a remnant—Nineveh and Babylon are swept away, but a full end is not made of Judah—the myriads of Persia leave not a wreck behind, but the vital principle yet animates the SEED. It may not be crushed, for its Defenders are not flesh and blood—it cannot wither, for its preservation has been decreed by Him who lifteth up the low and debaseth the high, who removeth kings and setteth up kings. A guard more vigilant than the Greek or the Roman is set over it; and in all its *reverses* (and they are many), and in all its calamitous days (and they are numberless), the SEED is cared for by Him that sleepeth not. Nation after nation seek to perpetuate their *names* and their *might*. Alas for their folly! They but mark the epochs of the

seed—they but indicate the phases of its eternal orbit ! Behind the clouds of heaven, below its horizon, or high in its firmament, the SUN is the same yesterday, to-day, and for ever. And though every other branch is lopped away, and the trunk itself is withered, one bud of promise remains to expand, to bear leaves, to blossom, and to bring forth fruit in its appointed season. Abraham, about to slay the child of his hundredth year—Jacob, crossing Jordan in his solitary flight—David, as a partridge among the mountains, and a royal fowler pursuing—Joash, the infant, saved by a woman, and hidden six years, when every other male of the seed royal was slaughtered. Hezekiah, childless and dying, rises from his bed, and, during the fifteen years which are added to his prayers and tears, Manasseh is born !—a birth that would but poorly repay the miracle which gave new life to his father, were he other than the LINK which connects two of that chain which binds the hope of the promise. Why to secure a respite for such an one's birth was Hezekiah's doom arrested ? Why for such a criminal were the warriors of Sennacherib so terribly smitten ? “He is come to Aiath, he is passed to Migron ; at Michmash hath he laid up his carriages.” One blow only is wanted to finish the catastrophe of Judah—to put out her glory—to bring over her throne and her generations the oblivion of Hamath, Arpad, and Sepharvaim. Its extinction was opposed to an everlasting covenant to bless mankind ; and *therefore* the foot that would have trampled it down, and added its subjugation to that of Calno, Carchemish, Damascus, and Samaria, is paralyzed on the very threshold of victory.

No weapon was *then* wielded by the race of Jacob ! The time had passed, never to return, when their beloved city was the capital of a realm extending from Tipshah to Azzah, and from Dan to Beersheba. Cooped within the limits of their last refuge, sat a famished, degenerate, and despairing handful—their monarch in sackcloth, with only the resource of the helpless—an appeal to the *Invisible One*, who, in every vicissitude, had not failed his people. On one, perhaps, of all his providences, the most signal, in the evidence it affords that its sole object was the conservation of a pedigree at the very crisis of its destiny, it may be permitted to the genealogist to ponder awhile.

Assyria's trust is in his tens of thousands, in the terror which his very name inspired, and in the pitiable weakness of his rival. On he marched against the devoted city. “In the high way of the Fuller's Field,” within speaking distance from their unguarded walls, his battle is arrayed. Who shall deliver Israel from the host of the oppressor at their gates ? “I will

deliver thee and this city out of the hand of the King of Assyria, and I will defend this city, for mine own sake, and for my servant David's sake." The Almighty's purpose awaited but the night for its accomplishment; and where is the fury of the oppressor?

The flush of his triumph and the din of his hostility are changed to a dreadful calm—the field of his anticipated victory is transformed to a sepulchre. The night hath departed. Why stirs not the universal conqueror? Why sleep his warriors in their tents? Why do his lines delay to encompass Jerusalem—to make ruinous heaps of the city that hath shaken her head at them? Why smoke not the red swords of his least captains, in retribution for the laughter of Zion's daughter? It is the morning! Has their rest been broken by the foe? Has an effort of despair brought panic to their mighty ones? Hath Hezekiah the Hebrew set an example to the Spartan Leonidas? Not so! their camp wears no evidence of disorder. Their instruments of violence are unsullied, or the stains of former prowess alone are on them. The guardians of the beleaguered city are yet in their strong-hold—their dejected courage unassured by their prophet's benediction! The spirit of fear and bondage is upon them! Samaria's fall is new in their recollection!

"O death, how terrible art thou in a guise like this!"

There is silence in the tented field, as though the fatigue of so many triumphs had prolonged the sleep of the mighty: without vigour to rise, they throng the earth, an easy prey to the insulted foe. But the foe is not there! Heaven has avenged its own cause! The God of the promise hath vindicated his own controversy! Jacob's trust in Pharaoh's chariots and horses, and Sennacherib's confidence in the arms which prevailed against all other lands, are here shown to be vanity altogether! Egypt's shadow has afforded no refuge to Abraham's children, for the sword, the spear, and the shield of their fierce adversary (though not vilely cast away), are idly scattered where their owners lie smitten by the angel—"beaten down," according to the prediction of the son of Amos, by "the voice of the Lord!"

The revival of Assyria's glory under Esarhaddon—the precarious position of Judah among nations more vigorous and flourishing, till it suited the mightiest of them to slay or carry captive its surviving members—the destruction of Jerusalem and of Nineveh—of the oppressed and of the oppressor—within a few years of each other, would be demonstrative of the uselessness of Judah's preservation from Sennacherib, but for the

light which that dispensation borrows from the genealogical records yet extant in the archives of "the remnant." One hundred and eighty-five thousand corpses were sacrificed, not for any national purpose of aggrandizement, but to secure deliverance for the SEED, and to punish the blasphemer who had vaunted that Jehovah was on the side of one who warred against the covenant.

Let us trace the future positions of these belligerents. The name of Assyrian gradually vanished from the world. The captives of Judah transmitted theirs to all future generations. From the era of the siege which was so marvellously raised, the line which commences with God in St. Luke, and with Abraham in St. Matthew, was continued for about seven hundred years, and from the end of the Babylonish captivity for more than five hundred years. About three years from Sennacherib's discomfiture, Manasseh was born—the only link by which the integrity of our Lord's male descent, from David and Solomon, could be perpetuated.

Here then we pause, *for the present only*, should the pledge which the Chart affords of devotion to this study be thought to outweigh the imperfections of this hurried and unconnected sketch; *or finally*, should it meet with inadequate acceptance. Other and less undistinguished hands are wanted in this labour. A year spent in pondering and comparing those genealogical records, which were probably "oral" from Adam to Moses, and "written" from his day to that on which Joseph and Mary went to be taxed at Bethlehem, because "he was of the house and lineage of David," would afford larger returns of *real* and *accurate* knowledge of the Bible than the most matured acquaintance with the soundest of commentators. Attaching, it is hoped, no undue importance to questions of words and names, and diffident of the claim to a favourable notice, which the Chart may present, it is trusted that the latter will not be pronounced useless towards the elucidation of the former, without being accompanied by the admission of it as an unexceptionable testimonial of an inclination to shrink from no toil, and to evade no drudgery, however humble and mechanical, that can afford a chance of supplying *facilities* for the prosecution of more interesting labours in that field, which, barren, and rugged, and unpromising, as it seems to "the many," has already compensated *one* cultivator at least, whatever discouragement may await the effort now submitted to the candour of all who desire to know more certainly of such matters.

ART. IX.—*A Plea for the Poor.* By the Hon. and Rev. BAPTIST NOEL. London: Nisbet. 1841.

2. *A Counter Plea for the Poor.* London: Ollivier. 1841.

3. *Cheap Bread and its Consequences: a Plain Statement.* London: Painter. 1841.

THANKS to that gracious Providence which has watched so long over our beloved country, the danger that threatened us lately is for the time averted. The cry of "cheap bread," raised by a Liberal Government in the agonies of its dissolution, has recoiled upon its authors. We have now a Ministry pledged to maintain, on their ancient foundations, our institutions in Church and State. Those liberal patriots who are glad at calamities, and were exulting openly that "the seasons had done their work," have been premature in expressing their detestable joy. The fears of the Church have been averted, and its prayers answered, by returning sunshine, and the promise of at least a moderate, and perhaps a plenteous harvest.

But while thankfulness is due for the past, vigilance is needed for the future. The poison of false theories and ignorant hopes is still working deeply around us, and our late Ministry have bequeathed us a parting legacy of agitation and strife. The repeal of the corn laws is henceforward to be the watchword of that numerous party who are "given to change." A fresh impulse is thus to be given to the deadly fever of trade, and a fatal blow really aimed at the stability, independence, and peace of our nation. The names of Religion and Benevolence are pressed into the service. The Lord's Prayer is perverted and profaned into a party cry. Sectarian teachers of every kind and name, trampling under foot their own principles, start forth in convention as full-fledged politicians, discuss in full synod our national measures, and propound their crude fancies to Parliament in the thrice holy name of the God of love. To crown the mischief, an estimable clergyman of our own Church, duped by the liberal follies of the age, throws the shield of his name over the motley group, and lends his voice to swell the cry of agitation. Not content with stringing together the borrowed fallacies of the economists, he begs the question at issue in his title page, and can find no fitter motto for his assault on the corn laws than the words of Solomon, "The righteous considereth the cause of the poor, but the wicked regardeth not to know it."

Now on this very point we join issue with Mr. Noel. We believe that sound policy, true benevolence, and Christian duty, are alike opposed to that course of legislation which he com-

mends. We are convinced that the two great elements of national peace and welfare, set before us in the word of God, are the culture of the soil, and the culture of the human heart; and that our departure from these simple maxims, while it has flushed our cheek with an unnatural glow, and filled us with the pride of wealth and greatness, has brought disease into the vitals of the state. And from these plain truths, based on the divine word, and confirmed by dear-bought experience, we infer that the repeal of the corn laws, and substitution of foreign for native produce, would only be another step in a precipitate descent to national ruin. We cannot in these few pages clear away all the mists of infidel theories of wealth, bred in the marshes of a sensual age; but we hope, at least, to place before our more thoughtful readers those first principles of national duty and wisdom, on which the true solution of this great problem must depend.

What, then, is the sound and Christian course which a nation should pursue in the direction given to its labour, with a view to its solid and lasting welfare? What are the true laws, the right order of social progress, not when the vessel of the state is left to drive on the waves of selfishness and ambition, but when steered wisely by the pole-star of Christian truth? Two modes of answering this question are open to us. A Christian nation is only a collection of Christian men, bound together by common laws and institutions. Hence the lessons of duty must be the same for both, only that the nation exhibits them on a wider and larger scale. But we have also a pattern of national ordinances, inspired by divine wisdom, and purposely left for our instruction. The great maxims of national pursuit embodied in those divine ordinances furnish a second guide, and the concurrence of both will far outweigh, in the judgment of every Christian patriot, a thousand hollow theories of an infidel age. Let us pursue, then, as briefly as possible, this needful and all-important enquiry.

The first aim of a nation, as of an individual, must be to procure a present supply for the immediate wants of the body. Here the lessons of instinct and the call of duty coincide. Life must be preserved and sustained, before it can be dignified by art, or consecrated by religion. This, which is the mere instinct of self-preservation, is echoed by the concurrent voice of Scripture. The first ordinance given to man in Paradise was a provision for his support; and after the fall a supply of raiment was the earliest manifestation of redeeming love. Here, then, we have the elements recognized of the first and lowest stage of national progress, including pasturage, tillage, and the ruder and simpler arts of social life.

When, however, this first stage of progress has once been secured, the whole energy of the national mind ought next to be thrown into the great work of moral advancement and religious culture. Man, the selfish outlaw, must be re-united to his brother: man, the perverse rebel, must be restored to the service of his God. Till this great work is effected, widely, and on a national scale, every fresh step of advancing art and luxury is only a sign of increasing folly and widening rebellion. The command of Heaven, to nations as to individuals, is clear and express—to “seek first the kingdom of God and his righteousness.” While neglecting this first duty, to busy ourselves with multiplying the inventions of art, is to copy the rebel angels in forging artillery that will be buried with us in one common ruin; but where that command is obeyed, it opens a wide and noble field of national pursuit. The tillage of the heart will repay the amplest labour, and the merchandize of truth and wisdom will yield the revenue of a vast and unspeakable gain. The surplus labour of the nation must be guided, then, in this direction. The ordinances of united and holy worship must be reared, like the tabernacle at Shiloh, in the midst of the land; its youth must be trained in the fear of God and the knowledge of his will; the conscience must be quickened by early discipline and the lessons of duty; and the heart be purified and raised by the transforming power of the religion of Christ. In short, reverence to God and love to man must become the very life-blood of the state—must leaven its customs, direct its laws, invigorate and develop its noblest powers, and spread themselves, like a mantle of grace and beauty, over every ordinance of social and domestic life. The fields of moral truth must be explored in voyages of patient thought, and yield the rich freight of Christian principles, to hallow and bless every family through the land. Simple in its habits, and severe in its morals; untainted by luxury, and enriched with wisdom; temperate in its wants, and noble in its aspirations; firm to resist unjust aggression, and united as one man by the bonds of Christian faith and love; such a nation, though yet ungraced by the triumphs of art and of conquest, will have peace and plenty within, and be a fountain head of blessings to an admiring world.

When this great work has been achieved, and the moral culture of the nation has made solid and effectual progress, a fresh stage of social advancement will begin. Those secondary pursuits which, before this, would have been a pernicious misdirection of labour, will now become both a privilege and a duty. There is nothing ascetic, harsh, or narrow, in the true spirit of the divine law. Once let man return to his rightful allegiance to his Maker,

and the universe is open to him for safe and free enjoyment. Science, with all its mysteries, and Nature, with all her stores, will now be recovered to his service, and spread their comforts through the happy land. Experience and industry will increase the productive powers of the soil; art will perfect every invention that ministers to convenience; and taste, refined and enlarged, will awaken the hidden harmonies of nature, and chisel into beauty the rude block of the material world. Thus manufactures will spread and multiply; commerce will be enlarged; temporal comforts will be added to higher springs of happiness; and the nation, walking in the path of Christian wisdom, will find it the path, not only of peace and safety, but of true, lasting greatness.

The whole advantage, however, of this progress of triumphant art depends on its following, instead of preceding, that process of moral culture which has just been described. Thus alone can it prove consistent with the laws of God, or conduce to the happiness of man. For it must be observed that art, science, mechanism, and trade, while they increase immensely the collective products of labour, have no power whatever to ensure their wholesome distribution. If they are guided by selfishness alone, the disproportion between the classes of society will ever increase, and with the growth of wealth there will be a widening undergrowth of destitution and misery. The right distribution of wealth, far more than its total amount, is the turning point of real prosperity. Manufactures, therefore, and commerce, without the foundation of Christian morals, may, at the same moment, pamper a nation with wealth, and plunge it into ruin. What can the greatest collective riches avail for the welfare of the state, if a few misers are buried amid hoards of gold; or a few spend-thrifts are wallowing in luxury, while the mass of the people are pining in want and hopeless wretchedness?

But when Art follows in the train of Morality and Religion, instead of usurping their place, this fearful danger is averted. Those jarring interests which, when nursed into full energy by the selfishness of trade, dash each other to pieces and convulse the state, are tamed down into harmony by the power of conscience, the restraints of religion, and the uniting and hallowing ordinances of the Church of God. Property, seen in its true light as a stewardship and trust, will neither be hoarded in pride, nor squandered in luxurious folly, but used with a conscientious respect to the wants of the poor, and a generous devotion to the public good. The souls and bodies of men will be felt to be of far higher worth than superfluous comforts, and will not be suffered to be dwarfed and crippled by poisonous trades and infant labour, that prints may be cheaper, or the butterflies of fashion

flutter in more gay apparel. The law of Christian love, stamped on the very currency of trade, will blend together, without confounding them, the different ranks of society, and diffuse the benefits of increased affluence down to the meanest labourer. The science which guides royal navies in triumph through the seas will bring comfort home to the peasant at his daily meal. Public taste, ennobled by the severe simplicity of morals, and refined by an atmosphere of pure and Christian hearts, will add beauty to the cottage, while it adorns the palace. Marriage, no longer a mere civil form, or miserable counterfeit of holy things, will be raised into its true dignity, as a memorial of the earthly, and anticipation of the heavenly Paradise, and thus secure the nation from the grievous curse of a redundant population. Not that population has ever been redundant, in reference to the abstract capabilities of the soil—for never, it has been truly said, has man even approached the limits of the Creator's bounty;—but redundant, fearfully redundant, it has often been, with regard to the social and moral condition of parents and their children, when they are born in sin, nursed in want and misery, and fermenting into a mass of anarchy and crime. But where Art and Trade are content to follow in the wake of Conscience and Religion, such misery can have no place. Increasing numbers will then be found consistent with increasing plenty, and man will cease to charge upon the arrangements of Providence the bitter fruits of his own sensuality and corruption.

If we compare these conclusions, drawn from the general maxims of Christian duty, with the pattern of national wisdom set before us in the word of God, they will be found in complete accordance. Agriculture is there made the foundation of the social edifice. The rights of property are guarded by a divine sanction; but provision is also made against the desolating effects of growing wealth and selfish ambition. Trade and manufactures are passed by almost in silence, as quite of secondary importance in regard to the true welfare of the state: and this, it should be noticed, arose from no local cause, since the coast of Palestine was peculiarly adapted to the pursuit of commerce. Yet, in the whole course of sacred history, we read only twice of a Jewish fleet engaged in the pursuits of trade; and one of these was the occasion of an unholy and fatal alliance. The maxims of the divine Legislator were of an opposite kind. On the simple basis of agricultural industry they reared the superstructure of a holy and united worship, with sacred ordinances to diffuse religious knowledge and moral wisdom through all the extent of the land. And what was the result? Did the Jewish prophets, like Mr. Noel, ever teach their countrymen to avert the miseries of famine by turning their corn-fields into pasture,

and multiplying factories, wrought by infant labour, to procure foreign supplies? On the contrary, the densest numbers found an ample supply. "Judah and Israel were many as the sand on the sea-shore, eating, and drinking, and making merry;" and when famine came, their teachers, wiser than Mr. Noel, taught them to regard it as God's punishment of their sins—one, and which was to be averted, not by expedients of policy, but by repentance and prayer.

Such is a brief outline of the only right and safe policy for a Christian nation to pursue. It is easy to see how far our country has forsaken this course. We have been reversing that order of progress in which alone peace and safety can be found. Science, art, manufacturing skill, and commercial greatness, have taken precedence of Christian faith and morality in the mind of the nation. The fatal results, though only in part developed, are beginning to appear before our eyes. Instead of being united in one common faith and worship, we have grown indifferent to the privileges of Christ's holy Church, with its Catholic ordinances and firm protest against idolatrous superstitions. Thus we have exposed ourselves, on the one hand, to a revival of popery and semi-popish doctrines; and, on the other, are split into a hundred sects, full of vain jangling against all national religion; and who, as the consummation of their folly, are now busy in profaning holy words to seduce the nation one step farther from the path of true safety. Meanwhile capital has grown and penury has multiplied. Machinery has increased our collective wealth, and swelled the numbers of our unemployed paupers. A crowded population, immured in the workshops and factories of our great towns, with neither fresh air, nor social ties, nor religious instruction, have been dwarfed and crippled in body, or debased in morals, till thousands and almost millions have become the ready prey of the vendors of blasphemy, and the Chartist apostles of sedition and crime. The relations of domestic life have been reversed. Vigorous manhood has come to be sustained by the toils of infants; capital and cripples have multiplied together; and childhood, in its bright years of hope, been dragged as a weary captive at the chariot wheels of Mammon. The infection of trade has spread from our towns to the country. That capital may find its own level, small farms are swallowed up in huge domains; the yeomanry of the land pressed down by the competition of larger capitalists; and the labourers sunk into plodding serfs or hopeless paupers. Such are the inevitable results, sooner or later, when a nation overleaps the moral prerequisites of social welfare, and would vault suddenly, at one bound, into the paradise of commercial greatness. A false standard of value is then formed; factitious wants and idle luxuries are rated higher

than the vital interests of the people ; manufactures are stimulated and agriculture is depressed. The whole energy of the people being diverted to the supply of physical wants, a field comparatively unproductive, capital and skill have the lion's share of the profits, and the wages of manual labour become lower and lower, compared with the collective wealth of the state. From both these causes united, the agricultural labourer is brought to the edge of starvation. In the towns we have alternate fits of feverish vigour and extreme exhaustion. Now, to reap the harvest of wealth, water and steam are plied night and day, and the sinews of the workman overtasked in the race of active cupidity. Presently the market is glutted by the over production ; warehouses are filled with unsold goods ; and thousands of workmen, without hope of employment, are left to ferment into rebellion, or starve in silent despair.

Such being the nature of our social evils, and such the evident source, what is the remedy which our liberal statesmen propose, and which Mr. Noel applauds as the perfection of wisdom ? Why, truly, they advise a fresh transfer of labour from the soil to the loom and factory, and a further extension to that system of trade, unbased on national morality and religion, which has brought us already to the brink of ruin. They would have us remove all protection from our native agriculture, and thus condemn it to comparative extinction : they would divert national labour from the production of food to that of superfluous luxuries, at the very time when our manufactures glut the markets, and thousands are on the brink of starvation. Hundreds of thousands of peasants are to be thrown out of employment, that British corn may be replaced by foreign produce. Our country, in time of peace, is to become dependent, like ancient Tyre, on the chamberlains of foreign despots ; and, in time of war, like a besieged city, with a crowded populace and destitute of magazines, must surrender at discretion to her enemies.

Such is the remedy for our difficulties proposed, flatly in the teeth of all scriptural precedents, not only by liberal statesmen, but by men who call themselves divines ! Some hundreds of Dissenting teachers, who agree in no point of faith but the duty of vilifying the union of religion with politics in the Established Church, and of practising it in their own mongrel convention, pronounce it, in their oracular wisdom, an obvious and evident cure. And should Parliament, alas, despise these self-appointed counsellors, and reject their counsel, a ready explanation of its motives is provided in Mr. Noel's title-page ; and the people may infer that the righteous Liberals consider the cause of the poor, but that the wicked advocates of the corn laws regard not to know it !

Apart, however, from the immediate effects of repeal, and the

monstrous follies of one class of its noisy advocates, the theoretical grounds which enjoin the protection of our agriculture would be very plain, if our political economists had not clouded the subject with baseless and hollow theories of value. The accumulated labour of centuries—the cost of national preservation—and the blessing of Providence on our land, which has made the name of Britain a synonym of greatness, have combined to increase the true worth of our soil, and, along with this, the natural value of its produce. On the other hand, the overgrowth of trade, by the accumulation of surplus capital, and the extensive currency required by its multiplied exchanges, has made the rate of interest low, almost beyond precedent, and given to money a factitious cheapness. These two opposite causes—one resulting from our real advancement, and the other from the unhealthy development of trade—have combined to raise the money price of food above the continental level. To destroy the existing protection is just the same as for Holland to destroy the artificial dykes which secure it from the sea. The natural prerogative of our soil will be gone, the labour of centuries rendered fruitless, and our land will be degraded to the level of the Ukraine. The fresh development of foreign trade will shortly operate with double power, and raise the money cost of food to its former limit. Prices, in short, will be lowered only long enough to turn our corn-fields into waste or pasture, and to place our country at the mercy of foreign powers.

But we must spend a few words upon Mr. Noel's pamphlet. It is painful to see real benevolence of purpose employed in giving currency to the false statements and delusive hopes of which this tract is full ; but still more painful is the effect ; when Scripture texts are prefixed to the advocacy of a course which is directly adverse both to scriptural precedents and the maxims of Christian duty.

The first pages open with an account of the destitution of the poor in England and Ireland ; and we give the author full credit for those benevolent feelings which such scenes ought to awaken in every heart. The following paragraph, however, is a curious premise to his main argument :—

“ But all English penury is trivial compared with that of Ireland. There the labourer, if rich enough to buy one, may feed his pig, but must never taste its flesh ; and may raise corn, but must not touch a grain of it. Potatoes, often eaten dry, and sometimes cold to avoid the expense of fire, form the only sustenance for a life of labour ; while the rent for his wretched mud hovel, pervious to wind and rain, without window, fire-place, or furniture, must consume much of his scanty earnings, leaving him nothing but rags for his clothing, and nothing but

the bare ground for his bed. In the poorer districts of large Irish towns, as Limerick and Dublin, I have seen such nakedness, starvation, and emaciated misery, as make me shudder in the recollection of them."

Now this fact alone might show the utter emptiness of Mr. Noel's grand remedy. First, we see that Ireland, though more densely peopled than England, can furnish corn for exportation; besides supplying with food its own population. Our distress, then, does not arise from the inability of our soil to yield food for all, but from the misdirection of labour and the depression of wages. Mr. Noel's remedy, however, is to divert labour from the plough and spade to the crowded factory, and to aggravate the system by which wages are depressed. Again, there is free trade between Ireland, a country yielding surplus corn, and the manufacturing districts of England; and yet extreme destitution prevails in both. How plain, then, that free trade with corn-growing countries is no sufficient remedy for the evils which he deplures. In the third place, corn, we believe, is slightly cheaper in Ireland than in England; but wages are lower in a still greater proportion, and the distress is deeper. How foolish, then, to think that a lowered price of bread, on the admission of foreign corn, would of course improve the condition of the working classes. The presumption, from Mr. Noel's own facts, is, that wages would fall still more, and the condition of the poor be worse than ever, under the system of free trade.

From bad reasoning, or rather the neglect to reason at all, we turn to groundless assertions; and these we meet with in the very next paragraph, and in others to the same effect:—

"Every year these evils appear likely to augment. Nearly all the lands of England which would repay cultivation are already cultivated, and there are at present more labourers than enough in many villages. Our commerce with Europe in finished goods has been diminishing, while cotton twist and machinery have been largely exported; and while the hand-loom weavers have been intensely suffering from inadequate work and poor pay, there is not enough employment for those who work at the power looms. In Ireland the labourers are not employed, on an average, above two-thirds of their time, and wages are depressed to their lowest point."

"The population of Great Britain and Ireland is at present growing, by an annual addition of 400,000. The land is already so thoroughly cultivated, that while the number of families in Great Britain employed in agriculture in 1821 was 978,656, the number employed in the same manner in 1831 was reduced to 961,134. The land, therefore, cannot employ the additional population: and to endeavour to prevent the multiplication of towns, and the extension of manufactories, is to endeavour to secure that the whole additional population of Great Britain and Ireland should be without employment and without food."

Now, in reply to this, we refer our readers to Appendix iii.

of Mr. Alison's able "Treatise on Population." After showing that England could well support sixty millions, Ireland forty-eight, and Scotland fifteen, being collectively five times the number at the last census, he proceeds thus:—

"The prodigious difference between the numbers the British islands actually contain, and those they are capable of feeding, will startle those who are not accustomed to political calculations; and yet the estimate is founded on grounds which every one acquainted with the subject must deem highly moderate. It proceeds on the supposition that thirty-nine millions of acres are quite unproductive; that one half only of the remainder is devoted to the staple articles of subsistence; and that the produce of this portion is twenty-four bushels of grain, or three times the amount of nourishment in potatoes—the basis assumed in all Mr. Young's calculations."

He then adds the following reflections, which are interesting at the present crisis:—

"It is more likely than that these islands will ever contain human beings for whom it cannot provide sustenance, that its fields will return, in the revolutions of society, to their pristine desolation, and the forest resume its wonted domain; that a few fishermen will spread their nets on the ruins of Plymouth, and the beaver construct its dwelling under the arches of Waterloo-bridge; the towers of York rise in dark magnificence amidst an aged forest; and the red deer sport, in savage independence, around the Athenian pillars of the Scotch metropolis."

It will be from no lack of zeal on the part of Mr. Noel or the Chamber of Commerce, if the first step towards this melancholy consummation does not speedily ensue. With Britain, as with Italy, the conversion of our corn-fields into parks and pastures will mark that the tide of flood is passed, and the ebb of national greatness is begun.

But how happily Mr. Noel is qualified to settle this question, when the main assumption on which he builds is proved to be false, only in the small proportion of five to one!!

The rest of the pamphlet is composed on a very simple and ingenious principle, which we will briefly explain, for the benefit of our readers. It is well known that three or four different theories are current among Repealers, as to the effects of diminished protection. Mr. M'Culloch maintains that prices will scarcely be lowered. Earl Fitzwilliam, the late Board of Trade, and the organs of the Whig Ministry say that the effect will be "cheap bread." Mr. Cobden asserts that wages will not be diminished; while most advocates for repeal think its chief benefit to be the lowered price of manufactures, from the fall of wages. Now Mr. Noel adopts the favourable half of all these alternatives, and discards the rest without ceremony. Prices will fall so much that all the manufacturers will have full employment, and they will fall so little that no land will be

thrown out of cultivation. Wages will sink to such a degree that we shall undersell foreigners in every market; and yet employment will be so plentiful that "the labourer could make his own terms." The whole reminds us of a dishonest school-boy working a sum where the answer is given at the side. No matter how many blunders in the work, the result is sure to be true. So with Mr. Noel, every alleged fact may prove to be a falsehood, and every argument a contradiction; but the conclusion is safe—the "enormous" evil of the corn laws, and the "unbounded prosperity" that will be caused by their repeal.

For instance, "foreign wheat, as Mr. M'Culloch has shown, cannot be sold under 50s., with a protecting duty of 7s." Hence, according to Mr. Noel, the lowest price of admission, under the proposed measure, would be 57s. Now from 1832 to 1837, about one half the time the present law has been in operation, the average price was 50s. 3d.; and, assuming Mr. Noel's own data, the effect of the fixed duty would have been to reduce his average to 49s. 2d.; assuming those of Mr. M'Culloch, whose reasoning he borrows, there would have been no reduction whatever. What then, according to our author, would have been the effects of this "wise measure," with its reduction of 2 per cent. as drawn from his own data, on the price of corn? Our readers will be astonished at their magnitude. It would have "provided plenty for all"—"ensure a steady demand for English goods, and a regular employment of workmen." It would "cheapen every necessary of life." "Those who now see their children starving would have the happiness of seeing them fed." "The advantage to the operatives would not cease here." "The labourer could make his own terms." The labourers of Ireland "would exchange the maddening contemplation of forced idleness and hopeless want, for the habits of a cheerful and well-paid industry." "Many would have their lives prolonged who are now sinking prematurely into the grave, from insufficient food. Children, dwarfed and crippled in their growth from the same cause, would grow up in the enjoyment of ruddy health to a vigorous maturity." "The demoralization attendant on hopeless inaction and habitual mendicancy would cease." "There is no degree of national prosperity which we might not expect." "An *unlimited* extension of commerce will drain the country of all its superfluous labourers." The effect, in short, would be to "feed the people, supply the exchequer, promote morality, lessen the chance of war, and injure no one;" and to "open the prospect of unbounded prosperity to the whole nation." (pp. 6, 7, 8, 10, 11, 21, 24, 34, 35). It results, then, from Mr. Noel's reasoning, with the force of mathematical demonstration, that for six years, from 1832 to 1837, England was within a

hair's breadth of being transformed into a terrestrial paradise ; and the cruel corn laws, by raising the price 2 per cent., dashed the cup of enjoyment from our lips, and condemned millions to misery and starvation !

Now what must we think of the man of intelligence, and minister of the Gospel, who can fling such rash and foolish prophecies before the poorer classes, and clench them by the enquiry, "Why should the law step in and say, you shall neither labour nor eat? Can it be right that the law should intercept the bounty of God?" The gentlest answer we can make in such a case is, that he has forgotten both his Bible and his common sense : and that although he is flinging "firebrands, arrows, and death," among the populace, he does it in ignorance, and with the very best intentions. This is a poor excuse, however, for the folly and sin of meddling with a subject of which he knows so little, as to run blindfold into these preposterous absurdities.

Let us now consider steadily for a few moments, in the light of plain facts and simple reasoning, the true effects of the measure which our author commends.

First, the average price of corn at Dantzic, for seven years, was 27s. 1d. Suppose it 30s., with 6s. for freight, &c., and 8s. for duty ; the price at which foreign corn might enter will be 44s.

Secondly, the foreign corn trade being at least three times as extensive as our own, the fall of the home price would probably exceed the rise of foreign prices, in the case of continuous and free importation, in the proportion of three to one. The average price in England, from 1831 to 1840, was 56s. 11d. ; the new average would then be about 47s., or less than at present by 10s. per quarter.

Thirdly, by this fall of price, according to the late Chancellor, four millions of quarters will come to be imported ; according to Lord Charles Russell, two millions of acres would be thrown out of tillage, equivalent to an importation of six millions. A more likely result is, that one-third of the nation's consumption would be imported, or, reckoning the population of Great Britain at twenty-one millions, seven millions of quarters annually.

Fourthly, the beneficial effect would be, in this case, first, a revenue to the state of 2,800,000*l.* ; and, secondly, a diminution of price to the consumers, amounting to 10,500,000*l.* On the other hand, the loss of agricultural revenue at home will be, first, the price of seven millions of quarters, no longer produced at home, or, at 57s. the quarter, 20,000,000*l.* ; secondly, the reduction of 10s. on fourteen millions of quarters, or 7,000,000*l.* ; the total being 27,000,000*l.* The value of the produce of the two and half millions of acres diverted from tillage would be

probably balanced by the interest of capital sunk, and the general decline of the value of agricultural produce.

Fifthly, the agricultural consumers being to the manufacturers at least as two to one, the diminution of price would be shared in that proportion—7,000,000*l.* to the agricultural, and half the sum to the manufacturing population. Hence the immediate result will be, a revenue of near three millions to Government, and a relief of three millions and a half to the manufacturers, balanced by a loss to the agricultural classes of about twenty millions of income. The final loss, therefore, to the agricultural interests would be nearly six times the gain to the trading classes.

Sixthly, supposing wages and the price of manufactures unchanged, the foreign market could only be increased by the increased ability of foreign corn-growers to purchase. Reckoning this at half the foreign sale price of the corn imported, this would amount to 5,250,000*l.* On the other hand, the home market would be contracted twenty millions. The immediate effect would be to contract the total market by nearly fifteen millions.

Seventhly, at the last census, the males above twenty engaged in agriculture were 980,000, those engaged in manufactures 314,000. Of the first, when one-third of the produce was imported, one-sixth we may suppose would be thrown out of their employment, and either starve, or increase the number of operatives by one-third.

Lastly, the wages of the workman must be lowered, so as to counteract the contraction of the market, and extend it, by increased cheapness, beyond its present limit; and next, to meet the increased competition from the influx of near two hundred thousand unemployed peasants. The final effect will, therefore, be a benefit of three or four millions to the great manufacturing capitalists, no advantage to the operatives, and a collective loss of twenty millions of income to the landholders, farmers, and labourers. The results must be extensive bankruptcy, and commercial panic, misery, and ruin.

Such, without pretending to a mathematical exactness, is the practical nature of that measure, upon which Mr. Noel has treated his readers to so plentiful a dish of utopian fancies. For a more detailed reply, if such be needed, we refer them to the two pamphlets which follow on our list, and to the masterly chapter on the Corn Laws, in Mr. Alison's "*Treatise on Population.*" We cannot, however, part from Mr. Noel, without a strong protest against the false and anti-christian doctrine of the following passage:—

"Myriads of the working classes, whose interests are especially at stake, have implored the legislature not to vote them any public money,

not to give them any unfair advantage over others, not to invade private property, but to break off the fetters which the law has laid upon their industry ; to restore them their natural liberty to purchase bread in return for the produce of their labour ; to permit them to maintain their families by honest and laborious exertion.

“For no fault of theirs they are suffering the pain of hunger, with all the physical and moral evils which accompany it. God has provided for them corn, not in their own crowded country, but in others less densely peopled. They have the ability to buy it by their labour, if the law forbids not ; and the restoration of their natural right will invigorate every branch of British industry. Generously, therefore, as becomes the disciple of Christ, let every Christian reader overcome all party spirit, silence each ignorant prejudice, and, trampling on the suggestions of a short-sighted self-interest, labour with every friend of his country to effect that extension of our trade which, while it improves the condition of the working classes, will open the prospect of unbounded prosperity to the whole nation.”

These expressions, from the pen of a minister of the Gospel and preacher of righteousness, strike us with pain and surprise. What ! the miseries and distress of our land no proof of sin—no token of God’s displeasure—due to no fault in those who suffer—but merely the result of “restraints on man’s natural rights and liberty !” The cause of our calamities is not, it seems, disobedience to the laws of God, but the existence of certain laws of man ! The removal of restrictions upon trade, without repentance, or faith, or holiness, will suffice to “open a prospect of unbounded prosperity to the whole nation !” Is this the language of the minister of St. John’s, or of Volney or Robert Owen ? What a fearful spirit of delusion must lurk beneath the liberal theories of the day, when so excellent and pious a clergyman, under their fatal influence, contradicts the word of God, and echoes the sentiments of anarchists and blasphemers !

But to leave this superficial tract—it is for the sake of the poor themselves that we deprecate the repeal of our protective laws. Its first effect must be to throw out of employment two or three hundred thousand labourers, with their families, or if total, probably twice the number. A small proportion might emigrate, or be absorbed in our towns, but the greater part would be thrown upon the poor-rates, or starve. Next, prices and wages would fall together, and a temporary stimulus be given to the foreign market, and to trade in general. But very soon much of our arable land would be thrown out of tillage, and then the price of foreign corn must rise ; steam will have glutted the market with goods ; an influx of agricultural paupers will be precipitated upon our large towns, to add to their growing numbers ; and while prices rise towards their first level,

wages would fall lower than before. Thus, even in average years, the labourer will be worse off by two degrees than at present. But in years of failing harvest abroad, the case will be far worse. Prices will rise enormously—for foreigners will not starve themselves to give us food without a compensation. And there will then be no reserve, as there is now in the bonded corn, when our home harvest is defective; but the populace of our towns, with their numbers doubled and their wages lowered, will be exposed to the miseries of famine, and become the fiery craters of revolution.

But more than all we deprecate repeal, because its direct object is to push still farther that system of physical pursuit and eager trading, which, in the actual moral and religious condition of our country, we can regard as nothing less than one splendid and gigantic sin. We are as alive as their most zealous worshippers to the vast advantages of trade and commerce, *when placed on their true basis*. But no Christian can look at the actual state of our land, and compare it with the plain and irrefragable principles we have briefly unfolded, without the painful sense of an utter contrast. The two great remedies that can alone avail for our safety, are a diligent national pursuit of Christian faith, truth, and righteousness, and a sedulous repression and counteraction of the artificial, mercenary, and feverish spirit of trade. By repealing the corn laws, we should foster the source of our troubles, and apostatize one step farther from the road of national obedience. We plunge ourselves, as a nation, still deeper into the vortex of worldly care, and depart more widely than ever from the simple precepts of divine wisdom.

If, however, the promises of benefit from repeal are plainly delusive, are there no remedies, it may be asked, for the admitted defects of the present system, and for the serious evils which now press upon the poorer classes? We believe there is a remedy for both. The chief defects of the present scale appear to be, the short term of the averages, the abrupt decline of duty at the upper limit, and the periodical fluctuations, which together have naturally led to gross speculation and gambling. To extend the period of the average to three months, and to make the change of duty most gradual at the higher limit, when the actual influx takes place, would remove most of the evil.

But the weightier question remains of the true remedies for our present difficulties and troubles. And here, while the details may be obscure, the grand outlines are clear and plain. First of all—and without this every other expedient, though it were proposed by an angel from heaven, is pernicious quackery—the national energy must be turned from the feverish eagerness of speculation and trade, into the path of moral culture and

spiritual regeneration. The ordinances of the Church must be revived and extended in their primitive beauty, and the truths of Christ's religion heartily embraced in their transforming power. Physical wants and desires must cease to choke and bury the spiritual life of the soul. Labour must be diverted from the unproductive pursuits of luxurious pride, to the research of moral truth and divine wisdom. This will then act as a wholesome alterative upon the social system. Landlords will care more for their tenants—the tenant will care more for his labourers; selfishness will no longer grind the faces of the poor; smiling cottages, in increasing numbers, will replace the enormous solitudes of pride; and the pleasure-ground of Ahab will cease to absorb the inheritance of Naboth. Content and prosperity among our peasants will abate the rush of population to our large towns. The cupidity of trade, abating through the spread of Christian principle, or checked by a wholesome legislation, will cease, by its restless labours night and day, to crowd its warehouses from the overtaken sinews of tender infants, and to bring on a revulse of ruinous stagnation. Masters will care less for a high per centage, and more for the welfare of their workmen. The workmen, no longer left a prey to the mock sympathy of heartless agitators, but cheered by the rays of genuine Christian kindness, will be drawn out of their gregarious anarchy into the happy circle of the social charities and domestic love. Marriage, now so fearfully buried in youthful profligacy, or sunk into the barrenness of a lifeless ceremony, will be revived in the unspeakable mystery of its divine original: starting into fresh life and beauty, it will serve for a sacred fence against the terrible fruits which must ever flow from sensual appetite, whether standing bare in its own hideousness, or cloaked with the thin veil of an unfelt and unheeded form.

With a soil equal to the support of a hundred millions of souls—with Art and Science at her command—with the ocean as a pathway for her fleets, and a bulwark for her shores—and, above all, with the light of the eternal Gospel, and the holy ordinances of the Church of God—BRITAIN has no need to degrade herself into the pauper dependent of foreign nations. She has no need, any more than the private Christian—nay, it were a miserable want of faith—to look out of herself to the ends of the earth for that social happiness, of which the true sources are within and above. Let the spirit of selfishness be exorcised from the hearts of her people; and a sound, English, manly policy guide the counsels of her rulers; and then all the elements of boundless prosperity are indeed within our reach. The glare of false science, in its infidel systems of economy, no less than its infidel metaphysics, leads only to bewilder, and

dazzles its followers into blindness: but the word of God can never deceive—its promises can never fail—its lessons can never betray. Its maxims of duty, its examples of national ruin, and prophecies of coming glory—all speak to us with one consenting voice, and silence the clamours of short-sighted theorists by the authority of heaven. They teach us that agricultural industry and the culture of the heart, Christian faith, social charity, and moderation in the pursuits of trade, are the surest pledges of the divine blessing, and the sole pathway that can lead either men or nations to union, peace, plenty, and lasting greatness.

ART. X.—*Speech of Sir Robert Peel on the Amendment to the Address of the House of Commons to the Queen.* London: Painter. 1841.

2. *Mr. Baillie Cochrane's Address to his Constituents at Bridport.* London: Painter. 1841.

WHEN some great and signal benefit has befallen an individual, it often happens that he does not at first experience the full measure of his joy; his heart is glad, indeed, but his mind does not grasp the entire extent of the good imparted to him—he requires time to recover calmness, he will be happier after awhile. We think this common condition of individual feeling very much that of the nation on the accession of the present Administration to power. For ten weary years, a decade of mischief and misrule, every thoughtful man, to whom the cause of Christian truth and its diffusion through the world were dear, who was solicitous for the cultivation of sound learning and the maintenance of the olden institutions of England, sighed for the removal from power of men who, like a stately scoffer of an early age, “cared for none of these things.” Year after year this desired event, which frequently seemed on the eve of consummation, was deferred by a series of tricks, breaches of promise, and shameless tergiversations, on the part of the Whigs, unprecedented in the annals of political profligacy; but their doom has at length been sealed by the fiat of an outraged and indignant people. Intense, we may truly say, is the joy felt at their downfall, though very differently is it expressed from that which wildly welcomed their elevation in 1830. The maniac phrensy and filthy indecencies of a group of lewd satyrs and drunken bacchanals furnish the only types of the rabble rout, in whose ranks, however, were mingled many who have since bitterly bewailed their temporary delusion, which clustered round the then triumphal cars of Lords Brougham and John Russell. But fitting is it that the serene satisfaction of Christian men exulting

in the restoration of order should differ in its demonstration from the mad ebullitions of plunderers gloating over the prospect of prey. That a something beyond an extension of the elective franchise, a something much resembling a division of booty, was contemplated by the "masses," as it was formerly Lord John Russell's pleasure to call the manufacturing population of England, whilst goaded by the reform cry, is proved, by the birth of Chartism and Socialism, beyond all cavil or dispute. The English people are by constitution a calm and unexcitable race—phlegmatic and indifferent, indeed, except in the very agonies of hunger; and never would they have been so ardent for Parliamentary Reform—never would they have risen against their kindest friends, the nobility, gentry, and clergy—never would they have lifted their sacrilegious hands against the towers of the poor man's Church, which the Anglican branch of Christ's Visible Church undoubtedly is, if they had anticipated no other personal good than the acquisition of a vote, and no further national benefit than the substitution of sundry new Whig for certain ancient Tory boroughs. Surely Gatton was quite as respectable as, and incomparably more moral and quiet than, Great Grimsby. It may now suit the Pantologist Brougham, and the Brummagem letter-writer, John Russell, to veil their modest faces and protest they wished not to incite their listeners to deeds of havoc and of blood; but history will record indelibly on her pages the condemning fact that their breath fanned the fires which wrapped Bristol and Nottingham Castle in flames. But we are wrong in speaking of modesty and veils; for, deep as is the guilt of these delinquents, we can trace in their conduct no signs of contrition. Lord Brougham, indeed, is now listened to with respect by none—he is universally derided, distrusted, or despised: but he hastened, when the storm was at its height, across the Channel, to revel amidst its howlings; his Gallic Tusculum has no charms to withhold the modern Cicero from the field of strife. Lord John Russell is still permitted to play a more actively mischievous part, as we will presently proceed to show; and, within a few hours of the time in which we are inditing this article, evinced in the House of Commons the same reckless disposition to agitate, in order that he might vent his rancour on an opponent, that he displayed to secure office in 1831, when he aroused the artizans of Birmingham to rebellion.

When last we addressed our readers, it was on the eve of a general election: right^{ly} have the Conservatives of England responded to the appeal then made to them, and great, we repeat, is the joy diffused through the country, and we may add her colonies, at the result of their exertions, though its expression is subdued. But this again is as it ought to be, for it is

only a barbarian conqueror who spurns and mocks the vanquished. Truth, however, or at any rate our opinion of what is politically prudent, constrains us to confess that we cannot approve the first step taken by the Conservatives on the opening of the new Parliament. A political blunder, which is already felt, though its evil consequences are only partially developed, was committed in the re-election of the Speaker, at the instigation of him whom all England reveres, and all earth knows—the Duke of Wellington. We yield to none in our admiration of that illustrious hero—there is no honour we would not heap upon him. No; let the embroidered banner wave in the hall over his laurelled head, while grateful nations do homage before him; but we dare not cry, as slavishly do some, “It is the voice of a god, and not of a man!”

The circumstances attending Mr. Shaw Lefevre’s re-election to the Speaker’s chair are so recent that we will only briefly recapitulate them: but upon the consequences which have already ensued, and those which we clearly foresee will flow from that event, we must comment at greater length; for manifest as light to our eyes is it, that but for the position in which this re-election placed the retiring Whigs, a prime ingredient in the Russell cup of agitation would have been wanting. The Queen’s name could not have been perverted to the purposes of faction, mischievously and wickedly used as a spell to evoke the spirits of disorder. Lord John Russell may yet die the death of the rash necromancer, torn by his disappointed and disobedient fiends; and if he does, no tear of pity will bedew his grave, while stern justice inscribes, for the admonition of posterity, upon his tomb—

“Nec lex justior ulla est,
Quam necis artifices arte perire sua.”

We cannot, however, dismiss, even for a short while, this worthy scion of a house whose generations, with one solitary exception, have presented, in alternate succession, sycophants or rebels—court minions or mob agitators, without adding, that there is no proposition to be found in Lord John Russell’s deliberate compositions which he has not acted counter to in practice—no profession of his earlier and better life which he has not violated in his maturer age—no promise made in seeking office which he has not broken since its attainment—no “wheel-about and turn-about” trick to retain his hold on place which he has not, with cool, unblushing brow, played off in the face of his country. We are prepared to justify our sentence by extracts from Lord John Russell’s own books, contrasted with his official acts, and may take an early opportunity of doing so, that we may point to his

lordship's own sayings and doings, and exclaim, "This, ye gentlemen of England, is the Leader of the Opposition, now marshalled before the hosts of infidelity and rebellion, to do battle against the armies of the Constitution." If we seem to any to dwell at undue length, and with somewhat of severity, on the ex-Colonial Secretary, our justification is, that we consider his plausibility, his perseverance, his powers of mischief, and his unscrupulous promptitude to use them, when party exigencies require their exercise, so dangerous, that we will pass by no occasion of setting his true character so palpably and broadly before his countrymen, that those who run may read it. But we will now return to a Whig of less repulsive aspect—the present Speaker of the House of Commons.

Mr. Shaw Lefevre, the member for North Hampshire, is, we understand, in private life, an estimable and excellent man—a near neighbour of the Duke of Wellington, with whom he is a great favourite, for his general good qualities, and also for his concurrence with his Grace's partiality for two measures, of which, with all deference, we think that illustrious individual is too fond—we mean the Rural Police Force, and the Poor Law Amendment Act, in all its Somerset House rigour. Before the opening of Parliament it was currently supposed that the struggle of strength would be on the election of Speaker, and that, upon the defeat of the Whig candidate—an inevitable event—that party would resign, without preparing any Speech from the Throne—without, in short, perpetrating the indecent mockery of putting into the royal mouth propositions diametrically opposed to the well known sentiments of her Majesty's immediately in-coming Government. This would have been the regular ordinary course, which, in human affairs, is always the safest, and from which the country will probably have to regret that any deviation was made. Mr. Shaw Lefevre could not have felt it, familiar with party as he is, any personal affront; and the Whigs could not, with all their effrontery, have complained, when they remembered how they had served Lord Canterbury, after all the irksome toil he had undergone, at their request, in reducing their Reform rabble to order, licking the legislative cubs of Connaught, and other haunts of the wild, into parliamentary shape. Far be it from us to counsel Conservatives to take a leaf, as the phrase is, from their enemies' book—far be it from us to recommend, for the attainment of any object, any unkindly act which may inflict needless pain on any human being; never may that reckless disregard of all but party considerations, so characteristic of Whiggery, be imitated by the honourable champions of Christian Conservatism. But we

think the epithet, candid overmuch, may be fairly applied to many members on this occasion, who appeared for the moment to forget that the wisdom of the serpent is, by the highest of authorities, held up for our imitation, as well as the innocence of the dove. In all our conduct—political contest among the rest—we are forbidden to do evil that good may come; we are even told to give our enemy our cloak; but we are nowhere commanded to furnish him with arms. No doubt a great howl would have been emitted by the Whig press, the pitch-pipe wound by Mr. Coppock, at the hard-heartedness of turning out such a Speaker as Mr. Shaw Lefevre; but past experience ought by this time to have taught Conservatives the mingled folly and danger of yielding vantage ground or rights to conciliate opponents, or to escape the unpleasantness of clamorous censure.

Before we write another line, we will pay the tribute of our respectful testimony to Mr. Shaw Lefevre's merits as a Speaker. His manners are bland and urbane—his general fitness in the chair is unimpeachable—his knowledge of the law of Parliament, its privileges, and its practice, is considerable—and we have no reason to believe that a more honourable minded man has been returned to the present Parliament. Why, then, can we object to the re-election of a gentleman at once admitted to be amiable, just, and intelligent? For several reasons, mixed and personal. In the first place, Mr. Lefevre has been ever a steady, consistent, and able supporter of the party opposed to Conservative principles; and knowing as we do how unconsciously to themselves the minds of party men are bent to party preferences—knowing how deceitful are the hearts of the best among us—we would not have placed in the Speaker's chair a Whig, in principle opposed to a Government about to be assailed by a fierce and most unscrupulous Opposition. We conscientiously believe that the welfare of these realms depends, under Divine Providence, on the continuance of a Conservative Government in office; we would not, therefore, have lightly put aside any help to secure its permanence. And was it not rather a stretch of confidence to place a gentleman in the Speaker's chair whose early and personal predilections must make it needful for him ever to be on the watch, that he may not be unjust to those who sit on his right hand? We feel an entire persuasion that the present Speaker will strive to be just; but has his first important official act confirmed or impaired the confidence of the party who so generously committed their dearest interests to his keeping?

We say at once that we allude to the Speaker's appointment

of what is now called the General Committee of Elections. By a very recent, and what we conceive the lawyers would quaintly call a wholesome, Act of Parliament, the fifty-eighth chapter of the 4th and 5th of Victoria, which only received the royal assent in June last, and from which many important purifying effects were expected to proceed, by members on each side of the House—by Sir Robert Peel and Mr. Charles Buller: by the twenty-second section of this statute it is enacted: “That at the beginning of every session of Parliament the Speaker of the House of Commons shall, by warrant under his hand, appoint six members of the House to be members of a Committee, which shall be called the General Committee of Elections.” By the thirtieth section it is enacted: “That all election petitions which shall be received by the House shall be referred by the House to the General Committee of Elections, for the purpose of choosing Select Committees to try such petitions.” By the thirty-third section, the concurrence of four members out of the six of which this Speaker’s Committee is composed is rendered essential to the validity of any act, or the transaction of any business whatever. By the forty-third section, this General Committee shall “select, in their discretion, six, eight, ten, or twelve members, whom they shall think duly qualified to serve as chairmen of Election Committees.” Now, without inviting our readers to wade deeper into this parliamentary pool—a by no means refreshing bath—we apprehend they can already see sufficiently far into its profundities to discern how important are the duties cast upon the General Election Committee, and of what paramount importance it is that no suspicion of its partiality or malassortment should exist. “Cæsar’s wife must not be suspected” is a phrase worn thread-bare; but the moral it conveys, as applicable to courts of justice, can never be overmuch inculcated.

A Committee of the House of Commons, to be tolerably satisfactory to all parties, ought not merely to be composed of members individually honourable, but also of men as fairly matched for business qualifications as possible. For example: if in a committee of six members, who have been selected three from one side of the Speaker’s chair and three from the other, *primâ facie*, the fairest of proceedings, the House has a general impression that, in determination to serve their party, experience in business, adroitness, and activity, one moiety is more than a match for its opposite, will not one party triumph, and the other be depressed? It certainly was the feeling, on the Conservative side of the House, that the Speaker had nominated more skilful tacticians from the Whig quarters than from the Conservative ranks. Before this list came out, a Conservative said, in our

hearing, not a hundred miles from St. Stephen's, "If there is a Whig Speaker, Coppock will get up a score more petitions against us, while our party will be discouraged from proceeding against the Whigs." Some of our readers who have leisure will perhaps enquire for themselves, and ascertain whether the conjecture of the honourable member has been proved to be correct. The members of the Committee in question are Lord Sandon, the Hon. Sidney Herbert, and Mr. Wilson Patten, Conservatives; Messrs. More O'Ferrall and J. Loch, and Sir George Grey, Liberals.

Those acquainted with the personal qualities, family alliances, and party connections of the members of the House generally, will understand this list at a glance, while to dissect it before readers less familiar with parliamentary personages and matters, would be unpleasant; for the very qualities which awaken our esteem on the one side of this Committee place its members below their hardier opponents in the scale of tactics. It is not the profoundly learned, courteous, and generous-natured barrister who is the most successful winner of a horse cause; neither is the high-minded nobleman, or frank, unsuspicious, and unscheming gentleman, the most effective member of a parliamentary committee. To escape, however, from a discussion which in its details would be too personal for us to handle with comfort, and on which we have spoken perhaps with sufficient significance, we will turn to one result of the Speaker's re-election, and consequent postponement of the trial of strength, for which Mr. Shaw Lefevre cannot be held responsible; we mean the opportunity it afforded the out-going Whigs to concoct a royal speech, to serve their own future party purposes, and embarrass Sir Robert Peel's Government. To designate this as an indecent outrage on her Majesty, who stoutly refused to deliver personally the speech prepared for her, and a most wicked device to inflame the passions of the multitude, is only to describe an act in every way consistent with the character of the parties who contrived it.

Brief as the space for struggle has been since the meeting of Parliament, on the re-election of Sir Robert Peel and his colleagues, it has amply disclosed the temper and character of the Opposition which her Majesty's Ministers must be prepared to encounter. It is at once fierce and vindictive, for no recollection of forbearance and courtesy extended to himself will restrain Lord John Russell. The Whig Opposition will be crafty, uncandid, unjust, and ungenerous; halting at no step, be it the misuse of a sovereign's name, or the convulsion of a kingdom, so long as the prospect of party purposes promoted is thereby unfolded to greedy eyes. The tabernacle tones of Mr Cobden,

and the conventicle candour of Mr. Brotherton, join in unison with the bland, smooth sophistries of Lord Palmerston, and the pert snappishness of Lord John Russell's man-of-all-work, Mr. Hawes of Lambeth, to send forth their discordant harmony against Sir Robert Peel. It is difficult for noble natures to remain unruffled amidst the buzzings of gnats, and display no irritation at the gad-fly's sting; the war-horse cannot crawl along hedges-rows, or simulate insensibility and death like the fox: but we will not suppress the utterance of a wish that Sir Robert Peel had a larger share of Lord John Russell's matchless self-control. His lordship's composure under circumstances beneath which all ordinary mortals would sink with shame, and cry unto earth to cover them, is at times absolutely sublime. It was said of Talleyrand, that, were a person to watch his countenance while the "other end" of his person was being kicked, the spectator could detect, on the part of the arch dissembler, no trace of emotion at what was going on. As much might be said of Lord J. Russell—we beg his lordship's pardon, and hasten to correct ourselves: much more has been written of his imperturbability under any conceivable amount of disasters or humiliations, entailed by his self-conceit, by a brother Whig, a co-crusader against rotten boroughs and Church preferments, until the reverend jester became a canon residentiary;—need we say that we allude to the venerable and facetious Sidney Smith?

"I believe (writes the Lucian of Amen-corner) that Lord John would perform the operation for the stone—build St. Peter's—or assume (with or without ten minutes' notice) the command of the Channel fleet; and no one would discover by his manner that the patient had died—the Church tumbled down—and the Channel fleet been knocked to atoms." As we have repeated in our pages one of the many portraits of Lord John, drawn by the faithful, friendly hand of Sidney Smith, we will mention, that on another occasion he says, "No man would think of going to sleep in the same political boat with Lord John while he had the watch." Nor can we forget the comic caution administered to the Whig Leader of the House of Commons, when sly Sidney thought stalls and canonries were in jeopardy: "Gently, John, gently down hill, or you will do us a mischief."

Unseemly and inconsistent with the serious character of our publication would it be for us to panegyrize an insensibility of shame—that hardness, deadness of heart which forbids all hope of penitence or amendment. Far be from our lips the expression of any wish for the assimilation of the Leader of the CONSERVATIVE GOVERNMENT to that of the coryphæus of the WHIG OPPOSITION, further than a somewhat less susceptibility than Sir Robert Peel occasionally displays when goaded by his

tormentors. The subjugation of every rising of indignant pride—the concealment of the smart inflicted by undeserved and unprovoked insult—the abstinence from all show of resentment for injuries which to endure is agony: this self-dominion is of no easy attainment. Yet for office sake—we hold no warrant to attribute higher motives—Lord John Russell achieved this victory over the tumults of anger; and we verily believe that had his lot been cast among the red men of America, without any change or extra hardening of his nature, he would, when bound to the stake, have smiled contempt upon his enemies through the flames, and pointing, as the Indian victim has been sometimes said to do, to the parts most accessible to agony, have braved his torturers to wring forth a groan. If, for office and party sake, such self-subjugation was accomplished, is it too much to ask for a large measure of fortitude on behalf of the cause and safety of England, the well-being and tranquillity of Christendom?

All false imputations are no doubt disagreeable; but some of those cast on Sir Robert Peel are so absurd, and others so glaringly unjust, that they can provoke no other feeling than that of ridicule. For example: the first motion Sir Robert made, on the re-assembling of Parliament, was one which it must have racked the most malignant ingenuity to pervert—it was for a grant to defray the expenses of warming and ventilating the new Houses of Parliament. The very next day a fierce tirade is levelled against the Premier by the *Morning Chronicle*, for his selfish and abominable preference of his own comfort and convenience, and that of his aristocratic colleagues, to a consideration of the sufferings of our manufacturing population! Mr. Cobden, in the plenitude of his independent charity, charged Sir Robert Peel with sending down an Assistant Poor Law Commissioner to Bolton, to make arrangements for the stringent administration of Somerset House regulations, in place of devising the best mode of relieving the pressure of distress. What turns out to be the real state of facts? On the very day that Sir Robert Peel kissed hands, in place of hurrying to a palace banquet, or an exulting assemblage of friends panting to

“Pursue the triumph and partake the gale;”

or to whine at a conventicle, and blasphemously pervert our blessed Lord's own prayer—as many a schismatic agitator, nicknamed “*reverend*!” and several preaching legislators have been wont of late to do—this *unfeeling, ungodly* plutocrat, all bent on self-indulgence, sits down and writes a letter to the Home Secretary, requesting that he will take immediate steps to investigate a harrowing tale of distress which Mr. Cobden had himself

narrated in the House ! Do the sanctimonious seditious of Manchester ever blush ?

Sir Robert Peel, whose *want* of money is so much more exigent than were the necessities of Lords Normanby, John Russell, and Palmerston, or those of Mr. Fox Maule, or Babbington Macaulay, asks for three or four months' time to digest a plan for the rectification of the financial misrule of ten years ; and forthwith the *Morning Chronicle*, the organ now of the Whig Opposition, as it was erst the utensil of the Whig Cabinet, bawls forth that the Tory Premier is solely anxious to clutch official salary ! Is the school-boy maxim, that "those who live in glass houses ought to be careful of throwing stones," quite obliterated by the blaze of modern illumination ? Why, there were individuals high in the late Administration who would be thankful of the wages paid to Sir Robert Peel's house-steward, or his cook, so notoriously destitute are they of all personal pecuniary resources.

On these provocations of the diurnal press, however, we will not longer dwell, but we will proceed to direct attention to the species of warfare waged in the House of Commons by the WHIG OPPOSITION against the CONSERVATIVE GOVERNMENT—by Lord John Russell and Lord Palmerston—his latter lordship's first appearance in this character—for though Lord Palmerston has "in his time played many parts," his acts being *seven* Ministries, we are not aware that records tell of his having figured on *Opposition* boards before. Lord John Russell marched in the van under cover of her Majesty's name:—

"Her Majesty is desirous that you should consider the laws which regulate the trade in corn, and whether those laws do not aggravate the natural fluctuations of supply ; whether they do not embarrass trade, derange the currency, and by their operation diminish the comforts and increase the privations of the great body of the community."

All this Lord John Russell read with calm gravity, from a speech, for the contents of which he was himself responsible, as if it were the undoubted expression of the Queen's personal opinions. And for what purpose ? Certainly for none attainable within the walls of Parliament—but for one to be worked out at Manchester, Leeds, and Birmingham.

"The Queen, my worthy friends (snuffles forth some Manchester *Mawworm*), has declared from her throne that the corn laws aggravate the fluctuations of supply, embarrass trade, derange the currency, diminish the comforts, and increase the privations of the great body of the community : these, beloved and starving brethren, are the Queen's sentiments, and she graciously wishes for the repeal of the

bread tax, which is only enforced by a greedy, grasping, hard-hearted Tory aristocracy."

Such are the doctrines preached by the Dissenting members of Parliament who alternately mount the pulpit of the meeting-house and—we were about to write, the rostrum, only we have not exactly such a machine, and must therefore say—the floor of the House of Commons. If poor famished artizans, destitute of work, because their employers have overtraded, are goaded by such language to deeds of desperation, on whose head rests the heavier load of guilt—on the subtle sower, or the duped receiver of such base figments?

Mr. Brotherton, we suppose, from the force of habit, told the House of Commons—with a less persuasive effect, we surmise, than when haranguing his followers at Salford—that the distress at present existing among the merchants, manufacturers, and working classes, originated in the present corn laws; and gave the following irrefutable proofs of the solidity of his statement. In the borough he represented, Mr. Brotherton observed, that eleven out of every hundred cottages were untenanted, many of the mills were stopped, and more working short time. This, too, was but the too common case of the manufacturing districts. In 1836 all these houses were occupied; now there were 1,500 untenanted. In 1836 the trials at the New Bailey were 1,013; in 1840 they had increased to 1,660. Mr. Brotherton then referred to the records of dispensaries, which disclosed the frightful fact that an awful amount of disease among the working classes was to be traced to the want of sufficient food. Mr. Brotherton never adverted to the fact that the present corn laws were, and had been for many years previously, in full operation in 1836, and never glanced at the possibility that the "want of sufficient food" might be attributed to the Russell and Althorp denial of out-door relief to the casually destitute, and not to the Wellington corn laws, the one present object of his vituperation and abhorrence. Mr. Brotherton may believe himself sincere in his fervid exclamation, "Perish party, but give the people bread!" but he ought not to go among the people assigning false causes for the distress under which we know and lament that they lie suffering. Not a whisper issued from his lips of the possibility of overtrading having involved both master and man in these difficulties—not a hint was given that the agriculturists did not promote, but were the strenuous opponents of, the Currency Bill of 1819, which has much more to do with the existing commercial embarrassments and derangement of the money market than the corn laws. Were these laws repealed to-morrow, the manufacturer would

find gold, and not his goods; going out of England to purchase foreign corn, so long as gold continues, as now, the only untaxed commodity in England. As the Wesleyans very properly observe, the question of the corn laws is one primarily of political economy; and those act wickedly, foolishly, or stupidly, as the case may be, who make it an instrument of political agitation, mix it up with religion, or impute to the corn laws results emanating from other and widely different sources. But to the gross impropriety and profaneness of blending this statistical topic with religious considerations, we have commented elsewhere, under a separate head.

Lord John Russell expressed a feverish impatience that "the anxiety and expectation of the country should be set at rest." Who, we demand, excited anxiety and expectation? The men who for ten years have been promising everything, and have performed nothing. The whole of Lord John Russell's plausible speech was made up of bold asseverations of the certain benefits which would have flowed from the Whig financial propositions on corn, sugar, and timber duties propounded in April last, and an invective against Sir Robert Peel, for not instantly announcing, or at least naming a day for the announcement of, his measures of finance. We give some portions of Sir Robert's able and animated reply; but his whole speech is so pregnant with important matter, that we regret being obliged to abridge it at all:—

"Now I approach the consideration of those questions in respect to which the controversy arises between the noble lord and me. The part of the speech of the noble lord which I most regret was that in which he declared his intention not to require from the House of Commons a decision on the course he has taken (hear, hear). I do wish that the noble lord had taken the sense of this House of Commons—elected under his advice, and under his auspices (hear, and laughter)—with respect to the reasonableness and justice of the demand which I make upon its confidence, and have enabled me to judge whether the House of Commons approves or disapproves of the course which I mean to pursue ("hear, hear," from Ministerial members). I should have thought it so reasonable that after a lapse of ten years, for which I, with the exception of some three or four months, have held the situation of a private individual—I should have thought that, on returning to power after the lapse of ten years, there would have been an universal impression that it was but reasonable that I should not be called upon, within a month, to propose an alteration of the law in respect to the trade in corn (hear, hear). I should have thought that it would have been felt that there might be advantage in the access to official information (cheers)—that it might be desirable to avail oneself of the information that exists, to ascertain the opinions of those who receive large emoluments from the public for the purpose of collecting information, and that it was but reasonable to permit me

to have an interval, in conjunction with my colleagues, for the purpose of deliberately considering the proposition we should make:

“But, if I am responsible for not proposing a measure on the corn laws within one month of my accession to office, what must be thought of that Government—(tremendous cheering interrupted the right hon. baronet)—that has held office for five years; and which never, until the month of May, 1841, intimated, on the part of that Government, an united opinion? (great cheering). What! if you are so convinced of the intolerable evils inflicted upon this country by the operation of the corn laws—if you think that commercial distress is to be attributed justly to them—if you think they are at the root of the privation and suffering to which the labouring classes in some districts of the country are exposed—what has been your neglect of duty in permitting five years to elapse without bringing forward, on the part of an united Government, a proposition for the remedy of these abuses? (great cheering). Why have you allowed this question to be an open question in the Administration? You may say that you had no hope of carrying it. I tell you, then, that that course I will not pursue (cheers). I form my opinion of the subject of the alteration that may be made; and no considerations of convenience, no leaving it an open question, to be proposed here and defeated there, shall prevent my bringing it forward (great cheering); and, having stated to the House of Commons the course I mean to pursue on the part of a concurring and united Government, of staking the existence of the Government on the issue (cheers). But this question, respective to which now you feel so deeply convinced, have you remained in office permitting Lord Melbourne to hold opposite opinions? (tremendous cheering). I make no proposal for enquiry.

“But I have made appointments which have been cavilled at. And what appointments did you make? For the office of Vice-President of the Board of Trade you selected a man who refused to take into consideration the corn laws; and I say this, if you were so deeply and thoroughly convinced of the necessity of the change, it was your duty, as Ministers, to propose that change to the House of Commons. It is in vain to say that you could not form a Government without making the corn question an open question; it is in vain to say you could not carry it. The greatest mischief you can do to great principles is to leave them in abeyance (great cheering). Five years have elapsed, and without any alteration having been proposed, on the part of the Government, in respect to the corn laws, until April, 1841. And why, if these feelings which you profess were entitled to respect, why did you neglect calling the attention of Parliament to the corn laws in the Queen's speech of 1840? Why reserve this general denunciation of the corn laws till the period when you made an appeal to the people, and when you were in a minority of 80? Why reserve the question of the corn laws to 1841? And with your opinions with respect to the corn laws, you brought them forward in a way most calculated to prejudice their consideration; for it is now perfectly clear that the view you now take is a comprehensive, philosophical, and enlightened view with respect to the operation of the corn laws on the great branches of industry (a laugh). No matter whether you

raise one shilling or one million by the corn laws, it is necessary to call attention to the causes which are drying up the sources of national prosperity. What reason could there be, after the commencement of 1840 (if it were not till then that your doubts were dispelled), that the corn laws were not alluded to? What reason was there that, at the commencement of the session of 1841, you did not insert in the Queen's speech some declarations analogous to those which you did insert when it was totally impossible to carry them? And if you did bring forward the question of the corn laws at all, it was as the means of raising a revenue; and your proposal with reference to the Queen's speech of 1841 must be construed not as a general recommendation to take the corn laws into consideration, but only as a recommendation to adopt the tax of 8s. a quarter, which was the proposition deliberately made by the Government. Do you adhere to it now, or not? When you recommended the corn laws in August, 1841, had the recommendation reference merely to vague general recommendations of enquiry, or had it reference to your specific proposition, on the authority of Government, with reference to a duty of 8s.† If you say you are not bound to adopt the duty of 8s., with what modesty can you call on me to announce my plan, when you already see reason to doubt the policy of applying a fixed invariable duty of 8s. a quarter on foreign corn? If you say the subject is still open to consideration—that a new Parliament may adopt new views—and that the adoption of the 8s. duty may not be considered at all as a final measure—if that is your view, you perfectly justify me in maintaining reserve till I mean to give practical effect to my proposals (hear, hear). But, on the other hand, if what you meant and mean is to impose a duty of 8s. a quarter on corn, to be levied invariably and without reference to price, then may I say you owe to me and to others some acknowledgment for not having allowed it to pass. This I will venture to say, that if it had occurred—it might possibly have occurred at one time—that, instead of there being a happy change in the weather, the weather had continued to be unfavourable, and corn had risen in this country to 90s. a quarter, we probably should have been assembled under your auspices for the purpose of asking a parliamentary authority to abate the duty. If your proposal had been granted by Parliament, at this moment a duty of 8s. a quarter on foreign corn must have been imposed; and I think there must be some who, in contrasting the present operation of the corn laws, which is admitting a great quantity of foreign corn for the consumption of the people at the duty of 1s., will be of opinion with me, that circumstances might have occurred which would have made the levy of an 8s. duty exceedingly embarrassing and oppressive."

We have not space to transcribe Sir Robert Peel's luminous observations on our miserably mismanaged operations in China, and their appalling expensiveness, nor upon the ruinously extravagant speculations and experiments in emigration which the Whig Government fostered, or, to say the least, neglected to check; but we must lay before our readers his spirited retort to the oft uttered taunts of his opponents, with reference to his inability to govern Ireland, and his resolute avowal of his determination to

resign the moment he feels he cannot discharge his duties with satisfaction to the public and his own conscience:—

“The noble lord has done me justice, in a frank and handsome manner, with respect to the course I have pursued in advising the Crown as to the constitution of the Government; but if already I have attained some degree of confidence on that ground, let me remind the noble lord of the predictions he made relative to the course which I should be obliged to take on succeeding to office. Was I not told, night after night, that I did not dare to form a Government which would attract general confidence? Was I not told that I must be the instrument, the reluctant and degraded instrument, of men who were ready to offer every insult to their Roman Catholic fellow-countrymen—to hoist the standard of ascendancy, and to demand from me complete and servile acquiescence in their views? (hear, hear). That was said to be the inevitable consequence of my accession to power. Not a month has passed, when the noble lord admits that over that difficulty, at least, I have triumphed, and that I have constituted the government of Ireland in a manner to give a guarantee that the universal people of that country will be treated with impartiality and justice (cheers). Sir, I make no concession for the purpose of purchasing support; I intend to administer the law with fairness, and, I hope, with firmness and vigour; I will not permit the administration of Irish affairs to be influenced by the hope of conciliating support in the House of Commons. From the confidence which the noble lord expressed, I have a right to say that the engagement into which I have entered, of administering impartial justice in the government of Ireland, shall, so far as depends upon me, be carried out. The appointments I have made—the appointment of my noble friend Earl de Grey, who with great reluctance was induced to undertake the important functions of his high office, and to wean himself from occupations and enjoyments most refined, most honourable, most creditable, to every man of high station—the appointment of Lord Eliot—the appointment of my right hon. friend Sir Edward Sugden to the Chancellorship of Ireland—do, I think, give guarantees as strong as any public appointments can give of my resolution to adhere to those declarations. My right honourable friend the Chancellor of Ireland, as he was in the receipt of a pension for former services in that capacity, honourably acquired by him as some compensation for the sacrifice of his professional emoluments, although for a brief discharge of judicial duty, felt it incumbent upon him, conformably to the principles which have always actuated him, at once to resume the position he had before held in Ireland. But I do not hesitate to say, that if any circumstances had occurred to prevent the resumption of office by my right honourable friend, I would have selected from the Irish bar the Irish Chancellor—I would have paid that compliment to a profession which stands as high as any other in the empire. The noble lord, after having, not reluctantly, but at once, admitted that I had triumphed over the difficulties which threatened my course with respect to Ireland, says that on account of the composition of the Government, and the menaces which have been held out in Parliament, it will be impossible for me to perform my public duty on other questions which concern the domestic policy of the empire. I can assure the

noble lord that it is my intention to act upon a sense of public duty, and to propose those measures to Parliament which my own conviction of public duty shall lead me to think desirable. Sir, it is right that there should be a distinct understanding as to the terms on which a public man holds office. The force of circumstances, and a sense of duty to the country, have compelled me to undertake the harassing and laborious task, in the performance of which I now stand before you. What can be my inducement to undertake that task, and to make the sacrifices which it entails? What but the hope of rendering service to the country, and of acquiring an honourable fame? (cheers). Is it credible that I would go through the labours which are daily imposed upon me if I did not claim for myself the liberty of proposing to Parliament those measures which I shall believe conducive to the public welfare? Sir, I will claim that liberty—I will propose those measures; and do with confidence assure this House that no consideration of mere political support shall induce me to alter them. I will not hold office by the servile tenure which would compel me to be the instrument of carrying other men's opinions into effect (cheers). I do not estimate highly the distinctions which office confers. To any man who is fit to hold it, its only value must be, not the patronage which the possessor is enabled to confer, but the opportunity which is afforded to him of doing good to his country (loud cheers). And the moment I shall be convinced that that power is denied me, to be exercised in accordance with my own views of duty, I tell every one who hears me, that he confers on me no personal obligation in having placed me in this office. Free as the winds, I shall reserve to myself the power of retiring from the discharge of its onerous and harassing functions the moment I feel that I cannot discharge them with satisfaction to the public and to my own conscience" (great cheering).

Those who have carefully observed the political events and parliamentary transactions of the last ten years, will not fail to discern how striking is the contrast presented by the Whig Opposition, brief as has been the period of its operations, to the conduct of the Conservatives in Opposition. Already the old Whig weapon—a threat to stop the supplies—has been wielded, and that deliberately, on two evenings, by Mr. Fielden. The member for Oldham has all the outward appearance of honesty of purpose; but does he reflect on what the consequences of a stoppage of the supplies, even for twenty-four hours, would be? What would become of the thousands of Government clerks and attendants, and their families, who receive day by day their daily bread? They must pine in the streets, or resort to the workhouse. But what workhouses could contain the millions whom Mr. Fielden and thirty members—we grieve to mention the fact that so many can be found who prefer party to principle—would consign to instant beggary? What imagination can conceive the effect upon a commercial country like this of the shutting up for a day of the Post-office? And then would soldiers,

with arms in their hands, but destitute of rations, refrain from helping themselves at the butchers' and bakers' shops? And when acts of plunder have once commenced, in a dense and dissolute population, who can foretell the ending? Mr. Fielden always professes, and, were it not for his deliberate recommendation of a step which would plunge millions into inevitable misery, we should not cherish a suspicion of his sincerity—Mr. Fielden always professes, more loudly than any member of the House, his sympathy with the afflicted and the poor, and is incessantly charging upon the rural gentry and ancient aristocracy of the country an insensibility to the calamities of his constituents; but what would the scantily portioned widow, the female orphan, the feeble aged man, whose whole subsistence is derivable from the funds, say of Mr. Fielden's consideration for the weak ones of the world, when, in reply to their application for their dividends, they were told that honourable member had stopped the supplies? We are not drawing from the stores of a prolific imagination images of horror which are of improbable occurrence; on the contrary, we are only culling, from a mountain of misery, a few facts, which must of necessity and immediately ensue upon a stoppage of the supplies.

We derive comfort from the reflection that this is exclusively a Whig weapon of party war, which no Conservative hand has yet brandished. The Lord Campbell, when his late Majesty's Attorney-General, used it at Edinburgh, on the occasion of his furious tirade against the House of Lords, which we wish may be thrown in his teeth the first day he assumes lordly airs—in the offensive acceptation we speak—which will probably be no distant one, inasmuch as the noble Irish Chancellor of three weeks is a Liberal Whig. Mr. Hume was ever fond of resorting to this threat, with which the Whig campaign is so characteristically commenced. We can well sympathize with Sir Robert Peel's indignation at the flagrantly unfair and ungenerous Opposition arrayed against him; but, remembering the uniform tactics of the Whigs, we cannot wonder at any trick they play off—any mean subterfuge they flee to—any specious sophistry their wily Leader weaves. For all these cunningly devised and vexatious skirmishings of these bush-rangers, the Conservative Champion must stand prepared, and his supporters must not flinch a hair's breadth from his side. Let there be no divisions among us, and, above all, let there be cultivated a disposition to merge individual differences of opinion in a single feeling of deference to the Leader chosen to uphold in the House of Commons the Conservative cause. Sir Robert Peel bears the responsibility: no attempts ought, therefore, to

be made to coerce him ; and he ought not, considering the mighty toil of restitution imposed upon him, to be hurried. It is dreadful when flames envelope a ship at sea, or unexpectedly she strikes upon a shoal ; and it is not wonderful that hurry and confusion prevail amidst the roar of waters and the crackling of fire ; but the annals of the ocean record how more than commonly needful is calmness in such an hour of horror, and how many lives are lost by precipitation and over-anxiety. We doubt not but that the soul-sickening scenes of destitution and suffering, drawn by the representatives of the manufacturing districts, are founded on reality ; but will they be relieved of their awful accompaniments by any sudden rush to remedies which may not be applicable to remove them ? It is boldly, but falsely, asserted, that all this misery is attributable to the corn laws, and no other cause, and therefore those laws must be immediately modified or repealed ; and a clamorous charge of selfishness, or insensibility, is raised against Sir Robert Peel and the Conservative party, because they deny that throwing two millions of agricultural labourers upon their parishes, and ruining our home retail tradesmen, would operate beneficially upon the manufacturing interests, and therefore require a reasonable space to discover some broad and probably permanent measure for the redress of existing grievances. All this is infamously unfair, but in perfect consistency with the character of a **WHIG OPPOSITION**. Be it the part of a **CONSERVATIVE GOVERNMENT** steadily to go on in its conscientious course, unmoved by unjust censure, and not unduly solicitous of human applause, in these days called “public approbation.” A Minister, actuated by Christian motives, who discharges his duties to the satisfaction of his own conscience, without troubling himself over curiously to calculate the probable impression his measures may make on the public mind, will, in the issue, also give public satisfaction.

That “honesty is the best policy,” is them axim of no highly elevated code of ethics ; but so congenial is sincerity with the temper and spirit of the British people, that sure we are an Administration, which will only deal with the national interests sincerely, will never have to complain of popular impatience, though it may be assailed by the interested urgency of faction, nor lack ample room and verge enough to mature its measures and perfect its plans.

Ecclesiastical Report.

IN this department of our Review it is our object to place before our readers a sketch, more or less extended, according to circumstances, of all those proceedings which either directly or indirectly relate to our ecclesiastical institutions. It appears necessary to explain our object, otherwise it might be said that some of the topics occasionally introduced are not strictly ecclesiastical. We are well aware that, in the strict meaning of the term, it can only refer to matters evidently connected with the Church; but, by a latitude of interpretation, other questions, though only indirectly connected, are brought within its intentions. We feel that it is necessary to premise thus much on the present occasion, inasmuch as we are about to introduce a subject to the notice of our readers which cannot in strictness be considered ecclesiastical. We allude to

THE DISSENTING CONFERENCE AT MANCHESTER.

For many years *Dissenters*, *Papists*, and *Infidels* have banded together for the purpose of overturning their common enemy—THE ANGLICAN CHURCH! Still she has withstood all their attacks, and raises her head with renewed vigour, in despite of the shameless methods adopted by her opponents to effect her overthrow. The insidious arts of the enemy have recoiled upon his own head; for the friends of the Church, perceiving that the motley crew of her opponents were by no means scrupulous in their mode of warfare, have been roused to act on the defensive: and thus has it come to pass that the hostility of foes has awakened the energies of friends; and now, for one enemy, the Church has twenty friends, who, but for the attacks to which she has been so long subjected, would have remained comparatively indifferent to her welfare. It is a singular circumstance, that every act of aggression, on the part of Dissenters, has turned out disastrously for themselves: it has exposed their own weakness, and revealed a fact which the enemies of the Church were unwilling to believe, namely, that she is still, notwithstanding occasional acts of neglect on the part of her friends, most deeply rooted in the affections of the English people. The Marriage Act, which was to show that half the people of England were estranged from the Church, is a case in point; for since it has been permitted to all men to enter into the marriage state without submitting to the service of the Church, not one fiftieth part of the population ever dream of forsaking the path which was trodden by their forefathers. We appeal with

exultation to the fact, that, by the Parliamentary returns, only *four thousand two hundred and eighty marriages* were celebrated, during one year, in the offices of the registrars and in the various Dissenting meeting-houses in England and Wales; while, within the same period, the number solemnized according to the ancient form—solemnized according to the rites of the Church, was *one hundred and seven thousand two hundred and one*. We may be excused for referring to this subject, though it has been mentioned on a former occasion, because the Dissenting cry, before the new scheme was introduced, was, *let us have liberty to marry as we please, and we will soon prove that our numbers are a majority of the community!* Other matters might be specified to show that the Dissenters have been caught in their own trap. And we are quite sure that the present unprincipled crusade against the Church of England will issue, just as many others have done, in the discomfiture of the parties who are engaged in the warfare.

But to proceed with the *affair at Manchester*. It appears that a Mr. George Thompson, not a preacher, was principally concerned in originating this *notable* scheme for a conference of Dissenting ministers. Of Mr. George Thompson we know nothing; but his name is registered in the annals of Dissent: and many a Dissenter probably views him as a greater statesman than Sir Robert Peel or Lord Stanley. We subjoin certain extracts from the advertisement, issued in the name of Mr. George Thompson, which will explain how the conclave at Manchester was assembled. It is headed—“*Corn Laws.—National Conference of Ministers of all Religious Denominations on the subject of the Laws restricting the Food of the Community, to be held in Manchester, commencing Tuesday, August 17, 1841.*”

After this high-sounding heading, we have a circular from Mr. George Thompson himself “*to the ministers of religion in Manchester and its vicinity.*” Mr. Thompson says, “The present communication has its origin in the deliberations of a few friends, who, being deeply interested in the physical and moral condition of the poor, and in the general welfare of our country, have come together to consider what is our duty at the present crisis.” Great results have flowed from very small beginnings! The mightiest rivers arise from a very slender stream! And what a stupendous effect has been produced by Mr. George Thompson’s happy thought of convening a conference of Dissenting ministers—the most important assemblage probably since the celebrated council of Trent, and, if we are to credit *the Whig and Dissenting press*, to be remembered when that

council is forgotten. In obedience to the call, *twenty-eight* Dissenting ministers assembled in Manchester, and after a discussion—a full discussion, according to Mr. Thompson—the following resolution was adopted:—

“Resolved, that it is the opinion of this meeting that the Conference contemplated in the circular issued by Mr. George Thompson is desirable; that measures be adopted to convene the ministers of religion from all parts of the united kingdom, to deliberate on the questions suggested for consideration; and that the convention be held in the week between the 15th and 22nd of August next.”

A committee of nine was appointed to act upon this resolution, and on the 13th of July they issued another document, which they designated “*An Address to the Ministers of all Religious Denominations throughout the United Kingdom.*” This address, like the advertisement, is signed by Mr. George Thompson, who appears to have been the life and soul of the proceeding. We do not wish to copy the whole of this address, for our readers have perused it in the public papers; but the following brief extracts are given, for the purpose of rendering our narrative of the proceedings intelligible:—

“Gentlemen,—Receive the present address as if from friends of the suffering poor, and the lovers of peace and righteousness. We are brought to the conclusion that it is our duty, and the duty of all who fill the sacred office of ministers of religion, to look into the causes of our national distress. The conviction has been forced upon our own minds, that the sufferings we deplore, and the calamities we would avert, may be traced, in a great degree, to the operation of the laws which produce a scarcity of the necessaries of life, by circumscribing the bounties of Divine Providence. But we need counsel and co-operation, that we may proceed wisely and efficiently. We, therefore, earnestly invite you to a free and friendly conference on the subject of the laws which restrict the supply of food to the people of this country. We think we may be permitted to say, that to no body of men ought such momentous questions to be submitted, with a better prospect of a calm, an enlightened, and an honest solution, than to that body which we desire to convene. We cannot doubt that the decisions of such a body would exercise a benign and beneficial influence over the nation at large. Accept, then, our invitation, and unite with us in an effort for the common weal and general safety. For a while let us lay aside *our sectarian and partizan differences*, and, on the hallowed ground of Christian charity, assemble for the purpose of bettering the condition of famishing multitudes.”

In the first place, we must observe the assumption, on the part of these individuals, of the name and title of Christian ministers. If the members of that body which met on the 17th of August are really Christian ministers, then any man, who

chooses to undertake the office of preaching and to procure a magistrate's licence, is a Christian minister; for his claim to the title is identical with that which is possessed by those gentlemen. In that assembly were men of all descriptions—Independents, Baptists, Socinians, Arians, Rationalists, and all the numerous parties into which the Dissenting world is so *happily* divided. All these men are styled in the *address* ministers of Christ; and assuredly one is just as much a minister as another. Either, therefore, all these individuals at Manchester *were* ministers of Christ, or none of them were entitled to that designation: for all of them were appointed in the same manner, and by the same authority, namely, by their own. Be it remembered, that Socinians and Arians are recognized by the Manchester address as ministers of Christ: nor can it be disputed that they are so, if the character belongs to other Dissenting preachers. Dissenters may be good men, but they are not ministers of Christ; and the very fact that the *orthodox* portion, as they are termed, are compelled, by their principles, to recognize their *unorthodox* brethren, is sufficient to show that the system of Dissent, with respect to the ministry, is altogether erroneous, and contrary to God's holy word. But with reconciling inconsistencies, involved in the principles of Dissenters, we have nothing whatever to do.

It will be seen from the preceding extracts that the nine men who prepared the *address* had no doubt that *the corn laws restrict the supply of food*. Why then assemble, if their minds were made up on that point? Lord Spencer, however, on such a question a much better authority, stated, in his speech on moving the address to her Majesty, that the repeal of the corn laws would not materially affect the price of corn. If Lord Spencer is correct in his opinion, the men of Manchester are mistaken in theirs. If Lord Spencer, therefore, be deemed the better judge, as we think must be admitted, then these Dissenting ministers at Manchester have been guilty of a fraud upon the poor, in pretending that cheap bread would be a consequence of the repeal of the corn laws. Nay, further, they have degraded that office which they have assumed, for assuredly it ought not to be the part of ministers of the Gospel to render the poor dissatisfied with their station, nor to hold out expectations, which, in the judgment of such men as Earl Spencer, could not be realized, even by the repeal of the corn laws.

On the *seventeenth* day of August, however, the parties assembled at Manchester; and, if we are to credit the assertions of Sir John Easthope's *Morning Chronicle*, the *Globe*, and the *Sun*, so important a meeting was never yet convened in a country which has ever been celebrated for its parliamentary and other assem-

blages. But the transactions of the very first day proved that the meeting was an unholy one. The first day witnessed a squabble between these *reverend* orators, of no short duration, on the subject of *prayer*! These gentlemen could not agree to pray together before the commencement of their *political* business—a circumstance indicative of the unlawfulness of the combination into which they had entered. *Christian ministers* could not concur in a *Christian* act! The Church of Christ is *one*, and her ministers *can* unite in prayer: but *these* gentlemen could not. When the clergy of the Anglican Church assemble, their proceedings are always commenced with prayer. Such a question is never agitated in their body. They have their own Liturgy, to which all have subscribed, and which all concur in using; and we conceive that the circumstances attendant on the Manchester affair ought to convince Dissenters that their principle, which leads them to reject prescribed forms, is both inexpedient and unscriptural: for no person can imagine, that a system, which does not allow of its advocates commencing their solemn proceedings with prayer, can be based on the word of God. All the individuals at Manchester were opposed to a Liturgy—so far, all were agreed; but when assembled they could not submit to listen to an extemporaneous prayer from one of their members: so that their disunion is gone forth to the world, and the circumstance has done more to show the unsoundness of Dissenting principles, and the unscriptural character of Dissenting practices, than a thousand arguments. Like the Marriage Bill, the Manchester Conference will recoil on the heads of the party; for, if anything is calculated to breed contempt for sacred things, it is such a scene as that which was exhibited in this assembly of *ministers of the Gospel*. (!)

We know not what may be the character and views of Mr. Thompson and the council of nine, but we contend that if they are what are termed *orthodox* Dissenters, that is, men who believe in the divinity and the atonement of the Saviour, they are guilty of a most flagrant offence against God in summoning, as they did, Socinian and Arian preachers as ministers of the Gospel. In the *address* the parties were invited to a *prayerful* consideration of the subject; yet when they met, they met to *squabble*, and not to *pray*. It was resolved, therefore, that their meetings should be commenced *without prayer*!

Such was the auspicious opening of a conference—called “national” by these ambitious men, though composed only of five or six hundred Dissenting preachers. They pretended to hear evidence, and had the effrontery to declare that their resolutions were adopted after the evidence, though the witnesses were

all on one side, and were persons who could not, from their situation and their circumstances, know much about the subject.

Letters were read from some Dissenting ministers who could not attend, and a few from those who *would not* attend ; the latter were read only in part, for the managers did not wish to provoke discussion on points stated by the gentlemen, who conceived that the assembly was convened for an improper purpose. After a few days thus spent, in adopting resolutions and preparing petitions against the corn laws, the meeting separated.

Thus ended the “Manchester Conference of *all Religious Denominations*.” Like most of the Dissenting outbreaks, it has failed. But though we have done with the Conference, the Dissenters will find that it will be remembered, if remembered at all, to their own confusion ; for to this assembly and its proceedings Churchmen will ever be able to refer as a specimen of *Dissenting harmony and concord*, and as an evidence of the rottenness of Dissenting principles.

THE CHURCH MISSIONARY SOCIETY.

Our readers are aware of the proceedings which have issued in placing this Society more immediately under the control of the bishops of the United Church. The first intimation of such a plan was given by the Bishop of London, at the meeting at Willis’s Rooms ; and, since our last number, the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of London have, in consequence of proceedings, which we shall briefly state, become members of the Church Missionary Society. After a communication to the Committee, a general meeting was summoned for the purpose of taking the matter into their most serious consideration. Though the proposal of the Bishop of London was in itself so reasonable, that it might have been supposed that every Churchman must have concurred in it, yet there were some few persons at the general meeting, who ventured to disturb the harmony of the assembly, by an attempt to introduce an amendment (afterwards withdrawn), which, had it been adopted, would have defeated the plans of our diocesan, and would, moreover, have been productive of consequences which no sound Churchman could contemplate without pain. The mover of the amendment (Mr. Rice) assigned as a reason for so extraordinary a course, that Dr. Pusey had expressed his approbation of the Bishop of London’s plan—as if, forsooth, the measure must be bad if sanctioned by that gentleman. Really such men as Mr. Rice attach much more importance to Dr. Pusey, and to those who agree with him, *than the circumstances warrant*.

The following resolution was proposed by Lord Ashley, and adopted by the meeting :—

“ That all questions relating to matters of ecclesiastical order and discipline, respecting which a difference shall arise between any colonial bishop and any committee of the Society, shall be referred to the archbishops and bishops of the United Church of England and Ireland, whose decision shall be final.”

In proposing this resolution, Lord Ashley said—“ I do most sincerely rejoice in the present proposition : I rejoice that God has put it into the hearts of the committee, and the bishops of our Church, to bring us to this most happy understanding.”

In this sentiment we most cordially concur. The consequences of this decision of the meeting were such as members of the Anglican Church must rejoice in. Yet there are men, and clergymen too, who are so ignorant of their own vows of canonical obedience, and so wedded to their own narrow views, as to predict all sorts of ill consequences from the change effected in the laws of the Society. Let us suppose that the proposal had been rejected. In such a case, could consistent Churchmen have cordially co-operated with the Society? As long as the question was open, clergymen were at liberty to exercise their own judgment in the matter, and to join or not join the Society, according to their own sense of propriety or duty : but, after such a proposal from the heads of the Church, the case would, had it been rejected, have been entirely altered ; and, in our opinion, it would have been exceedingly difficult for any clergyman to have continued with the Society, and at the same time have preserved his consistency. Sure we are that the rejection of the plan would have involved a most extensive schism in the Society, if not its total ruin. We have no sympathy with men who must have everything done in their own way, or else express their discontent. Such men may be well-meaning men, but they are not sound Churchmen. In the present day the tendency is not to submit to bishops with a sort of slavish awe ; but the contrary—to cast off their authority altogether. If episcopacy be a scriptural ordinance, as every clergyman, at all events, believes, if he be honest, inasmuch as he has solemnly subscribed to the doctrine, it ought surely to be submitted to in all things lawful. How any men of common sense—to say nothing of proper feelings—could imagine either that the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of London had any sinister design in proposing such a plan, or that their support, and the support of the bishops generally, was not a thing to be desired, we are quite at a loss to determine. Happily for the Church, for the Society, and for the heathen world,

the wishes of those gentlemen, who would have prevented so desirable an union, were frustrated. The Society is now placed on a right foundation; and our desire is, that it may be eminently successful in disseminating the word of life among the benighted heathen.*

In connection with this subject we wish to offer a few remarks on the mixture of Churchmen and Dissenters in certain societies—we mean religious societies. These are not the days for Churchmen to compromise their principles; neither is the conduct of Dissenters such as to make it desirable, on the part of Churchmen, to co-operate with them. It is far better to allow Dissenters to proceed in their own way, and for Churchmen to pursue their own course. We may take the British and Foreign Bible Society as an illustration of our views on this question. With respect to the questions by which that Society has been agitated, we say nothing; it is quite sufficient for us that Churchmen and Dissenters, whose views on so many points are dissimilar, profess to unite—a thing which we hold to be impracticable. Let Churchmen unite with Churchmen, and let Dissenters act with Dissenters; but for Churchmen and Dissenters cordially to unite, in any great religious object, is, in our opinion, as impracticable as for the Conservatives and the Whigs to unite on political matters. There must, as we conceive, be some compromise of principle, in the present state of things, in acting with Dissenters.

We have been led to these remarks partly by the proceedings connected with the Church Missionary Society, and partly by the following extracts from one of the papers issued by the Bible Society. It is dated July 31st, and contains some correspondence of the Rev. Carr Glyn, who is, we believe, a clergyman of the Church of England. Speaking of the meeting at Cheltenham, and of Mr. Close, he remarks, “he was well supported by ministers.” And again, “Our friends who are so earnest for the cause are the Revs. G. Ridout, and Poole, and Garnsey, in the Forest; together with the ministers at Stroud, Cheltenham, Chepstow, Chalford, and Eastington; amounting to nine different ministers who promised to preach for the Society.” Now we wish to know whether the ministers by whom Mr. Close was so well supported were clergymen, or whether any of them

* We would most respectfully submit to the Committee of the Church Missionary Society, that they should be exceedingly cautious in their selection of men as advocates at the various meetings of the Society, and especially in those who are sent from London, with the secretaries, as deputations to the country associations. Let it never be said of any advocate, *he is a good man, but an unsound Churchman.*

were dissenters? Of Mr. Close we have the highest possible opinion, as a zealous, faithful clergyman; but we cannot think that he can approve of Mr. Carr Glyn's description of the Cheltenham meeting. If the ministers alluded to were clergymen, the latter designation should have been used in speaking of them; if, on the other hand, some of them were Dissenters, we decidedly object to this merging of the clerical character, and to such a jumbling together of clergymen and dissenting preachers in a paper put forth by the Society, and written, too, by a clergyman of our own Church. We ask again, were the nine ministers, who promised to preach for the Society, all clergymen, or were some of them dissenters? In either case we have the same objection as that which we have just stated; and we contend that a society, in which it is necessary for the clerical character to be merged in the general designation "*minister*," just for the purpose of pleasing the Dissenters, who are doing what they can to overturn the Church, is not a society to which clergymen can consistently belong. We have never given an opinion on the subject of the Bible Society before; nor have we even now entered upon the questions which have been so keenly discussed among its supporters: for we conceive that these matters are of far less consequence than the union of Churchmen and Dissenters, especially at a time when the conduct of the latter is marked, as no one can deny, by the most rabid hostility to the Church and to the clergy. Surely it is not necessary to unite with Dissenters to circulate the word of God! Neither is it becoming in ministers of religion to plead the expediency of going on in the present course; for expediency in religious matters is a principle which the clergy of the Anglican Church can scarcely entertain. Surely they do not need the aid of Dissenters. We say, therefore, to all clergymen, do not be influenced by a principle of expediency—do not unite with men who would destroy the Church of which you are members; but rather unite among yourselves for the circulation of the Bible—leave the consequences to Him who rules and governs all things, and leave the Dissenters to pursue their own course in their own company.

NEW ZEALAND AND THE COLONIAL BISHOPRICS.

A bishop has been appointed to preside over this very important colony. We view it as important, for though at present the number of settlers may be comparatively few, yet from the nature of the climate, as well as from the advantages which emigrants are likely to secure, it must eventually become one of the most important colonies of the empire. The Rev. G. A.

Selwyn has been selected for this arduous undertaking. That the post will be one, not only of great importance in itself, but also of great labour and exertion on the part of the individual who occupies it, there can be no doubt whatever. However, the gentleman upon whom the government of the Church in the infant colony has devolved, must have well counted the cost: and though many sacrifices are required, yet he will be ready to make them, knowing that the cause in which he is engaged is the cause of God, and not of man. We shall look with great interest upon his labours in that distant colony; and his communications to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel will be read with pleasure by all who wish well to the cause of our Church. At present, of course, it is not possible to know what arrangements will be made for carrying on the work in the colony, as so much will depend on circumstances, which cannot be understood until the bishop is actually on the spot; but we are informed that several individuals will accompany him to his sphere of labour, who will be ordained after their arrival in New Zealand. We wish especially to direct attention to this colony, because the salaries of the clergymen must be derived, at all events for some time, from the resources of the societies at home. Whether a separate fund will be established for that purpose by the Propagation Society, we know not; but it appears to us that something of the kind should be attempted, in order that the people at home may have an opportunity of contributing especially for the support of the Church in those colonies, in which bishops and clergymen are located.

We noticed on a former occasion the intention to send bishops to all the important colonies of the empire. New Zealand has been selected as the first, and, when we consider how the tide of emigration has set in towards that colony, we must admit that the choice has been wisely made. With regard, however, to the support of the clergy, we cannot but suggest that the settlers should do something. The New Zealand Company, we think, are bound, without loss of time, to take the whole question into their most serious consideration.

Malta, and the islands of the Mediterranean, are to be selected as the next diocese for a bishop; and that a more important post could not be chosen for planting the English Church, under a bishop, whether we consider the English residents, or the prospect of a communication with the Eastern Churches, will not be denied. Other appointments will be made in due season: for sure we are that the English people will not rest satisfied with Church extension at home, but that they will deem it necessary to comprehend the colonies also in their benevolent plans.

An outcry has been raised, by the Dissenting and Whig-Radical press, on the question of the salaries of the new bishops. No call has been made on the Government, nor are we aware that any such call is intended; but, say the Whigs and the Dissenters, a call will soon be made. We hope that the Government will consider it to be its duty to make some provision for the new bishoprics; but we do not believe that the individuals with whom the plan originated contemplate any such course. Let it, however, be remembered, that the Government pay *Roman Catholic bishops* in the colonies, and the Dissenters are silent; while they are quite outrageous when a plan is proposed to endow bishoprics in our distant settlements by means of voluntary contributions. To us this opposition on the part of Dissenters is a most favourable omen. Why should they interfere with our voluntary efforts to extend the advantages of our Church to the colonies? Let the circumstance stimulate Churchmen to greater zeal in the work; for they may be assured that it is a good one, or the Dissenting tribes would not be so boisterous in their opposition.

THE SOCIETY FOR THE PROPAGATION OF THE GOSPEL.

This Society must ever be most intimately connected with our colonies, inasmuch as its operations are confined to our distant settlements: consequently the colonial bishops will be in constant communication with the committee at home. Its sphere of labour will be greatly enlarged by the establishment of bishoprics; and we hope that its funds will be proportionably increased. At this very time the Society are most anxious to send out other missionaries to Bombay; and the Bishop of Australia wishes to send several clergymen to act as itinerant missionaries in those parts of New South Wales in which it is not yet practicable to make regular clerical appointments. Generally, it is better, in our opinion, to fix clergymen in districts, than to allow them to travel from place to place, without any settled dwelling-place: but in infant colonies, and especially in one of such vast extent and under such peculiar circumstances as New South Wales, such an object is not attainable. In these cases, therefore, itinerants must be employed as a temporary expedient. We say *temporary*, because we hope that the system will give place to the appointment of clergymen to districts, as soon as circumstances will permit. One of the great advantages, indeed, to be secured, by the appointment of bishops to our colonies, will be the putting an end to a system of itinerating, which has made some, who have returned from the missionary field, impatient of that control under which all

clergymen are necessarily placed in their own country. Still we are fully aware of the necessity of employing itinerants for a season; and we trust that the Bishop of Australia will be enabled to carry his benevolent intentions into full effect.

THE SOCIETY FOR PROMOTING CHRISTIAN KNOWLEDGE.

At a late meeting a most important letter was read from the *Venerable W. P. Austin*, Archdeacon of *British Guiana*, containing an application for aid to enable him to promote the great work of education in this extensive colony. It is the anxious desire of the Archdeacon to establish a school or college, on the plan of King's College, London, for the benefit of the settlers. The sum of from 500*l.* to 600*l.* was subscribed at a public meeting in the colony; and the Venerable Archdeacon himself has given the further sum of *five hundred pounds*. It gives us pleasure to add, that the Society made a grant, at the meeting in July, of *five hundred pounds* towards the furtherance of the object. But we notice the subject more especially for the purpose of calling to it the attention of the public in England. It appears that a sum of from seven to eight thousand pounds will be required for the completion of the object. We think, therefore, that all persons, in any way connected with the colony, are bound to render their assistance; and we indulge the hope that many other benevolent individuals will be ready to contribute towards the erection of so desirable an institution.

Much information connected with the operations of the Society, both at home and abroad, was given at the meetings both in June and July; but there was one question, of which we spoke in our last number, which came under the consideration of the Committee, and respecting which we feel it incumbent on us to offer a few remarks. We allude to the question of the pictures published by the Society. At the meeting in June, a motion of Mr. Rochfort Clark, to the effect that the Bible prints should not be sanctioned, was negatived; upon which that gentleman gave notice that he should bring forward a similar resolution in July. At the July meeting accordingly the motion was read, and Mr. Clark supported his views in a speech of considerable length. He stated that he had sent circulars to certain parties—that he had received more answers than he expected—and that the greater number were favourable to his own views. We are not surprised at such a result, for of course Mr. Clark directed his circulars to persons of whose views he either knew something, or whom he judged to be favourable to his own opinion. He need not, therefore, have spoken of the result of his applications, for there was nothing

unusual in the circumstance to which he alluded. However, an amendment, that the question be not put, was carried by the meeting; and thus Mr. Clark's object was defeated.

Now we are greatly at a loss to conceive any rational motives for Mr. Clark's so strenuous opposition to the use of *pictures* in schools. From time immemorial pictures have been used as illustrations of scriptural subjects; and our belief is, that their use has been attended with great advantages to children and young persons. Even the Religious Tract Society—a Society not likely to be charged with *Popish leanings*—have for years been in the habit of sending forth, in their various publications, pictures of sacred subjects; and we never remember to have heard of any objection on the part of Mr. Clark, or any one else, to *their* proceedings. Why, then, is the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge to be precluded from a field of labour which has been so long occupied by the Religious Tract Society? To us the attempt appears preposterous; and we hope that the Committee will steadily refuse to adopt any such motion as that proposed by Mr. Clark. Of course they will exercise their discretion in the selection of proper prints; but by no means let them relinquish the task which they have undertaken, and which they have hitherto so successfully executed.

THE BRAINTREE CASE.

Of church-rates we have said much in preceding numbers; but, as the subject is so important, it is necessary to add a little more. The decision on the Braintree case in the Court of Exchequer, and the proceedings in the parish consequent upon that decision, render a slight notice necessary. It will be remembered that the decision was to this effect, namely, *that the churchwardens were in error in levying the rate without calling a vestry; but that they were empowered to do so for necessary expenses after a vestry, even though a majority of the parish should pass a vote against the rate.* The fabric must be kept in repair, whether the parishioners wish it or not, and a rate can be levied after a vestry has been duly summoned. A monition was issued by the Bishop of London, commanding the churchwardens of Braintree to make a rate for the necessary repairs. In obedience to this monition a vestry was summoned, at which a rate was proposed. An amendment against it was, however, carried; but the churchwardens proceeded to levy the rate, and if any parties object, they may take the case into a court of justice. Still, after the decision of the Court of Exchequer, it is not likely that the objectors will be successful in their application. In the former case, the rate had been made three days

after the vestry, instead of being made at the time ; and on that account it was invalid, and not because a majority objected. Church-rates are a portion of the law of the land ; and the laws, as long as they continue in force, must be obeyed, whether the people are disposed to submit or to resist. All laws would be useless, if the people were permitted to decide the question of obedience. We would, therefore, most strongly urge upon churchwardens, in parishes in which church-rates have been discontinued, in consequence of the clamours of a Radical and Dissenting faction, the duty of enforcing the laws, notwithstanding the objections of the parties who get up the opposition, and who may with just as much reason decline to pay poor-rates and assessed taxes. Dissenting journals talk of robbery, when persons refuse to pay, and the amount is forcibly levied ; but surely it is much more like robbery for a man in possession of property to withhold that portion which is demanded in the form of a church-rate, to which he has no claim whatever, inasmuch as the property was purchased or acquired subject to the rate for the necessary repairs of the church.

SCOTTISH AND AMERICAN BISHOPS.

We have on a former occasion fully entered upon the question connected with the Acts of Parliament, by which the bishops and clergy of the Episcopal Church in Scotland and America were, unless they had been ordained in England, disabled from entering our pulpits. The particulars need not, therefore, be repeated ; but we notice the subject now for the purpose of mentioning that the Right Reverend Dr. Doane, Bishop of New Jersey, in the United States, officiated at All Souls' Church, St. Marylebone, in July last, and also more recently at the consecration of the new church at Leeds : we believe, too, that he has preached in other churches. It is gratifying to know that the bishops and clergy of the Churches in question, against whom there was no canonical objection, but who were merely prevented by an Act of Parliament, may now be admitted to our pulpits.

General Literature.

Familiar Observations on Life Insurances, and the causes affecting Population, &c. By R. Morgan, Actuary to the Norwich Union Life Insurance Society. Norwich: Fletcher. 1841.

WHETHER virtue may be defined “the love of being,” we take not upon ourselves here to decide; but few will question the philosophy of enquiring into those accidents which affect the duration of human life, and cause the tide of existence to ebb and flow. There is more than the gratification of curiosity in such investigations, or even than the aid which they furnish the statesman and the philanthropist; the student himself is impressed with a salutary lesson of his own mortality, and taught, or at least imagines he is taught, how to husband his fortune and to prolong his life. It is, indeed, wonderful, that the statistics of our existence, and the various causes, physical, mental, and moral, which affect the duration of life, do not secure more general attention; and may be viewed as one among many instances of man’s insensibility to events, however important, which only concern him remotely, and of his propensity, amidst a boasted knowledge of means of relief, to submit practically to an inevitable fatalism.

Mr. Morgan, laying aside the more recondite and difficult parts of his profession, has furnished some general and popular information with which it has rendered him familiar; and, we doubt not, his “Familiar Observations” will be read by many with considerable interest. He classes among the physical causes which permanently check the advance of population, or in other words, the longevity of man, intense cold or heat, marsh miasma or malaria, want of pure air, insufficient or unhealthy food, and occupations exposing workmen to deleterious vapours, &c. Of the moral class, intemperance and dissipation among the governed, and a want of knowledge or neglect of their duties among the governing. The extraordinary causes of mortality are epidemic diseases, war, fanaticism, and slavery—a numerous as well as a painful family of death, enough to evoke the dirges of another Gray!

It is distressing to see the havoc made by exhalations from humid lands, in such places as the Delta of Egypt, near the mouths of the Ganges, New York, New Orleans, and at the mouths of the African rivers; as well as in more inland districts, as the Pontine marshes.

“The wild luxuriance of the Indian jungle (our author remarks) conceals the seeds of the most fatal fevers; the woods of Demerara are

equally insidious ; and the finest plains of Italy, which enchant the eye of the traveller by their vigorous and rich vegetation, are, alas ! not only *gardens*, but *graves*."

Major Tullock reports that in our colonies of Western Africa, even among men of superior habits, the annual average of deaths is from 21 to 28 per cent. ; while, among the more intemperate and immoral, the ratio of waste was double that amount—about one-half. From the records of the Registrar General, comprising thirty-two metropolitan unions, and twenty-four of the greatest towns, it appears, that out of 3,553,000 no less than 47,953 persons died ; and that of 3,500,000, in certain rural districts, only 29,693 died in the same time : a statement in favour of the country, as far as longevity is concerned, in the proportion of about thirty to forty-eight—a most striking fact, showing the advantages of good air and exercise, united with temperate habits. Even the various districts of the same city furnish great difference in the ratio of mortality. Of 1,000 females, there die, in the parishes of Whitechapel, Shoreditch, Bermondsey, Holborn, and St. George's, East Smithfield, 31 2-5th ; and of the same number, and in the same time, in the Strand, Stepney, Kennington, St. Pancras, City of London, Camberwell, Hackney, and St. George's, Hanover-square, an average of 21 3-5th. Here the result is a mortality in the former localities 50 per cent. greater than in the latter, or in a ratio of three to two : the extremes of the scale even present a difference exceeding two to one.

Mr. Morgan furnishes some valuable information respecting miners, chimney-sweepers, workmen in metal, cotton, and other manufactories, and all sedentary employments, and then shows the superior healthiness of agricultural labour. Where only one manufacturer in thirteen receives parochial relief, and one agriculturist in five, it has been found that one in forty-nine of the former class die, while of the latter only one in fifty-one. A fact which shows, that if manufactories add to the wealth and independency of the nation, they do not increase its health and longevity.

We must refer our readers to some judicious remarks on navigation, war, bad government, and excessive taxation, as they affect population. The list of ordinary causes of mortality closes with intemperance. The effects of this vice are truly appalling ! Whatever opinion may be entertained of abstinence, as an abstract question, what friend of virtue and of man does not rejoice in the efforts which are made, and with some success, to induce habits of sobriety and decorum.

The extraordinary causes of mortality are the plague, small pox, war, religious fanaticism, and slavery. Improvement in

drainage, ventilation and diet, and the discovery of vaccination, have, under Divine Providence, greatly lessened the waste of human life, by the agency of the first two evils; and, we trust, the latter—war, fanaticism, and slavery—are losing their fanged grasp of the public mind, and consequently their power of doing mischief. The author—having asserted “Cæsar is understood to have caused the death of three millions of human beings,” and “the havoc produced by the arms of Napoleon even exceeded this;” and having animadverted on the folly of both the Romans and the French doing homage to their respective destroyers, the Apollyons of their age—exclaims, “Surely this mania cannot endure!” We believe it cannot: the progress of civilization, the more sober views of civil governments, the extension of commercial relationships, and, above all, the growing influence of the Gospel of peace, must bedim the glitter of the sword, and induce a state of mind friendly to harmony and love, and abhorrent of shedding human blood; and, at no distant period, make nations see that there is as much absurdity, and more wickedness, in large communities appealing to the cannon, as in an accused individual proving his innocence by “wager of battle!”

Religious fanaticism our author views much the same as a spirit of persecution; and he takes a rapid and an affecting glance at the sufferings inflicted on Christians by the heathen, the Mohammedans, and the Papists. He notices, too, the voluntary endurance of torment and death by the superstitious, in pilgrimages to the temple of Juggernaut, the burning of widows on the funeral piles of their husbands, and the pollution of air and water by the casting of the dead into the sacred Ganges. The mild and rational spirit of Christianity is destined to overcome these depopulating evils—to annihilate the inquisition, and all the cruelty, both active and passive, of superstition, and to lead to Him who came to save men’s lives, and not to destroy them.

“The introduction of slavery (remarks our author) into the new world, has depopulated extensive districts in Africa. It is needless to advert to the horrors of the passage, and the subsequent waste of life under enforced labour; all these things are fresh in the mind of the public: the horrible traffic still flourishes in the two Americas.” We wish they were the only guilty parties. “The hand-writing is not yet seen on the wall, but let not the guilty nations hope to escape retribution: they are rapidly filling the vials of wrath; assuredly on their heads shall they be emptied!”

We cannot follow the author through his sketch of the history of the science of Life Assurance—his enumeration of the various

modes of Insurance—the security of Insurance Offices—his notice of the principal offices established for the Assurance of Lives, and his Nosological Table—all of which contain valuable information, and will be perused with interest by those who wish for instruction, either speculative or practical. Such, however, will consult the work itself.

In bringing these remarks to a conclusion, we state, that while it is appointed unto all men once to die, and while a preparation for that event and the consequent judgment should be the great concern of man, yet, in many instances, he may moderate the gloom of death, so far as temporal support goes, by the aid of Life Assurance Institutions; or he may lessen the affliction of his departure to surviving relatives, and that he may, by proper attention to health, under Providence, in some degree prolong the existence of his earthly sojourn. By drainage and clearance of crowded timber and houses—by promoting temperance, freedom, and general happiness—by discountenancing war, fanaticism, slavery, and bad government—and, above all, by furthering the Gospel of our salvation, both at home and abroad, it is in the power of man to increase the enjoyments of his species, and to ward off, in many cases, for a brief moment, the destruction that wasteth at noon-day.

The Careless Christian reminded of his privileges, warned of his danger, and urged to repent without delay. By the Rev. G. W. Woodhouse, M. A., Vicar of Allrighton. 12mo. Wolverhampton: T. Simpson.

THIS is one of the best books of its kind we have met with for a long period: indeed, it may be said to fill up a vacant place in the theological literature of the day, and to supply the Christian student with a comprehensive and practical manual, adapted for his use in every stage of his progress through life. What we particularly like in this little work is its keen and searching style, and the manner in which each of its various sections is calculated to penetrate to the recesses of every human heart. Not only is the careless Christian reminded of the awful nature of that responsibility under which he is standing, and of the vast weight of error and sin which he is continually accumulating; but the more advanced disciple is also taught to exercise caution, prudence, and watchfulness, in his course, by being warned of the dangers and difficulties by which he is surrounded, and of those shoals and quicksands upon which his bark may run, if not steered by the sure and unerring rules of divine wisdom. We strongly recommend this little work as one which will be profitable to all classes of readers.

A Brief Exposition of the Church Catechism, with Proofs from Scripture. By John Williams, D.D., sometime Lord Bishop of Chichester. A new edition; in which the references to the Holy Scriptures have been carefully collated and corrected; with additional Questions and Answers; and an Appendix, containing brief Catechisms on Confirmation, and on the Festivals and Fasts of the United Church of England and Ireland; and a selection of Prayers for Young Persons. By Thomas Hartwell Horne, B.D. London: Cadell. 1841.

CATECHISING, or the communication of religious instruction by question and answer, is an institution peculiar to Christianity. After churches were erected, catechists were appointed for the purpose of communicating the elements of religion to the young, and to adults, previously to their being baptized. Catechetical schools were at length formed in most of the great cities of the Roman empire; and the school at Alexandria was the most celebrated in the ancient Christian Church. During the dark ages, as they are most emphatically termed, catechising was discontinued. When, however, Papal ignorance and tyranny were subverted by the Reformation, throughout great part of Europe, the practice of catechising was revived. In England, particularly towards the close of the reign of Edward VI., a short catechism was put forth, which commonly bears his name, and which all schoolmasters were required to teach. The catechism of the Church, now in use, was first printed in the Liturgy established in the reign of that monarch, and concluded with the answer to the question immediately following the Lord's Prayer. The questions and answers relating to the nature of the sacrament of Baptism and the Lord's Supper were added at the revision of the Liturgy, in the first year of the reign of King James I. The catechism, it was truly said by Mrs. Hannah More, "is the very grammar of Christianity and of our Church; and they who understand every part of their catechism thoroughly, will not be ignorant of anything which a plain Christian need to know."

As the brevity of this admirable manual of Christian doctrine and duty leaves room for expanding the particulars comprehended under its general heads, various eminent divines at different periods have composed expositions of it—some in form of sermons or lectures, others in the more brief way of catechetical explanation by question and answer, with proofs derived from the holy Scriptures. Of the latter sort of exposition, the large work of Archbishop Wake has long been known as one of the most valuable; and among the smaller, this of Bishop Williams is one of the most judicious which has ever issued from the press. Its distinguishing excellency is, that, while some of

the leading errors of Popery are incidentally but satisfactorily refuted, in words level to the capacities of the young, it is pre-eminently scriptural. The authority of the divinely inspired Scriptures is adduced in proof of every statement made by its learned and pious author.

“The Bishop’s Exposition (Mr. Horne informs us) was first published in 1688, or 1689, the date of the license being December 12, 1688. Twelve years afterwards, or in 1700, a gross plagiarism was committed upon the Bishop’s little work by the publication of “The Church Catechism Explained,” by John Lewis, minister of Margate, in Kent. This plagiarism was denounced by the publisher of the Bishop’s Exposition in an advertisement; in a copy of which, prefixed to the twenty-third edition, printed in 1731, it is stated, that ‘whoever will be pleased to make the comparison, he will find that Mr. Lewis’s catechism is printed from this of the Bishop, for the most part, and in several places changed for the worse.’ The comparison, which was made by the Bishop himself, was lodged in the hands of the bookseller; who added, that ‘all that the Bishop said on this occasion, according to the goodness of his temper, was, that *he had been ill-used.*’”

We have had the curiosity to compare Lewis’s “Church Catechism Explained” with Bishop Williams’s work, and we have found the charge fully sustained. It is no wonder that Bishop Williams said “he had been ill-used.” His Brief Exposition was, for nearly a century, one of the publications issued by the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge; but it ceased to be in demand about thirty years since, most probably because Lewis’s plagiarism, being somewhat shorter, from his omission of many of the Scripture proofs adduced by the Bishop, was sold at a cheaper price. Mr. Hartwell Horne, the present editor,

“Having met with a copy of an early edition, was forcibly struck with its value as a truly scriptural exposition of the Church Catechism; and he was led to hope that he might render some little service to the ministers and members of the Church by revising the Bishop’s little work, and supplying such additional information as might contribute to make it more extensively useful as a comprehensive manual of Christian doctrine and Christian morals. In preparing Dr. Williams’s Brief Exposition for the press in its present (and, the editor ventures to hope, not unimproved) form:—

“1. All the texts of Scripture, cited or referred to, have been carefully collated and verified; and where any passages had not been printed at length, which it seemed desirable so to give, they have been completed.

“2. The several PARTS, of which Bishop Williams’s Exposition consists, have been divided into sections, of convenient length, for being committed to memory.

“3. As some of the answers to the questions, proposed to catechu-

mens, were long, they have been divided into short paragraphs, which are numbered 1, 2, 3, &c. ; each of which may be repeated as a distinct answer to such question.

“4. Numerous questions and answers have been added, with the design of explaining various terms, &c., as they occur in the Church Catechism ; in order that the catechumen may fully understand every part as he proceeds. All these additions are distinguished by an asterisk.

“5. An Appendix is subjoined, which comprises—

“(1). A CATECHISM OF CONFIRMATION, explaining the nature and origin of that sacred rite, the requisite preparation for it, and a concise explanation of the ‘Order of Confirmation’ itself.

“(2). A short CATECHISM ON THE FESTIVALS, FASTS, and other days commemorated by the United Church of England and Ireland. This is chiefly abridged from the pious Mr. Nelson’s well-known and justly valued ‘Companion for the Festivals and Fasts of the Church of England.’

“(3). A SELECTION OF SHORT PRAYERS, for the use of young persons, as well as of Charity and National Schools.” (Pref. p. vii., viii.)

It is but just to Mr. Horne to add, that he has fully performed what he has attempted. Not a few of his additional questions and answers are happily expressed in the very words of our Liturgy and Articles, and are confirmed by appropriate Scripture proofs. His Catechism on Confirmation, printed in the Appendix, is the most comprehensive we have ever seen on that important subject. In the compass of seven well-filled duodecimo pages, he has comprised all that is necessary for young persons to know relative to the nature and origin of confirmation, and the proper preparation for it ; together with a brief explanation of the “Order of Confirmation.” In its present improved state, Bishop Williams’s “Brief Exposition of the Church Catechism” is a practical manual of Christian doctrine and Christian ethics, which we should gladly see introduced into families and schools. This edition is appropriately inscribed, by Mr. Horne, to his parishioners, “in the hope that, with the divine blessing, it may aid them in bringing up their children *in the nurture and admonition of the Lord.*”

The Tendency of the Principles advocated in the Tracts for the Times considered, in Five Letters addressed to a Candidate for Holy Orders. By Edward N. Hoare, A.M., Dean of Achonry, Chaplain to his Excellency the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. London : Seeleys. 1841.

THESE letters are from a dignitary of the now despoiled Irish Church ; they are admirably adapted to suit the ideas of a Whig-Radical Lord Lieutenant as to the office and authority of Christ’s Catholic Church. The *Evangelical Magazine* will no doubt give them high praise.

The Millocrat. By G. C. Holland, M.D., Physician to the Sheffield General Infirmary. 8vo. London: Ollivier. 1841.

THIS is a very superior work, in every point of view: it possesses more originality, not only in its arrangement, but in its style and mode of thought and expression, than it is common either for readers to light upon, or for an author to strike out in this age of writers. For a masterly comprehension of the subjects of which it treats, clearness and lucidness of expression, vigour and force of language, accompanied by keen and polished sarcasm, and not unfrequent bursts of indignant eloquence, we do not hesitate to pronounce this work quite equal to anything which has appeared for some years past.

We cannot do better than let the author himself explain the object of his work in the following passage, with which it commences; it will also afford no bad specimen of his peculiar style. We ought to premise that the work is addressed to J. G. Marshall, Esq.:—

“Curses, like chickens, always come home to roost.”

Arabian Proverb.

“Sir,—The somewhat unmeasured terms in which you speak of the aristocracy of the country, in your letter addressed to the Right Hon. the Earl Fitzwilliam, suggest, and not inappropriately, the proverb at the head of this epistle. He who presumes to deal out abuse on any order of men, and clearly for the object of undermining the influence which they legitimately and beneficially exercise, ought in justice to belong to a class whose past and present conduct gives him the right to arraign the actions of others. Precept without example is the arrow without its point—the thunder without its lightning; the one is merely the form in which just thoughts may be embodied—the other is the spirit which gives them vitality and energy. We will briefly analyze your remarks, to determine whether the aristocracy or the millocracy of the country be the most in fault for the depressed condition of the labouring classes.”

The author indignantly throws back the charges brought against the aristocracy, shows their utter and gross falsehood, and proves that the persons to whom they apply are those who bring them forward—the *millocrats*, as he terms them; in other words, the owners of cotton-mills and factories. The mass of facts which Dr. Holland produces, with regard to the treatment of the children employed in factories—the excessive rigour, harshness, and even cruelty to which these helpless beings are continually subjected—can scarcely fail to excite feelings of indignation in every humane breast, and make us regard with scorn and contempt the affectation of *liberality*, the false and hypocritical declarations of love of freedom and regard for the rights of the poor, which are perpetually issuing from the lips of many of these overgrown manufacturers, who, with all the

liberal cant of the day in their words, are tyrants to those within their power. He goes on to prove that whilst the wealth of the aristocracy is employed in a manner most useful and beneficial to their countrymen, that of the class to whom he addresses himself is too frequently employed only in the most selfish purposes :—

“Is it you, or the aristocracy (says the author), that have employed the poor in the creation of wealth? Have they not been your stepping-stones—and how have you used them? You have disregarded their physical condition—have paid no attention to their morals—never dreamed of religious instruction—and now you hypocritically talk of their immortal souls! Their immortality never flashed across your minds until they ceased to be profitable machines. Strange source of suggestion! The diminution of your incomes teaches the immortality of the soul! Is there no duty inherent in wealth but its further creation? Is the human breast sensible of no emotion, except what arises from the contemplation of your riches? Go and gather wisdom from reflection. The good of the bygone ages, with not a tithe of your wealth, raised proud memorials of their charity. They endowed schools for the education of the masses; they furnished asylums for the fatherless, the destitute, and unfortunate; and, even now, these memorials stand out in bold relief, as if in mockery of your pride and selfishness. These good spirits, without dreaming of the extension of the franchise—of a national system of education—of the undue influence of the aristocracy, felt the duty which wealth imposes, and nobly performed it. But is this your case? Let the masses see the evidence of your previous exertions on their behalf. Where are the numerous schools for their education—the houses for religious instruction—the asylums for their infirmities and age? The only memorials of your active minds, in relation to the poor, are the large, well-lighted, and ceaseless working factories. You argue the necessity of a national system of education. Does it seem just that the nation at large should be taxed to educate those whom you impoverish and keep in ignorance? Where is such a system wanted? Only where your influence prevails—only where your inordinate thirst for gold stimulates to exertion. It is here that darkness, crime, and immorality are appalling in their huge and threatening forms.”

This is strong and forcible language; but we fear there is too much truth in it. At any rate, those to whom it is addressed have no right to complain of being repaid in their own coin. They will recollect in future that persons who live in glass houses should not throw stones. We wish we could follow the author through the course of his arguments, but we fear our limits will not permit us to do so. Among other things, he shows the extraordinary excess of crime in the manufacturing districts, as compared with the agricultural districts; and that the increase of factories in any particular district has always been

accompanied by a proportionate increase of vice and sin. All these, and, indeed, most of his statements, are proved by curious statistical facts, which add considerably to the value of the work.

On the important subject of the corn laws the author speaks at considerable length, and overthrows, in the most triumphant manner, the positions set up by the manufacturers against them. He shows that, so far from any distress having been caused in the country by the operation of these laws, the reverse is the fact; since, from the time when these laws were first brought into operation, every department of manufactures has been generally extended, and their progress has far exceeded that of any previous period. So far also from there being any truth in the allegation which has been sometimes made by the same parties, that these laws, namely, have acted as a check to production, Dr. Holland demonstrates, in the most convincing manner, that in those years when the exports and imports were the greatest, and the manufactories employed the greatest number of hands, and produced the largest quantity of goods, *we were not fed on foreign grain, but on our own abundant growth.*

Again—

“ The increase in the population of this kingdom (says Dr. Holland) is frequently urged as a powerful argument in favour of repeal, the surface of the soil not augmenting with those who depend upon it. If the surface is incapable of enlargement, the resources beneath it are not, and have been multiplied in a *greater* ratio than population. One simple fact is alone sufficient to establish this. If the past forty years be divided into four equal periods, the price of grain will be found to have gradually diminished, and will be found to be the cheapest in the last ten years. If the demand had increased in a greater proportion than the production, the converse of this would have been observed. And we hesitate not to assert, that the agricultural resources of this nation will more than keep pace with the progress of population. But if the productive power were five times greater, we should still be liable to fluctuations, both in the supply and in the price of grain. The fluctuations are no evidence of our inability to meet the demand. They occur in all states, and the following table shows that they have been less in this country, with one exception, than in seventeen places on the continent, from 1815 to 1838:—

“ *A statement of the differences per cent. between the highest and lowest annual average prices of wheat, between 1815 and 1838, in the following places:—*

PLACES.	DIFFERENCES PER CENT.	PLACES.	DIFFERENCES PER CENT.
England	140	Brandenburg and Pomerania	248
Russia Proper	212	Silesia	202
Posen	200	Saxony	269

PLACES.	DIFFERENCES PER CENT.	PLACES.	DIFFERENCES PER CENT.
Westphalia	334	Rotterdam	295
The Rhenish Provinces .	313	Dantzic	245
Sweden	119	Petersburg	155
Bordeaux	260	Riga	183
Lisbon	213	Trieste	176
Hamburgh	321		

“Such a statement as this, it will at once be seen, puts an extinguisher upon all those arguments brought forward in favour of the repeal of the corn laws, on the score of the fluctuation of price alleged to take place under their operation.”

According to Dr. Holland, the distress stated to exist has originated with the manufacturers themselves, and has been caused by their greedy and covetous conduct, manifesting itself in an extraordinary over-production of goods, and in the most dangerous and hazardous speculations:—

“When a market is glutted (says the author), the policy which alone would relieve it—*cessation from further supply*—is never adopted. The manufacturers cannot afford, with large establishments on their hands, to remain inactive. They continue to produce, though at a diminished rate; and they force sales at greatly reduced profits. Thus the evils, produced by over-production and speculation, are aggravated and prolonged by the urgent necessities of the manufacturer; nor is there any relief except what time, struggling, and economy afford, which are slow and tedious remedies.”

In short, the whole present question of the corn laws is reducible into a very small compass. The arguments advanced against these laws are, in fact, absurd, and totally without foundation; and of this the greater number of those who make use of them are well aware. Not contented with their overgrown wealth, the manufacturers and mill-owners, in order to gratify their insatiate appetite for gain, are desirous to get rid of the corn laws, that they may be able to import corn without restriction into this country, and that then, the price of bread being lowered, they may instantly reduce the rate of wages to their workmen to a still lower scale. This, and this alone—not any benevolent desire to alleviate the distresses of their countrymen, as they falsely and hypocritically pretend—is the motive for their attacks upon the corn laws, their anti-corn-law leagues, and all the other wicked and incendiary modes of agitation which they employ.

We believe that all classes are beginning to see through their shallow devices—even the lower orders, whom they have been endeavouring to stir up into disorder and violence. The most extraordinary thing is, how they ever could have imposed on any

individual by such paltry pretences. We cannot conclude without recommending our readers to make themselves acquainted with its contents. Every page almost is full of important and interesting matter. All friends of humanity owe a deep debt of gratitude to Dr. Holland, for his exposition of the cruelties exercised upon the unfortunate children employed in factories, and for his earnest defence of the interests of these helpless beings. He will prove an able ally to that enlightened and amiable nobleman, Lord Ashley, in the truly Christian cause in which he has so zealously engaged.

The Spas of England, and Principal Sea-bathing Places. By A. B. Granville, M.D., F.R.S., Author of "The Spas of Germany," "St. Petersburg," and "Southern Spas." 2 vols., 8vo. London: H. Colburn. 1841.

IN publishing these volumes, together with the former one treating of the Northern Spas, which appeared at the beginning of the year, Dr. Granville has conferred a very acceptable present on the reading public at large, more especially on two extensive divisions of it—the numerous class, namely, of real or fancied invalids who are in the habit of frequenting these places, and the still larger class of persons who are fond of light and amusing literature. To all of these, Dr. Granville's work will be very welcome. The first of them will find in it an useful guide in the choice of a spa or bathing place to which they may resort: for the author gives a fair and, we think, an impartial account of the various places which he mentions—describes their different characteristics, both in a medical and salubrious point of view—points out their peculiar advantages and disadvantages—and, what will render the work interesting to the miscellaneous reader, gives an account of everything worth notice, not only in the places themselves, but in their respective neighbourhoods as well. There is one service which the Doctor's work is very capable of rendering, and which, if carried into effect, will stamp a high value on these volumes; we allude to the possibility of a stop being put by them to the practice, too frequently indulged in by our countrymen, of resorting to the continental spas, to the prejudice of their native land, and, what is infinitely worse, of their national customs and moral and religious habits. Persons who betake themselves to foreign watering-places for the sake of their health can no longer have any excuse for so doing; Dr. Granville has furnished them with a very complete account of numerous places equally beneficial, in every point of view, to be found in their own country, and very often almost at their own doors.

Gilbertize the New Poor Law : a Fresh Plan, in a Letter to Sir Robert Peel. By the Rev. Edward Duncombe, Rector of Newton Kyme, Yorkshire. London: Whittaker; Oxford: Vincent; York: Souter. 1841. 8vo. pp. 258.

THIS letter to Sir R. Peel is written by a practical man. He is the guardian of a "Gilbert Union," in an agricultural district: he has had much experience in the management of his union, and advocates its efficiency and economy in opposition to the New Poor Law Bill. The pamphlet is full of information, and is especially suited to the needs of those M.P.'s who feel "fresh" within the walls of St. Stephen's. The clergy also should study its contents: they will see what the perseverance of *one* incumbent of a very small village can do, and should assist in his attempt to "popularize, parochialize, and christianize the New Poor Law."

We do not pledge ourselves to all the schemes proposed: we do not always approve of the style of address to the cautious Premier. The matter may be much condensed, repetitions avoided, and the arrangements greatly improved; but these are minor matters compared with the agitation of great improvement in the laws, and greater efficiency in the executive. We highly approve of the scriptural principles by which every proposal is tested, and of the attempt to restore the clergy and the Church to their due position in the management of the destitute. We recommend the work, which displays much original thinking, with great eccentricity of style.

Luther on Rome and the Reformation. A Poem. By Alfred Lord. London: Seeley and Burnside. 1841.

WERE we inclined to be severe, we should take some specimens from this thing, which Mr. Alfred Lord is pleased to call *a poem*, and expose him; as it is, we shall spare him such a pillory. The subject shows the direction of the public mind. We verily believe that anybody—no matter who—who should get up and declare publicly that the Pope is antichrist and the beast, and Dr. Pusey the false prophet, would forthwith find not a few to consider *him* something little less than an angel.

A Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities. Parts 17, 18, 19, 20, and 21. London: Taylor and Walton. 1841.

THIS excellent work is going on well; it will, when finished, be both beautiful and highly valuable. The proprietors have, we know, spared no expense to obtain and properly to remunerate the highest talent. The wood-cuts, too, are of the most exquisite description, and many of the articles are essays evidencing the most profound learning.

The Poetical Works of James Montgomery. Collected by Himself.
In Four Volumes. London: Longman. 1841.

THE poetry of James Montgomery possesses more of the elements of popularity for the present day than that of any of his contemporaries, Mr. Dale alone excepted. Yet Mr. Dale is either known only by name, or not even known at all, by hundreds, nay, thousands, to whom the poetry of James Montgomery is perfectly familiar. It would be a curious task to investigate the causes of this difference—to institute a Plutarchian comparison between two poets so similar, yet so different. One would probably be, that James Montgomery has never appeared prominently before the world in any *other* character than that of a poet. It is quite true that he was for many years the able editor of a Whig newspaper—it is quite true that he was imprisoned for libel: but yet he never was a demagogue—never a scoundrel—and hence never became celebrated either as a champion of, or a martyr for, liberty. He was, and is, a religious man, and his every production shows it; and here we find the cause which prevented his becoming a favourite with the ungodly: we therefore never hear of him, save as the religious poet. Mr. Dale, on the other hand, is a popular preacher; his church is always crowded, and wherever he goes his hearers follow him. He has been a professor, and his lectures were highly interesting: he is an editor, though not of a Whig newspaper, and a publisher of sermons, and other prose works; and we therefore look not in the first or chief place at his poetical labours. We shall select a poem or two of Mr. Montgomery, to show how exquisitely polished are the shorter productions of his muse:—

“Night turns to day:—

When sullen darkness lowers,
And heaven and earth are hid from sight,
Cheer up, cheer up;
Ere long the opening flowers,
With dewy eyes, shall shine in light.

“Storms die in calms:—

When over land and ocean
Roll the loud chariots of the wind,
Cheer up, cheer up;
The voice of wild commotion
Proclaims tranquillity behind.

“Winter wakes spring:—

When icy blasts are blowing
O'er frozen lakes, through naked trees,
Cheer up, cheer up;
All beautiful and glowing,
May floats in fragrance on the breeze.

“ War ends in peace :—

Though dread artillery rattle,
And ghastly corpses load the ground,
Cheer up, cheer up ;
Where groan'd the field of battle,
The song, the dance, the feast go round.

“ Toil brings repose :—

With noontide fervours beating,
When droop thy temples o'er thy breast,
Cheer up, cheer up ;
Grey twilight, cool and fleeting,
Wafts on its wing the hour of rest.

“ Death springs to life :—

Though brief and sad thy story,
Thy years all spent in care and gloom,
Look up, look up ;
Eternity and glory
Dawn through the portals of the tomb.”

The rhythm of this is beautiful ; and we have to thank our author for some beautiful metres, common in German, but rarely met with in English versification. The poem entitled “ Reminiscences ” is a beautiful specimen :—

“ Where are ye with whom in life I started,
Dear companions of my golden days ?
Ye are dead, estranged from me, or parted,
—Flown, like morning clouds, a thousand ways.

“ Where art thou, in youth my friend and brother—
Yea, in soul my friend and brother still ?
Heaven received thee, and on earth none other
Can the void in my lorn bosom fill.

“ Where is she, whose looks were love and gladness ?
—Love and gladness I no longer see !
She is gone ; and, since that hour of sadness,
Nature seems her sepulchre to me.

“ Where am I ?—life's current faintly flowing
Brings the welcome warning of release ;
Struck with death, ah ! whither am I going ?
All is well—my spirit parts in peace.”

The larger poems are by no means equal in merit. “ The Wanderer of Switzerland ” is written in a stanza ill-adapted to so lengthened a production ; nor are “ Greenland,” “ The World before the Flood,” or “ The Pelican Island,” able to engage a long sustained attention : they are, indeed, studded with beautiful passages ; but ever and anon a feeling of languor steals over us, and we lay down the volume. But the smaller

poems are eminently graceful. There is one which seems a spontaneous outpouring of the poet's mind; it has apparently no tendency, but is a simple gush of melody: we can hardly believe that he ever *himself* committed it to writing; it is entitled "The Bridal and the Burial:"—

" 'Blessed is the bride whom the sun shines on;
Blessed is the corpse which the rain rains on.'

" I saw thee young and beautiful,
I saw thee rich and gay,
In the first blush of womanhood,
Upon thy wedding-day:
The church-bells rang,
And the little children sang—
' Flowers, flowers, kiss her feet;
Sweets to the sweet;
The winter's past, the rains are gone;
Blessed is the bride whom the sun shines on.'

" I saw thee poor and desolate,
I saw thee fade away,
In broken-hearted widowhood,
Before thy locks were grey;
The death-bell rang,
And the little children sang—
' Lilies, dress her winding-sheet;
Sweets to the sweet;
The summer's past, the sunshine gone;
Blessed is the corpse which the rain rains on.'

" 'Blessed is the bride whom the sun shines on;
Blessed is the corpse which the rain rains on.' "

This is more like Barry Cornwall than Mr. Dale. Nevertheless, a few moralless effusions are of no small value in pointing out the inherent necessity of poetizing to a truly poetical mind. There are many, who, having much facility of versification, will take a subject and extract a moral from it; and, if they have also the power of throwing out bright thoughts and beautiful images, they may make very delicious poetry. Mrs. Abdy's beautiful little pieces in the *Churchman* are instances in point; but such as the poem we have quoted show that the writer would have been a poet, even against his will. We shall take one more extract—not "Night," which we hold to be the most beautiful thing in the four volumes, because all our readers know that by heart, but "The Christian Soldier:"—

" 'Servant of God! well done,
Rest from thy loved employ;

The battle fought, the victory won,
Enter thy Master's joy.'

—The voice at midnight came ;
He started up to hear :
A mortal arrow pierced his frame,
He fell—but felt no fear.

“ Tranquil amidst alarms,
It found him in the field,
A veteran slumbering on his arms,
Beneath his red-cross shield :
His sword was in his hand,
Still warm with recent fight,
Ready that moment, at command,
Through rock and steel to smite.

“ It was a two-edged blade,
Of heavenly temper keen ;
And double were the wounds it made,
Where'er it smote between :
'Twas death to sin ;—'twas life
To all that mourn'd for sin ;
It kindled and it silenced strife,
Made war and peace within.

“ Oft with its fiery force,
His arm had quell'd the foe,
And laid, resistless in its course,
The alien armies low :
Bent on such glorious toils,
The world to him was loss ;
Yet all his trophies, all his spoils,
He hung upon the cross.

“ At midnight came the cry,
'To meet thy God prepare !'
He woke, and caught his Captain's eye ;
Then, strong in faith and prayer,
His spirit, with a bound,
Bursts its encumbering clay :
His tent, at sunrise, on the ground,
A darken'd ruin lay.

“ The pains of death are past,
Labour and sorrow cease,
And, life's long warfare closed at last,
His soul is found in peace.
Soldier of Christ ! well done ;
Praise be thy new employ ;
And, while eternal ages run,
Rest in thy Saviour's joy.”

This splendid production may well challenge a comparison with anything written on a similar subject. We remember Pope's "Dying Christian," and "Le Chretien Mourant" of La Martine; but we repeat our assertion. Nor must it be forgotten that some of the best translations of Psalms have been from the hand of Mr. Montgomery. We wish he would translate them all. It might not be practicable, partly from the nature of the metres, partly from the occasionally paraphrastic character of the translation itself, to use, for the purposes of public worship, all that Mr. Montgomery has already translated; but were he inclined to make a few slight alterations, *and to complete his work*, he would certainly have given us by far the most acceptable volume that poetry has of late years produced.

We must add that the edition now before us is beautifully printed and elegantly illustrated: the portrait of the poet is a good one, and the whole appearance of the volumes quite in accordance with the literary luxury of the age. We must rejoice in the circulation of productions such as these; they have stood the test of time and criticism, and their author has achieved for himself an entry into the temple of renown. Would that all who sit there with him had won their laurels as virtuously, and worn them as modestly.

The Churchman's Companion: a Practical and Devotional Commentary upon select portions of the Book of Common Prayer, in a series of choice passages from the Writings of Bishops Beveridge, Hall, Hopkins, Leighton, Reynolds, Taylor, and Wilson. By a Clergyman. 18mo. Oxford: Talboys. 1840.

THE design of this work is excellent. Select portions of our incomparable Liturgy are given at length, and an explanatory comment upon each of them is added, taken from the writings of those authors whose names are given in the title-page. These various passages appear to have been selected with considerable judgment and discrimination; indeed, it would be difficult to take anything which was not good from the writings of the venerable and admirable persons who grace the first page of this little volume.

The Parish Church. By J. E. N. Molesworth, D.D. London: Rivingtons. 1841.

THIS is a delightful little tract, full of admirable thoughts and sentiments, expressed in clear, forcible, and eloquent language. It is well calculated for distribution among the humbler classes.

On Sex in the World to Come: an Essay. By the Rev. G. D. Haughton. London: Boone. 1841.

THERE is very much in this essay that will well repay an attentive perusal, and we shall probably recur to it again on some future occasion. The author's idea, and one, too, which he defends with much skill and great beauty of language, is, that the difference between the sexes is not bodily merely, but mental:

"It has been often said that the mental characteristics of sex arise from a difference of physical organization. We hold a converse opinion. It is our belief that the Almighty designed to create two *contrasted spirits*, each to imbibe the excellencies of the other, and to impart its own; and it was His *subsequent* care to enshrine each of them in such a bodily temple, as would best shadow forth the nature of the indwelling thought, that all eyes might admiringly see—

'The soul's translucence through her crystal cell.'

In our theory, mind was first, and matter followed as its symbol. Hence we conceive that the peculiarities of the two divisions of our race are quite indestructible, and that as they arose not from the formation of the body, so neither will they be affected by its dissolution. In the language of the Platonic philosophy, they are ideas, and not things; and, as not involved in the fate of nature, must be held secure in their existence. It is, of course, not our intention to deny that body reacts on mind, for of that truth we have only too plentiful experience.

"The Great Father clothed each spirit in its befitting robe—a robe which half hid and half revealed its brightness. His imagination conceived the plan, and then he gave to it an outward shape and manifestation. Compared with this conception, how base, how grovelling is the creed, that the various qualities of mind are *evolved* from a certain material form and texture!"

These words occur, not at an early period in the book, but the idea is maintained from the beginning. We have also some very able and very eloquent chapters on angels, to whose existence the same argument is applied. The book is addressed to a class, who, perhaps, are but small, and the manner in which the author presents it to them may deserve notice:—

"They whose theology is limited to a narrow list of prosaic abstractions, and who resist all approach of further enlightenment—who conceive the more tame and emasculated the character is, the meeter does it become for glory (*i. e.*, the more *inglorious* it is)—who overlook the magnificent poetry of the Bible, and fasten, by choice, on its most abstract and least interesting points—whose Gospel is all contained in the Epistles, aye, and a very small portion of them, which, moreover, they do not understand, but twist into a narrow pedantic interpretation, in flat contradiction to the rest of the sacred volume, and to its pervading spirit—whose pass-word at the celestial gates is not the assuming a godlike nature, but pronouncing the Shibboleth of a party—who

conceive that Christianity is a dogma, whereas it is a spirit—whose idea of heaven may be gathered from the old hymn—

• Where congregations ne'er break up,
And Sabbaths have no end ;'

—who conceived that the Almighty has given to man imagination, only that he may not soar ; and fancy, only that it might be crushed ; and affections, only that they may be tortured, denied, and finally eradicated : these, and such as these, may not relish our views ; but with these we have no sympathy, nor desire any communion.

“ But come, the gentle, the pure, the devout, the Catholic in spirit, to whom fanaticism is a horror and a crime, and see whether we do not unfold much which may nourish your hopes, and open out to your view the most consolatory prospects.

“ Ye, to whom nature's radiant smile is a full assurance that your own brightest anticipations *must* be in accordance with the plan of the all-bounteous Creator—ye, to whom, without love, the garden of Eden would be but a wild : by that, too, you mean, not an unimpassioned universal benevolence—an equal regard for all that breathe ; but love, of that more special kind which alone deserves the name.

“ It is your suffrages we desire to win—it is your approbation that we alone covet.”

There is something theatrical in this ; there is a mixture of earthliness and heavenliness, which somewhat jars upon the mental ear ; but we pass on, and we find from time to time the same string out of tune. The facts stated are true, and the theories advanced are probable, and we like the book as a whole ; yet with all this there is a want of spirituality of mind about it, which may with many persons neutralize its good effects. Such a passage as the following, though true in the main, is angrily, unkindly written, and should not have been written at all :—

“ The spirit of that book and congenial traditions, in the way both of precept and of usages, would naturally generate a noble and stately system, lofty in its aims, and prodigal in its generosity. And such is, in truth, the system of the Holy Catholic Church ; and such would more fully be acknowledged to be the features of that purest branch of it—our own Establishment—if, unhappily, it had not been shorn of its fair proportions, and surrounded by the malign influences of a religious democracy. The counter system is no genuine emanation of the Gospel, but an abortion of the last three hundred years ; and does it follow no tradition ? Why, its whole interpretation of the Bible is traditional ! But it is a tradition derived from those impure and fanatical sectaries of the middle ages, who were expelled from the bosom of the Church for their errors, and who, as might naturally be expected, retorted upon her the foulest abuse ; or perchance it flowed from the ignoble authority of Calvin, the burner of Servetus, or of Knox, that ruthless ruffian of the Scotch Reformation. The prevalence of these views is only one among a thousand illustrations of the maxim, that

‘extremes meet’—a maxim which, Coleridge tells us, would exhaust philosophy in its application.”

We extract one other passage, on the resurrection of the body, which is well worth the reader’s attention :—

“We have, doubtless, taken for granted, in the above remarks, that the celestial body offers no obstacle to the operations of spirit, but is, on the contrary, its supple instrument and efficient minister. We apprehend that none will be found in these days to revive the ancient Manichæan doctrine, if it be not one which even now pervades the East, that matter is essentially malignant, and that perfect freedom or purity of mind is inconsistent with it.

“And yet it appears to us that there must be some such lurking idea in the creed of the generality of Christians, for they seem to nullify their profession of belief in the resurrection of the body, twice repeated every Sabbath-day in the service of our National Church, by the airy and unsubstantial shape which the future life assumes in their imaginations. And let us remember that it is not reason, but imagination, which is the prime mover in religion, by exciting our sensibilities, and kindling devotion.

“It is from inattention to this fact that our chief mistakes proceed. It is from a full knowledge of it, and from carrying out the principle firmly, *though much too far*, that the Romish Church has obtained so vast a sway, and so extended a reception. In this she has shown a rare acquaintance with human nature, and therefore has acquired a mastery over it. And, among other instances of her ‘so potent art,’ we may well select that of angelic power and guardianship. In calling to her aid this doctrine, and arraying it in its most engaging form, and even enthroning in the heavens, in the person of the Virgin, a sweeter and gentler influence, she has employed resources of a most seductive kind.”

Illustrations of the End of the Church. By the Rev. Augustus Clissold, M.A. London : Simpkin and Marshall. 1841.

MR. CLISSOLD is a disciple of Swedenborg, and has come to the conclusion that the Church has come to hers—in short, that if there be any Church now, there will not be one long. We are afraid for Mr. Clissold’s theory, that it will not bear the test of sound criticism. When our Lord said to Peter, “On this rock will I build my Church, and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it,” he, by anticipation, refuted all that is between the two boards of Mr. Clissold’s book. Yet we see clearly enough that the author is a man of considerable intellectual power, and we trust that he is also a good man ; many passages in his volume lead us to believe that he is so ; and we see, therefore, how little talent, and even goodness, will suffice, as theological guides, without the teaching of the Church. Of all the theories which have been put forth of late years, this is the strangest ; but, thanks be to God, one of the most untrue.

Conferences of the Reformers and Divines of the Early English Church, on the Doctrines of the Oxford Tractarians, held in the Province of Canterbury, in the Spring of the Year 1841. Edited by a Member of the University of ——. London: Seeleys. 1841.

WE are of opinion that critical severity is rarely very useful in deterring men from writing trash. If they are that way given, they will console themselves with the conclusion, that prejudice and bad taste prevail to a most astounding degree, and they themselves, alike condemned to the censure of critics and the neglect of readers, the only eminent poets, profound theologians, or practical philosophers of their day. It is, however, possible to write that which, though in a certain degree and under certain circumstances good, becomes useless when otherwise exhibited. The papaphobia—may we be allowed such a word, which now prevails among many—is a very different thing from that wholesome horror of Popery which ever distinguishes the member of a Reformed yet Catholic Church. Now the book before us is one which is evidently written with good desires and Christian intentions, yet we conceive that the whole is one mistake: it is an attempt to prove that the Oxford Tractarians are wrong, by adducing against them a host of Anglican authorities. But as they have published a *catena* of their own, this book is but arraying bishop against bishop, doctor against doctor, and very often the same individual, as exhibited by the “Member of the University of ——,” against *himself*, as cited by “members of the University of Oxford.” One of our objections to the Tractarians is, that they do make such a *catena*: for the opinion of many men, though it may strengthen our belief, or overcome our judgment, cannot make that true which is false, or that false which is true. We have to refer to the *authorized formularies* of our Church as authoritative; and to Cranmer, and Ridley, and others, only so far as, *in our judgment*, they rightly interpret those Articles. The Church is the interpreter of Scripture—the Fathers the witnesses of the Church: individually, each man’s opinion is worth only what his own personal wisdom and learning makes it worth; and as to collective opinion, we have already spoken of that. We object to this book, too, because the author puts it forth, not merely anonymously, but as the member of some unnamed University. Candidly speaking, we must consider this quackery: we have, over and over again, expressed our dissent from the Tracts and their followers; and we grieve to say, that very few of their opponents are there who do not write less skilfully, less learnedly, and less charitably.

A Treatise of the Necessity and Frequency of Receiving the Holy Communion. By the Right Rev. Simon Patrick, D.D., sometime Lord Bishop of Ely. Edited by the Rev. William Bentinck Hawkins, M.A., F.R.S., of Exeter College, Oxford; Chaplain to H.R.H. the Duke of Cambridge. London: Rivingtons. 1841.

THIS is one of the very best works we have ever met with on the holy communion. It comprises everything that could be wished for on this important subject. In addition to a complete account of the nature and design of "the most comfortable sacrament of the body and blood of Christ," to use the language of Mr. Hawkins's admirable Preface, "it discusses, in the most convincing manner, a portion of the subject which has not always been treated at sufficient length—the objections, namely, by which various persons are deterred from partaking of this most sacred ordinance and institution, whether arising from conscientious scruples, or, as it is to be feared is the more frequent case, 'from motives of a less innocent character.' The venerable bishop has investigated the real nature of every one of these, and has torn off the specious disguise which they sometimes assume." Indeed we do not know of any work more perfectly suited for the use of communicants in general, or which may be employed with more advantage by the clergy in their ministerial labours.

The editor's task has been performed with great accuracy and fidelity, and the typographical part of the work is executed in a tasteful and beautiful manner.

A Series of Original Designs for Churches and Chapels, in the Anglo-Norman, Early English, Decorative English, and Perpendicular English Styles of Ecclesiastical Architecture. Including also Designs for Rectory Houses and Schools, in the Domestic, English, and Tudor Styles. By Frederick J. Francis, Architect, Author of "Physical and Fossil Geology." London: Weale. 1841.

MR. FRANCIS has, in the superb work before us, conferred a boon upon church builders, which they will not be slow to appreciate. The taste of the antiquary will not be here offended by the grotesque combinations which sometimes deform the face of our villages and towns, where a "Mr. Compo" has been employed to build a "cheap church." At the same time the designs are practicable ones. No one about to build a church will regret the money laid out in the purchase of this book, nor should rectory houses be built without consulting it. We say thus much only on the present occasion, as we purpose, when the book is complete, to examine it at considerable length, with a view to investigate the principles on which what is commonly called Gothic architecture can be applied to buildings not immediately sacred in their character.

Personal Recollections. By Charlotte Elizabeth. London : Seeleys.

THE little volume before us is one of the most interesting we have ever met with ; not because we altogether admire its spirit—not because we altogether admire its authoress, but because it presents to us a very curious psychological phenomenon. We have here a transcript, and evidently a honest transcript, of the mind of a remarkable woman—one who has exercised a great influence on the female society of her day. We scarcely know where to look for so strange a compound of Christian love and sectarian uncharitableness—of forced humility and uncontrollable pride—of attempted reliance on the Saviour, and yet determined reliance on self, than is exhibited in the “*Personal Recollections*” of Charlotte Elizabeth. She is evidently a high-minded and high-principled woman (she may accept our praise with the most perfect reliance on its sincerity), whose early education was good, so far as it went, but never completed. Let us see how it was carried on :—

“About this time, when my sight, after a few months’ privation, was fully restored, I first imbibed the strength of Protestantism as deeply as it can be imbibed apart from spiritual understanding. Norwich was infamously conspicuous in persecuting unto death the saints of the Most High, under the sanguinary despotism of Popish Mary ; and the spot where they suffered, called the Lollard’s Pit, lies just outside the town, over Bishop’s bridge, having a circular excavation against the side of Moushold-hill. This, at least to within a year or two ago, was kept distinct, an opening by the road-side. My father often took us to walk in that direction, and pointed out the pit, and told us that there Mary burnt good people alive for refusing to worship wooden images. I was horror-stricken, and asked many questions, to which he did not always reply so fully as I wished ; and one day, having to go out while I was enquiring, he said, ‘I don’t think you can read a word of this book, but you may look at the pictures : it is all about the martyrs.’ So saying, he placed on a chair the old folio of Fox’s ‘*Acts and Monuments*,’ in venerable black letter, and left me to examine it.

“Hours passed, and still found me bending over, or rather leaning against, that magic book. I could not, it is true, decypher the black letter ; but I found some examinations in Roman type, and devoured them ; while every wood-cut was examined with aching eyes and a palpitating heart. Assuredly I took in more of the spirit of John Fox, even by that imperfect mode of acquaintance, than many do by reading his book through ; and when my father next found me at what became my darling study, I looked up at him with burning cheeks, and asked, ‘Papa, may I be a martyr ?’

“‘What do you mean, child ?’

“‘I mean, papa, may I be burned to death for my religion, as these were ? I want to be a martyr.’

“He smiled, and made me this answer, which I have never forgotten, ‘Why, Charlotte, if the government ever gives power to the Papists again, as they talk of doing, you may very probably live to be a martyr.’

“I remember the stern pleasure that this reply afforded me: of spiritual knowledge, not the least glimmer had ever reached me in any form; yet I knew the Bible most intimately, and loved it with all my heart, as the most sacred, the most beautiful of earthly things. Already had its sublimity caught my admiration; and when listening to the lofty language of Isaiah, as read from his stall in the cathedral by my father in Advent, and the early Sundays of the year, while his magnificent voice sent the prophetic denunciations pealing through those vaulted aisles, I had received into my mind, and I think into my heart, that scorn of idolatry which breathes so thrillingly in his inspired page. This I know, that at six years old the foundation of a truly scriptural protest was laid in my character; and to this hour it is my prayer that whenever the Lord calls me hence, or whenever the Lord himself comes to earth, he may find his servant not only watching, but working against the diabolical iniquity that filled the Lollard’s Pit with the ashes of his saints.”

This was, indeed, a one-sided education, for Fox *alone* is more calculated to make a Dissenter than to form the mind of a Churchman; and we cannot be surprised that Charlotte Elizabeth has ever been far more than half a Dissenter. Yet we can forgive her her unconscious heresies—her pride of self-interpretation—her attacks on and sneers at divines, who, though wrong, are not more wrong than she is herself, for the sake of such writing as this:—

“When from scattered lands afar
Speeds the voice of rumoured war,
Nations in conflicting pride
Heaved like Ocean’s stormy tide—
When the solar splendours fail
And the crescent waxeth pale,
And the powers that star-like reign
Sink dishonoured to the plain,
World, do thou the signal dread;
We exalt the drooping head,
We uplift the expectant eye—
Our redemption draweth nigh.

“When the fig-tree shoots appear,
Men proclaim their summer near;
When the hearts of rebels fail,
We the coming Saviour hail;
Bridegroom of the weeping spouse,
Listen to her longing vows—
Listen to her widow’d moan,
Listen to creation’s groan!

Bid, oh bid, the trumpet sound,
 Gather thine elect around ;
 Gird with saints thy flaming car,
 Gather them from climes afar,
 Call them from life's cheerless gloom,
 Call them from the marble tomb,
 From the grass-grown village grave,
 From the deep dissolving wave,
 From the whirlwind and the flame.
 Mighty Head ! thy members claim !

“ Where are those whose fierce disdain
 Scorn'd Messiah's gentle reign ?
 Lo, in seas of sulph'rous fire
 Now they taste his tardy ire,
 Prison'd till th' appointed day
 When the world shall pass away.

“ Quelled are all thy foes, O Lord ;
 Sheath again the victor sword.
 Where thy cross of anguish stood,
 Where thy life distilled in blood,
 Where they mocked thy dying groan,
 King of nations, plant thy throne.
 Send the law from Zion forth,
 Over all the willing earth :
 Earth, whose Sabbath beauties rise
 Crowned with more than paradise.

“ Sacred be the opposing veil !
 Mortal sense and sight must fail.
 Yet the day, the hour is nigh,
 We shall see thee eye to eye.
 Be our souls in peace possess'd
 While we seek the promised rest,
 And from every heart and home
 Breathe the prayer—Lord Jesus, come !
 Haste to set thy people free ;
 Come—creation groans for thee !”

Precedents in Causes of Office against Churchwardens and others, extracted from the Act Books of the Consistory Court of London, and the Archdeaconal Courts of St. Alban's, Essex, Middlesex, and Lewes, in Illustration of the Law of Church-rate and the Duty of Churchwardens. By W. Hale Hale, M. A., Archdeacon of Middlesex. London : Rivingtons. 1841.

THIS book needs no description, its title sufficiently explains its object ; and we can only add it is both ably executed (coming from Archdeacon Hale it is unnecessary to say this), and it is peculiarly seasonable in the time of its appearing.

A Treatise on the Right Use of the Fathers in the Decision of Controversies existing at this day in Religion. By John Daillé, Minister of the Gospel in the Reformed Church of Paris. Translated from the French, and revised by the Rev. T. Smith, M.A., of Christ College, Cambridge. Now re-edited and amended; with a Preface by the Rev. G. Jekyll, LL.B., Rector of West Coker, and of Hawkrigge and Withypool, County of Somerset. London: White. 1841.

JOHN DAILLE', or, as he is more commonly called, Dallæus, was one of the chief and ablest advocates of the doctrine and discipline of Geneva: with English Churchmen, therefore, his name is in less repute, and deservedly so, than, *abstractedly* considered, his talents and arguments might seem to merit. Bishop Warburton well characterizes the book before us thus—

“He composed a discourse of the ‘True Use of the Fathers;’ in which, with uncommon learning and strength of argument, he showed that the fathers were incompetent deciders of the controversies now on foot—since the points in question were not formed into articles till long after the ages in which they lived. This was bringing the *fathers* from the bench to the table—degrading them from the rank of judges into the class of simple evidence; in which, too, they were not to speak, like *Irish* evidence, in every cause where they were wanted, but only to such matters as were agreed to be within their knowledge. Had this learned critic stopped here, his book had been free from blame; but at the same time his purpose had, in all likelihood, proved very ineffectual; for the obliquity of old prejudices is not to be set straight by reducing it to that line of right which barely restores it to integrity. He went much further; and by showing, occasionally, that they were absurd interpreters of Holy Writ—that they were bad reasoners in morals, and very loose evidence in facts—he seemed willing to have his reader infer, that even though they had been masters of the subject, yet these other defects would have rendered them very unqualified deciders.”

Daillé requires as much caution in reading as do any of the Tractarians, or even any of the Jesuits.

Roman Fallacies and Catholic Truths. By the Rev. H. Townsend Powell, A.M., Vicar of Stretton-on-Dunsmore. London: Painter. 1841.

THE history of these Tracts (now collected in a volume) may be briefly told. They were elicited by the persevering efforts of the Roman Catholics in connexion with St. Mary's Priory, at Princethorpe, in the parish of Stretton-on-Dunsmore, in Warwickshire; and are, in fact, a continuation of a series of publications put forth to meet the various attempts at proselytism which have been resorted to in that parish. In the summer of 1835, an establishment of Roman Catholic ladies migrated from Orrel Mount, in Lancashire, and settled themselves in a

newly-erected building, which they called St. Mary's Priory. These Tracts were called the "Stretton Tracts," and as such had an extensive circulation. The volume which now contains them embraces the following subjects:—Angel Worship; Saint Worship; Canonization of Saints; Worship of the Virgin Mary; Image Worship; Relic Worship; Adoration of the Cross; and the Adoration of the Host. An Appendix, containing an answer to all objections; and a Supplement, maintaining the Catholic the old religion, and the fallacies of Pope Pius's Creed. These subjects are all treated with great learning and judgment. It is very true that we are from time to time told, and told very truly, by pious Romanists, that they do not worship images—that, on the contrary, they worship God only—and that they should consider any idolatry a most grievous sin; but, we reply, in so far as what you say is true—and we believe that it is true—so far are you contradicting, practically, your own Church. Now as, theoretically, "Rome is unchanged and unchangeable," and as the increase or establishment of Romanism does not necessarily imply an increase or establishment of rational pious Romanists, so we have no security against all the errors of all the Roman Church's decisions.

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1. *Slavery and the Internal Slave Trade in the United States.* London: Ward. 1841.
 2. *Proceedings of the General Anti-Slavery Convention, called by the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, and held in London from Friday, June 12, to Tuesday, June 23, 1840.* London: British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society. 1841.

THE British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society is chiefly—alas! that it should be so—supported by Dissenters; and they, therefore, continue to make speeches, and commit themselves by corporate acts, which make it impossible for Churchmen to join with them. We should like to see the matter taken up by Churchmen, as it ought to be, and some steps taken by those whose authority will weigh with the world, to put a stop to this blot on the face of the earth.

Lectures on the Millennium, the New Heavens, and the New Earth, and the Recognition and Intercourse of Beatified Saints. By the Rev. Charles Burton, LL.D., F.L.S., Minister of All Saints', Grosvenor-square, Manchester. London: Hamilton and Adams. 1841.

DR. BURTON'S discourses are highly important, and we notice them here only because we intend, on an early occasion, to enter fully into this much-disputed question. In the meantime we may observe that we take precisely the same view which Dr. Burton has done in this very excellent volume.

1. *Canadian Scenery*. Parts 12, 13, 14. London: Virtue. 1841.
2. *Scenery and Antiquities of Ireland*. Parts 5, 6, 7. London: Virtue. 1841.
3. *Fox's Book of Martyrs*. Parts 5, 6. London: Virtue. 1841.

It is a very different thing to read a tourist's account of his progress, when there is nothing but his own powers of description to realize the scenes referred to, and to have those scenes vividly portrayed, not only by the pen of a ready writer, but also by the pencil of an accurate draftsman, and the burine of an eminent engraver. In the instances before us, the two first works are calculated to awaken the liveliest interest: anything connected with Canada or Ireland is just now sure to attract attention; nor is the old Martyrologist a whit less seasonable. With regard to Ireland, we have often wondered how it was that so exquisitely beautiful a country, as many a part of "The Green Island" is, should have so few visitors. It may, we sometimes think, be accounted for by the unsettled state of the country—the Conservatives not caring to trust themselves in a land where both life and property have been rendered insecure by ten years of Whig government; and the "*Liberals*" being naturally afraid to face the effects of their own misdoings.

This publication of Mr. Virtue's may, however, make us familiar with the beauties of Ireland, without the harrowing sight of her miseries and her wrongs; for during the last ten years she has suffered many. We hope, now, however, that the time has come when she may hope to see the dawn of justice—have *equal laws*, and *equally enforced*, with ourselves; and, above all, be freed from the domination of Popish faction.

Biblical Researches in Palestine, Mount Sinai, and Arabia Petrea: a Journal of Travels in the year 1838. By E. Robinson and E. Smith, undertaken in reference to Biblical Geography. Drawn up from Original Diaries, with Historical Illustrations. By Edward Robinson, D.D. 3 vols. 8vo. London: Murray. 1841.

THESE "Biblical Researches" have been published too short a time to allow us to prepare an analysis of them for the present number of our journal. We hope to present a detailed account in our next publication. At present, therefore, we announce Dr. Robinson's work as by far the best which has ever appeared, elucidatory of Biblical geography, in our own, or indeed in any other language. To Biblical students and Christian scholars, it opens sources of information in the highest degree interesting. No well-selected library can be complete without it.

National Ballads, Patriotic and Protestant. By M. A. Stodart.
London: Baisler. 1841.

THE person to whom we owe the restoration of that kind of poetry which Miss Stodart here employs is unquestionably Barry Cornwall, “aut quocunque alio nomine gaude;” he first showed us how the ancient melodies of our magnificent language were composed, and has equalled, if he has not excelled, the elder masters of the lyre. Miss Stodart is not an altogether unworthy disciple of the same school. We meet with the same species of enthusiasm, though in a minor degree—somewhat of the same vivid richness of imagery, though with far less splendour and variety. Perhaps the best of the poems before us is the first, “The Oaks of England.” But though these lays are “*Protestant*,” and most fiercely *Protestant* too, we fear they are not *Catholic*. Sometimes this fiercely Protestant spirit shows itself in a harmless effusion, and then it may be called patriotic. One, which we would willingly quote, is “The Church of England not a New Church;” we must make room for the two concluding stanzas:—

“We’re of no sect; our hearts are knit
With Jesus Christ the Lord:
And we will not change our ancient faith,
Apostate! at thy word.

“Our faith is truth—the truth of God!
It blazes high and bright:
We’ll stand to it as our fathers stood,
And the Lord uphold the right!”

But there are many exceedingly Protestant effusions here which breathe forth a bitter and inextinguishable hatred, not only to *Romanism*, but to Rome; not only to Popery, but to Papists. “These things ought not so to be.” Hannibal is pressed into the service of Protestantism; and it is insinuated, and more than insinuated, that it is our duty to do as he did, though in another sense—swear at the altar eternal enmity to Rome:—

“No peace with Rome! an Afric youth
Beside his father stood;
The words he spake were words of truth,
And sealed in time with blood:
Though in an age of darkness born,
Though on a heathen altar sworn,
The words in early boyhood spoken
Were kept till age, till death, unbroken.”

How truly in the case of such persons may our Lord’s words be applied: “Ye know not what manner of spirit ye are of.” We shall make no more quotations: generally speaking, the poems are highly creditable to the authoress; and if she would read a

few books written by the Reformers she so much praises—Cranmer and Ridley, for instance—she would find that the Church of England inculcates not the mere negative—hatred to Popery, but the positive also—love of catholicity, *evangelical truth* AND *apostolical order*.

Efès Dammim; a Series of Conversations, at Jerusalem, between a Patriarch of the Greek Church and a Chief Rabbi of the Jews, concerning the malicious charge against the Jews of using Christian Blood. By J. B. Levinsohn. Translated from the Hebrew, by Dr. L. Loewe. London: Longmans. 1841.

THE author of this book endeavours, and we are bound to say successfully, to repudiate the strange charge made against the Jews of using Christian blood. That so dreadful an accusation was not the offspring of mere invention, we do not, however, believe; though, at the same time, we are perfectly convinced that every *true* Israelite would most severely condemn, and unhesitatingly disavow, the horrid practice.

SERMONS.

1. *The Baptismal Privileges, the Baptismal Vow, and the Means of Grace, as they are set forth in the Church Catechism, considered in Six Lent Lectures, preached at Sulhamstead, Berks, 1841.* By the Rev. Charles Smith Bird, M.A., F.L.S., late Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge. London: Seeleys. 1841.
2. *Sermons preached at Harrow School.* By Christopher Wordsworth, D.D., Head Master of Harrow School. London: Rivingtons.
3. *Sermons preached in the Parish Church of Bilston, Staffordshire, on the Principal Doctrines of the Church of England.* By Fourteen Clergymen of the Church of England. Wolverhampton: White.

MR. BIRD is not one of those clergymen who subscribe to articles which they do not believe, and use formularies which they imagine to be Popish, if not worse. He understands our Church as she intended her ministers to understand her; and in these six lectures has he given an admirable analysis of *her* doctrines, as to baptism and regeneration. Partly to show what sort of divinity the readers of these lectures may expect, partly because we do not know a more lucid exposition of the subject, we shall extract the commencement of the second sermon, and wish our limits would allow us to do more:—

“In my morning’s discourse last Sunday I laid before you (more briefly than I wished) the view which our Church takes of the blessings and privileges accompanying infant baptism. I endeavoured to show you, from the words she uses in the Catechism, that it is a high view. She believes that actual grace is communicated to the child; that if he dies in infancy his pardon is sealed, and, through the love and merits of his Redeemer, he passes from this lower region, where there is nothing good to detain an immortal soul, to that glorious and everlasting

state of existence where all is good and all is happy, because the immediate presence of God is there ; but that if he continues to live, then the Spirit is ready, with the first dawnings of reason, to suggest to him holy things, to warn him against sin, and to strengthen him to resist it. Nothing less than this seems implied in the words, that the baptized child 'is made a member of Christ, a child of God, and an inheritor of the kingdom of heaven ;' or in those other words, that he, 'being by nature born in sin, and a child of wrath, is made a child of grace.' She thanks God, in the baptismal service, that the child 'is regenerate, and grafted into the body of Christ's Church,' and prays 'that he may lead the rest of his life according to this beginning.' By 'regenerate,' she does not mean, what is sometimes meant by this or any equivalent term (for Scripture seldom confines itself to one meaning in the use of its terms), being brought into a state of confirmed salvation, but only being put into a *salvable* state—a state of grace, as opposed to a state of unassisted nature—a state in which grace is given as a seminal principle, not in which it already buds, or blossoms, or brings forth its precious fruits. Without grace, indeed, what sacrament would there be in baptism ? To make it a sacrament there must be 'inward and spiritual grace,' as well as the 'outward and visible sign and form.' "

If such were the doctrine preached in all our parish churches, we should no longer hear of Churchmen calling baptismal regeneration a Popish doctrine.

The discourses of Dr. Wordsworth are marked by sound reasoning, and great force and beauty of language.

The Bilston sermons are of a very unequal degree of merit. Dr. Kennedy and Dr. Whittaker were among the preachers, and to their discourses we shall on a future occasion refer.

EXPOSITIONS.

1. *A Practical Exposition of the Gospel according to St. John.* By the Rev. Robert Anderson. Vol. 1. London: Hatchards. 1841.
2. *Cottage Dialogues on the Gospel of St. Mark.* By D. H. W. London: Baisler. 1841.
3. *Christ on the Cross: an Exposition of the Twenty-second Psalm.* By the Rev. John Stevenson, Perpetual Curate of Cury and Gunvalloe, Cornwall. London: Jackson (Islington). 1841.

Of the numberless expositions which from time to time make their appearance, we hardly know, among modern ones, any more valuable than the three before us. Mr. Anderson, save a tincture of Calvinism, is both sound and practical. That of D. H. W., on the Gospel of St. Mark, is exceedingly well adapted to the classes for whom it is prepared ; and its predecessor, on St. Matthew, has been found very useful. Mr. Stevenson's volume is at once eloquent, poetical, and evangelical. We cordially recommend it.



